

Company strategies and sport models

The connections between sport and society are a growing field of interest both among Swedish historians as well as in other countries. Sport as a popular movement in Sweden has been examined in several studies.¹ There are also a range of studies dealing specifically with soccer.² Despite this growing body of work, the study of sport and industrial companies is not a well-researched area in Swedish historiography. At the present there are only two more detailed studies.³ Both studies showed that sport and overall soccer (football) was part of the company's paternalistic strategy to encourage the workers to view themselves as loyal "family members". Is this specific for a few companies in Sweden or is it a more general phenomenon? In this article I am going to focus on and compare if sports become means of industrial strategies to establish hegemony in Japan and Sweden? Did management use sports as a means of strengthening the local spirit of a community in order to create a strong sense of social solidarity or "we"-spirit? If so, how did they use sport to create, in theory and in practice, a consensus and strengthen their hegemony in order to encourage the local patriotism and "love of the home town" or their companies?

Industrialization and company communities in Sweden and Japan

Sweden was traditionally less developed than Western Europe and industrialization began earnest only after 1870. Sweden had been a major European exporter of iron, copper and timber since the medieval ages. However, improved transportation and communication, supported by the state, allowed it to utilize natural assets from different parts of the country on a far larger scale, most notable timber and iron ore. This contributed to rapid industrialization and by the

¹ See works of J Lindroth.

² R Palbrant, *Arbetsrörelsen och idrotten 1919-1939*, Uppsala 1977. T Peterson, *Leken som blev allvar*, Lund 1989. B Sund, *Fotbollens makt*, Uppsala 1997. T Andersson, *Kung Fotboll*, Stockholm 2002

³ B Andersson, T Svensson, *Boken om Jonsered: Samhälle och idrott i Jonsered 1830-1980*, 1985. C Ericsson, *Fotboll, bandy och makt*, Stockholm 2004

1890s the country began to develop an advanced manufacturing industry. In the 1930s a welfare state began to emerge.

Industrialization in Sweden began in rural areas in small communities of no more than a few thousand inhabitants. When we in Sweden speak of foundry communities we tend to imagine safe and well-organized communities, with a strong sense of social fellowship or so called *bruksandan* (foundry spirit). *Bruksandan*, in the form of an established local understanding, is also considered contributing to the model of the Swedish *folkhemsmodellen* (welfare system). The foundries were run through an authoritarian paternalistic managerial strategy that was underpinned by concern for much more than mere production. The managing director had personal relationships with his employees and provided for their needs from the cradle to the grave. Life at the foundry involved a strict gendered division of labor, with the man working at the foundry and the women looking after the needs of the home. The prerequisite for this type of paternalism was a connection between workers and management. The idea that there was a fundamental opposition between labor and capital belonged to the world-view of the twentieth century. However, the democratizing process and the growing trade union movement brought along a necessary renewal of paternalism. The new paternalism emphasized the importance of giving workers a greater understanding of the aims and resources of industry and was characterized by the fact that the old personal bonds were replaced by emotional ones towards the community and company. The goal of the democratizing process was to reduced differences between classes.⁴

Another important means of reaching the goal of increased understanding between work and capital was for managing directors to teach employees about and increase their understanding of, conditions in which companies exist. The purpose was to create an understanding and positive attitude among workers towards the company and their own work.⁵ While paternalistic ideas and a clear social hierarchy still prevailed in the integration project, methods of exercising and legitimizing power within the foundry were changed. The previously authoritarian attitude was during the 1920s and 1930s changed into a didactic one. The authorities were to be teachers,

⁴ K Molin, *Den moderna patriarken*, Stockholm, 1998, pp 102-103. C Ericsson, *Vi ar alla delar av samma familj – Patron, makten och folket*, Carlssons, Stockholm 1997

⁵ K Molin, 1998, pp 115-120

tutors and models for the people.⁶ Thus the leadership of the foundry manager, under this new thinking, was to be based on a change of strategy: from authority to didactics, from command to consensus. A new and more profound influence over the workers' world of ideas was required to establish the new paternalistic ideas and maintain a hegemonic power. The new times required socially responsible industrial managers, who would voluntarily give workers insights into corporate affairs and create industrial democracy. However, this would require cooperation and a new corporate mentality. Along with this didactic task, company's like Sandvikens ironworks developed personnel political solutions in the form of services which in the long run would tie workers and employees closer to the company. At Sandviken, under the professional industrial manager K F Goransson, the company set up an office of internal affairs, consisting of an office of interest. This office was to provide legal advice to workers on drawing up contracts and filling in income tax return forms. This office also handled health insurance and other insurance issues. There was also a nurse, whose duty was to give advice and to arrange medical help when needed, or to help out in the household if necessary.⁷ A well-functioning healthcare system was seen as vital for a cooperative approach. A periodical was also part of the overall personnel planning: such as club activities, sports and excursions, and biographies and photos of family celebrations. The publications were thought to promote a feeling of solidarity between the local community and the company.⁸ This paternalistic didactic strategy was common and pronounced extensively among industrial leaders during the economic boom decades from the 1930s and into the end of the beginning of 1970s. A period in Sweden's history called the "harvest time".

Following Japanese historians habits of industriousness have deep roots in Japanese society. During the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), attention to questions of productive efficiency was widespread, both in the predominant agrarian sector and the in the preindustrial economy.⁹ Textile production was widespread in pre-industrial Japan, and this development became the basis for the industrialization process. The population of Japan rose from around 20 million persons in 1600 to 30 million persons a century later and Edo became the consumption center.¹⁰

⁶ C Ericsson, *Vi ar alla delar av samma familj-Patron, makten och folket*, Stockholm 1997

⁷ K F Goransson, 1927, p 44

⁸ *ibid*

⁹ W M. Tsutsui, *Manufacturing ideology*, Princeton University press, 2001, p 14. M Tanimoto (eds) *The Role of Tradition in Japan's Industrialization*, Volume 2, Oxford University Press, 2006

¹⁰ D Flath, *The Japanese economy*, Oxford University Press, 2003, p 40-41

The Meiji Restoration of 1868, replaced the highly conservative *baku-han* political system with an oligarchy of forward- looking reformers from the south-west periphery of the nation. New policies focused in particular on industrialization since this was the key to a strong country. A ministry of Industry was established as early as 1870 and the government often took the lead in the early years in establishing enterprises.¹¹ Henceforth Japan was rapidly propelled into the ranks of the world's industrial powers and traditional patterns were readily and fruitfully aligned with a new socioeconomic order although systematic learning from Western models was central to Japan's modern transformation.¹² It has been concluded that Japan's industrialization was powered by the government and the new group of entrepreneurial *samurai*.¹³ It's though important to emphasize that still during the 1920s and 1930s more than one-half of Japan's labor force continued to work in small enterprises or were self-employed.

Paternalistic practices have been seen as the hallmarks of a distinctively Japanese approach to managing industrial labor. It has almost invariably been assumed that this paternalistic proclivity was a natural outgrow of Japan's cultural heritage, "reflecting a unique accommodation of traditional values to the impersonal dictates of modern industry".¹⁴ And that paternalism formed the core of Japanese management practice both before and after World War II, and that alternate paradigms of labor management floundered in Japan because of the culturally-conditioned appeal of the paternalistic model. Other scholars argue that Japanese paternalism modeled on developing Western ideas of "welfare capitalism".¹⁵ The important here and that is most scholars agree about, is that at the turn of the century it became prevalent that management style was changing from autocratic and arbitrary style to intensified paternalistic welfare strategy.

The Historian W M Tsutsui case study of Kanegafuchi Spinning Company is instructive.¹⁶ Between 1902 and 1907 an elaborate range of paternalistic programs was established under the leadership of Muto Sanji. Muto was a member of Japan's first generation of professional industrial managers. Muto have obvious resemblance with K F Goransson in Sandviken, like him

¹¹ C Andressen, *Japan from samurai to Sony*, Allen & Unwin, 2002, pp 88-91

¹² W M Tsutsui, 2001, p 15. D Flath, 2003, p 41

¹³ C Andressen, 2002, p 90

¹⁴ W M. Tsutsui, "Rethinking the Paternalist Paradigm in Japanese Industrial Management", *Business and Economic History*, volume Twenty-six, no 2, Winter 1997.

¹⁵ Se for example W M Tsutsui, 1997, pp 561-562

¹⁶ W M Tsutsui, 1997, pp 566-569

he had solid academic credentials and overseas experience in the US. Kanebo was a relatively small concern, when Muto first joined the company, but it rapidly transformed into one of Japan's leading textile producers. Various concerns motivated this wave of reform, but the most compelling was, like in Sandviken, the desire to reduce labor turnover by improving the living conditions of Kanebo workers. Muto's paternalism aimed for a complete embrace and to provide for all aspects of the work and private lives of employees.¹⁷ Workers housing facilities, and especially dormitories for unmarried workers were expanded and improved. Meal service was upgraded and company store were established selling to wholesale prices. Better relief matters for the sick and injured were instituted. Company hospitals were provided, systematic rules for compensation in case of work-related accidents were elaborated, subsidized pension plans and programs were expanded. The company sponsored sports, excursions and hobby clubs. Education schools were expanded both for male and female workers technical training for male workers and preparing female employees for marriage by teaching practical domestic skills.¹⁸ The company also designed means of encouraging "sobriety, industrious character and thrift" among the workers.¹⁹ The company appointed "Sanitary Inspectors" to investigate the housing conditions of employees not living in company facilities. The company also devised new means for improving communications between workers and corporate management. Company newsletter was used to transmit managerial viewpoints to shop floor employees, as well as their families. Muto himself emphasized in his paternalistic rhetoric Japan's "beautiful customs".²⁰ He expressed his view that Japan's family system could be extended to society as a whole by recreating the warmth which exists in the family between employers and employees, which will bring benefits to both sides.

Now when it comes to paternalism one must remember that it is important to see the differences between management rhetoric and practice. A summarize in brief shows however important similarities in how the paternalistic corporate system in Sandviken and Kanebo emerge and why it was implemented. Among various concerns one of the most important was to increase understanding between work and capital and to reduce labor turnover. The social reforms that were implemented had obvious similarities. The rhetoric had also similarities but also cultural

¹⁷ W M Tsutsui, 1997, p 567

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ Quotation from W M Tsutsui, 1997, p 567

²⁰ W M Tsutsui, 1997, p 568

and historical differences. K G Goransson talked in his rhetoric about a renewal of a didactic paternalism Muto Sanji worked in his rhetoric on the supposition that there existed an old genuine family tradition to built upon. K F Goransson in Sandviken in contrast to Muto Sanji in Kanebo never claimed that there in Sweden existed a historical culture of “beautiful customs”.

Swedish society and the origins of the Swedish Sports Movement

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, Swedish society was transformed by a rapid increase in population, migratory movements of people, urbanization and industrialization. Alongside these developments, new thoughts and ideas in the form of economic, political and religious liberalism and socialism were established. This transformation of Swedish society created, among other things, a sense of rootlessness and thus a need for new forms of social relations. Thus a range of organizations, which we refer to today as national movements, were formed,²¹ and they sought political influence and reform within Swedish society.²² Foremost among these organizations were the revivalist (Free Church), temperance and labor movements. These three national movements occupy an important place in modern Swedish history given the scope of their voluntary activity, ideological influence and political significance. The 1880s saw the emergence of the revivalist and temperance movements, while the 1890s are considered to be the breakthrough period of the labor movement.²³ It is estimated that at the turn of the twentieth century the national movements comprised roughly half a million people in Sweden, with around 15 per cent of the population over 15 years old having acquired membership.

These were not the only national movements which grew strong during the introductory decades of industrialization in Sweden. The sports movement, which in time was to become one of the largest and most comprehensive national movements, came into being during this revolutionary time. Historically the sports movements in Sweden, as in the other Scandinavian countries, were built in the form of voluntary associations, as “Peoples movements”.²⁴ Organizations regarded as the fundamentals of the democratic system in the Scandinavian countries, since to participate in voluntary associations has been seen as an important measure in

²¹ S. Lundkvist, *Folkrorelserna i det svenska samhället 1850-1920*, Uppsala 1977, pp 190-91

²² J Lindroth and K Blom, *Idrottens historia. Från antika arenor till modern massrorelse*, Malmö, 1995 p 190

²³ B Ohngren, *Folk i rorelse*, Uppsala 1974, p 11

²⁴ T Peterson, “The Professionalization of Sport in the Scandinavian Countries,” www.idrottsforum.org/articles/peterson/peterson080220.html

fostering democratic citizens. Voluntary organizations are open to everyone regardless of age, sex, social and ethnic affiliation or place of residence. The Scandinavia sports movements has also been ideologically fundamentally inspired by English amateurism

The first breakthrough for sport occurred during the 1880s, when a not inconsiderable number of associations were formed. The sports associations formed in Sweden during the 1870s and 1880s were primarily concerned with health promotion, and competition was kept to a minimum. During the 1890s the competitive element became increasingly prominent in both the older and newly-formed associations. In short, games, pastimes and physical activity went through a process of sportification.²⁵ They became more organized performance-, competition- and result-oriented activities. In 1893 there were 229 local sporting associations in Sweden with around 20,000 members. The real upswing, however, did not come until after the turn of the century and in particular the years 1906-1908. In 1919 the number of associations and members of sports associations had trebled: there were 786 local sporting associations and 93,000 members. The increase continued, and in 1930 there were around 180,000 members distributed among around 2,300 associations, figures which were to be more than doubled nine years later.²⁶ The organized sports are from 1904 governed by the Swedish Sports Confederation, SSC, (Riksidrottsförbundet, RF). The SCC is an umbrella organization with the task of supporting its member's federations and representing the whole Swedish sports movement in contact with the authorities, politicians, and so on. It defends the legitimacy of sports and argues for the value of sports. As a member of a voluntary organization in the SSC, one soon becomes involved in the democratic process.²⁷

There has been some notable research undertaken on the connection between industrialization and modern sport in Sweden.²⁸ It illustrates that the development of sport in towns was closely linked to industrialization and urbanization. For a long time the sports movement was primarily a big-city phenomenon, but sports associations outside the cities tended to be formed in sizeable communities, often in conjunction with the mining and sawmill industries. There also been

²⁵ See work of Eric Dunning and his fellow sociology colleagues. E Dunning, *Sport matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilisation*, London, Routledge, 1999

²⁶ See J Lindroth, *Idrottens väg till folkrorelse*, Uppsala 1974 pp 82-84

²⁷ See for more reading see P Sjöblom, *En svensk idrottsmodell I marknadstappning: Varderingar, normer och strategier I kommuner och föreningar 1970-1999*, www.idrottsforum.org (ISSN 1652-7224) 2006-03-15

²⁸ L E Tedebrand, "Idrott och etablissemang", *Historisk Tidskrift*, 2 1975. R Palbrant, *Arbetarrörelsen och idrotten, 1919-1939*, Uppsala, 1977

claimed that it was not until the introduction in 1919 of the eight-hour working day that the conditions for practice of sports were established in the lower local hierarchy. Researchers is further of the opinion that sport and its organizations should be viewed in relation to, and dependent on, changes in conditions of production and in social conflicts.²⁹

From the outset, the higher echelons of the sports movement were recruited primarily from the middle and professional classes and included company leaders, businessmen and clerks. Although the working classes were not to be found at this level of the sports movement, they were visible within various sports associations at district level.³⁰ Public opinion on the sports movement was divided from the start. Within the political field, representatives of the rural areas and many Social Democrats adopted a negative outlook, whereas a majority of middle-class politicians in the urban areas were positive. In general, the further people were located on the left of the political spectrum, the more negative they were towards sports movement. The skepticism of the labor movement with regard to sport stemmed not only from the class and professional background of those who administrated the sports movement but also from a perception that sport, with its emphasis on performance, records, specialization and elitism, was “useless”. However, the middle classes viewed the potential political and societal impact of sport and sports movements as being of more importance than any possible shortcomings.

At the turn of the twentieth century, sport received little in the way of sustained newspaper coverage. However, as more sports associations formed, interest grew and at the close of the first decade of the twentieth century the sports movement became a much-discussed topic within the labor movement as well as in the temperance and Free Church communities. Little by little a spirit of acceptance and tolerance towards sports movement began to emerge and it gradually came to recognized that sport could make a positive contribution to public welfare. In Sweden, as elsewhere, sports clubs and sports grounds came to be regarded as natural meeting places for people from all social groups and classes to meet and mix and participation was viewed as being positive for the physical and mental health of the population. During the 1920s until this day sport came to be seen as central to the creation of meaningful leisure time, and its defenders emphasized the morally educational functions of sport.

²⁹ See for example, R Palbrant, 1977

³⁰ J Lindroth, *Gymnastik lek och idrott*, Stockholm 1993, p 45

The sports movements have, in contrast with other popular movements such as the Free Church and temperance movements, besides that the sport movement were a movement formed from above by the upper class, maintained a decidedly consensual perspective. Unity across class barriers and fellowship between groups in the community were, from the outset, key objectives. In Sweden, the idea that sport is a phenomenon that transcends and levels out class distinctions and has the potential to unite classes and population groups has been expressed since the end of the nineteenth century. At the turn of the twentieth century the leading figures within the sports movements, particularly at the national level, came almost exclusively from an aristocratic and middle-class background, though they held their positions through democratic election. The notion of sport as a consensual activity was directed at the working classes. This was possible a consequence of the fact that the middle classes who were involved in the sports movement looked upon sport as a means of neutralizing the socio-political demands of the working classes, as a mechanism for the achievement of consensus between the classes and ultimately as a tool for the achievement of hegemony. The Swedish sports model is entirely dependent on the voluntary support of local leaders as well as on public financial, especially from local government, and the widely spread system.

Japanese society and the origins of the Japanese sports movement

Modern sport was introduced at the dawn of Japanese modernization in the 1870s from a variety of foreign countries, began to be enjoyed as a recreation. The origin of Japanese baseball was, for example, a by-product of the education policy.³¹ Sport and physical education are closely related phenomena, especially in Japan, where sport is widely considered a subcategory of physical education. To understand Japanese sports, it is required to consider the development of physical education in Japan. When Japan modernized the patchwork of local schools were replaced by an educational system similar to the systems in the US and Western Europe. Promulgating the Education Ordinance in 1872, the Meiji government institutionalized physical education in schools.³² Physical education, above all gymnastics, was also held to be a necessary part of the curriculum for girls, if for no other reason than to prepare them for their future role as

³¹ Y Kusaka, "The emergence and development of Japanese school sport" in J Maguire, M Nakayama (eds) *Japan, Sport and Society, Tradition and change in a globalizing world*, Routledge, London and New York, 2005. pp 19-23. K Kotani, "Sustainable sport and environmental problems" in J Maguire, M Nakayama (eds), 2005, p 92

³² A Guttman, L Thompson, *Japanese Sports History*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2001, p9 90-93

healthy mothers of boy destined to become the nation defenders, but this motivation ran counter to traditional notions about female modesty and beauty.³³ Schools focused on modern sports and played an important role in development of sports in Japanese society. Baseball in particular and tennis were the most popular, both before and after the Second World War. These sports were recreational activities originally enjoyed after school by Japanese students.³⁴ The idea of Japanese school sport germinated as student recreation and grew to have cultural meaning through student's values. School sport was then vested with educational values recognized by the society and, by 1935; it was established as cultural/social institution. Japanese sport creeds were focused on cultivation through sport, which was linked to and influenced by Zen Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism.³⁵ Sport in Japan was not about playing games or having fun, but was a tool of education. It taught children about obedience and hierarchy in an organization, as well how to withstand the pain of long training sessions. This made sport the ideal preparation for life working in Japanese company, which highly valued the ability to work well in a group, accept strict hierarchy and tolerate punishing work hours.³⁶ Promotion of sport through school education was very effective. Sport culture was soon diffused all over Japan.³⁷ According to Guttman and Thompson sport was during the Taisho period (1912-1926) in one view an end in itself, to be pursued for its own intrinsic pleasure, and whatever positive results accrued for the body and soul were extrinsic. In the other, sport was a means to strengthen the nation through improving the physical condition and moral character of its people. The former view was probably prevalent, but, as the nation changed course and began its march toward war, this liberal, individualistic, approach to sport was abandoned, and a militaristic, collectivist, instrumentalist view of sport became predominant. The Taisho period saw a rapid acceleration in the diffusion of modern sports during the 1920s.³⁸

During the Occupation traditional martial arts were banned except sumo which was allowed to resume before the end of 1945. The American advisors actively though encouraged participation in baseball and other modern sports.³⁹ Sports were introduced into school curricula after the war

³³ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, pp 92-93

³⁴ K Kusaka, 2005, pp 19-22

³⁵ K Kusaka, 2005, pp 33-34

³⁶ S Moffet, 2002, p 92

³⁷ K Kotani, 2005, p 92

³⁸ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 129

³⁹ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 163

and as a result of that children even from lower classes could experience sports. But mass participation was ignored. Sport was something to watch not for common people to participate in.⁴⁰ In January 1946 the national middle-school baseball tournament revived and it was stressed that it would contribute to “the development of democratic spirit...And the reconstruction of Japan”⁴¹ “Ideology changed: rhetoric did not: sport was for the good of the nation” Guttman and Thompson concludes.⁴² Still in at the beginning of the 1960s sport was an amusement of the ruling classes and ordinary people were just spectators.⁴³ The postwar years saw the reconstitution of the industrial and commercial leagues that had offered the prewar Japanese opportunities to continue to participate in sports after the end of their formal education. For most men and many women in the workforce, it was the company’s sports program that provided the facilities for ball games and the martial arts. In the early 1960s industries began to allocate sport for their labor management within high growth of the Japanese economy. The main purpose was, Uchiumi and Ozaki says, “the enhancement of worker’s physical fitness and health and the integration of young worker’s which had been influenced by socialism”.⁴⁴ It has been maintained that the special characteristic of Japanese sports has always been the role played by business enterprise.⁴⁵ The city of Koriyama, is lifted out as an example to that situation in the first postwar decades. In 1962, 10.000 of the city’s 138.000 citizens were members of sports clubs, mostly those at school or their place of employment. It was not until the 1970s that sport policies “for all” became a bigger interest in Japanese politics.⁴⁶

If we compare the development of sports movement in Sweden and Japan we can conclude that there are obvious differences. In Sweden the sports movement started as voluntary popular democratic movement open for everyone, although it was from the beginning organized by middle-class men inspired by English amateurism. The voluntary organizations or clubs is organized in the SSC, which is autonomic in the relation to the state. Although it is from the 1930s economically supported by the state thorough the state owned sport gambling corporation,

⁴⁰ K Uchiumi and M Ozaki, “History of Sport Policy and Sport Industry in Japan since 1945, in *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences* 34 (1993) The Hitotsubashi Academy, p 104

⁴¹ Quote from A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 164

⁴² *ibid*

⁴³ K Uchiumi and M Ozaki, 1993, p 106

⁴⁴ K Uchiumi and M Ozaki, 1993, p 107

⁴⁵ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 166, refer to Sugimoto Atsuo, p 166

⁴⁶ K Uchiumi and M Ozaki, 1993, p 108

so it's a corporate system. In Sweden the idea of sport has been that it has the potential to unite classes and population groups in order to strengthen the political vision of "Peoples home". In Japan sports is organized, as the opposite from the Swedish model, from above as a political instrument as a mean for discipline, obedience and hierarchy to prepare for life working in Japanese company and in its extension for Japan's economy development through effective" government led projects such as school education. Sports in Japan have traditionally developed at school settings. Voluntary" or "citizen-led" initiatives have not been fostered. Membership in sports clubs has also, in opposite to the Swedish model, been correlated with social class. There have been no clubs at the community level free for everyone to join like in Sweden.⁴⁷ The highly educated and wealthy citizens were, and is, more likely to be members of sports clubs and to participate in the clubs activities.⁴⁸ Most sports and exercise programs today in Japan are being offered at four settings: Schools, workplaces, private sport clubs and community sport clubs. The opportunities to continue a regular participation into sport decrease sharply once people graduate.

Sport in Swedish Industry Communities and Japanese Companies

Swedish company sports

I have chosen Sandviken ironworks as a case study for this study. Sandviken is situated in the county of Gästrikland, 200 miles north of Stockholm. It was founded 1862 with the establishment of the ironworks. I have not chosen Sandviken because of its success in Swedish sport but also because it has been pointed out as a good example of a "model industrial community" in the wake of the founding of the welfare concept "people's home". However, the cooperation between the company and the local community in Sandviken, in sports as well in other local matters, was similar in other industrial communities in Sweden; hence the findings of this study have broader implications.

In Sandviken, especially from 1920, several informal and formal meeting-places for personal contacts between the company and its employees were formed in order to overcome the state of opposition between labor and capital. The company's proprietors believed that hegemony would be secured via integration through the consent of the other classes in society. Integration and

⁴⁷ M Ikeda, Y Yamaguchi, M Chogahara, *Sport for All in Japan*, Sasakawa Sports Foundation, 2001

⁴⁸ *ibid*

consensus would be achieved through education: among other things the workers were to study national economic and social questions and discuss the problems of trade and industry at discussions club.⁴⁹ The way to hegemony could be established through local contacts, everyday conversations and discussions in the neighborhood about everyday problems. The factory manager for Sandvikens Jernverk (Ironworks) K F Goransson emphasized that an authoritarian style was no longer necessary and that as long as the company showed interest in the workers, it could count on increased loyalty. The message was that everybody at the foundry should be proud of working and living in the Industry community of Sandviken.⁵⁰ The importance of building solidarity, unity and consensus within the established system was emphasized for “the common good”.⁵¹ Sports, and above all football, were much used in this project from the beginning of the 1920s. The company supported sports actively by granting land and making financial contributions for sport grounds. Jernvallen (the stadium at Sandviken) was built 1937 as a gift to the employees and the other inhabitants of the community. K F Goransson appeared in a leading position at various sports events with the purpose of emphasizing his interest in sports and a common “love” for the ironworks teams. Goransson pointed to the health and moral benefits of participation in sport, in particular emphasizing the use of sport as an example what the people of Sandviken could accomplish thorough cooperation. Sports and especially soccer (football) was viewed as a promoter of loyal cooperation among friends under the supervision of a competent management, who understood the importance of team spirit.⁵²

In 1901 the sports club Stjarnan (The star) was established, according to tradition, by workers at the works: the name was changed in 1907 to Sandvikens AIK in order to make membership of the Swedish FA. SAIK became the first worker-dominated football club in the country to establish a reputation for itself. Besides SAIK there was also Sandvikens IF in the community; this being originally formed under the name of Kronan (The crown) in 1903. There appear to have been no class differences between the teams. The Ironworks leader attempted to bring about a merger in the conviction that a local identity and pride was most easily built up with one powerful team representing the community. That a new merger never came about shows that the

⁴⁹ K F Goransson, *Hur man skoter sitt folk – Samförstånd mellan företagare och arbetare*, Stockholm 1927, p 3

⁵⁰ K F Goransson, 1927, p 9

⁵¹ K F Goransson, 1927, p 8

⁵² K F Goransson, family archive, vol 52 RA

company's power was admittedly great, but by no means absolute.⁵³ The clubs consisted mainly of local talent, but occasionally it signed players from other clubs. These "outside" players were offered good employment opportunities at the works.⁵⁴ The possibility of work at the works attracted many football players to Sandviken. Nine out of 11 regular players of Sandvikens IF in the 1930s to the end of 1950s worked at Sandvikens ironworks. Eight to nine of these were blue-collar workers, the other were higher employees.⁵⁵ Besides signing up good players, The Ironworks was able to pay for good coaches and arrange for the players to train often and at reasonable hours. The clubs demanded that the players behaved appropriately. Whenever members of the clubs behaved "improperly at club parties" they were excluded.⁵⁶ They made it clear that members "who behaved badly" were not welcome at parties arranged by the club.⁵⁷ Applicants for club membership went through a vetting procedure before being admitted. The clubs also emphasized the importance of the same moral characteristics as those of Goransson's didactic paternalism: steadiness, honor, a sense of justice and thoughtfulness. Both the clubs and the trade unions made strong demands for sobriety among their members.⁵⁸ As one sports journalist commented on one of the reasons behind Sandvikens IF's success: "Sandviken has run dry, which contributes to the fact that its football stars are extremely steady".⁵⁹

It is not difficult to see several positive effects for the company from the clubs' activities. Involvement in sport encouraged discipline and respect for community and for authority. They rejected alcohol and other demoralizing wastes of time, such as gambling. The members were fostered into collective and democratic way of life through the culture of meetings at clubs where discipline and order were regular topics of discussion. The players of the various teams were also taught not to question the orders of the team captain. The recipe for success was hard work, steadiness, discipline and order. The company's interest in sport was not confined to the elite level since its proprietors felt that the spirit of Sandviken should be encouraged in as many people as possible. Thus provision was made for a breadth of sports which created a more widespread sense of solidarity between individuals in the Ironwork. The management used sports,

⁵³ Sandvikens kommun archive (SKA) Saik archive, meeting records, 1907

⁵⁴ B Sund, "Fotboll och makt" in E Blomberg, B Horgby and L Kvarnstrom (eds) *Makt och Moral*, Linköping 1998

⁵⁵ *Idrottstidningen* 1933. *Rekordmagasinet* 1956

⁵⁶ SKA, for an example SIF meeting records, 29/3 1925

⁵⁷ SKA, SAIK meeting records, 21/3 1925

⁵⁸ SKA, Sv. Metallarb. Forb. Avd 135 Sandviken, meeting records, for example 12/3 1928

⁵⁹ *Idrottstidningen*, 27 september 1933.

especially football, as a means of strengthening local community spirit (*Sandviksandan*) in order to create a strong solidarity, we- or family spirit.

The community of Atvidaberg was dominated by Atvidaberg Industries/Facit AB. Here similar finding can be found. Also here adopted the industrial management an instrumental view in which sports were seen as a means to level out class distinctions and create solidarity.⁶⁰ There was a conscious strategy within the Industry management to use football to create we-spirit, which would lead to a strengthened solidarity between the community and the company. The image, which the management wanted to create, was one of a society in harmony or a model society where the management directors Elof Ericsson 1922- 1952 and thereafter his son Gunnar Ericsson from 1952, considered the trade unions and the local social democrats as cooperation partners. In this model society, sports and especially football functioned as a link between the management and the inhabitants. Atvidabergs Industries/Facit AB's economic support was huge especially during the 1940s and 1960s.⁶¹ Both father and son were very interested in sports and especially football. Elof Ericsson was elected chairman of the Swedish FA in 1937 and the local team Atvidabergs FF, he himself called "Elofs boys". Football managed to communicate, both inwards and outwards, the image of Atvidaberg as a model industrial society, in which consensus and solidarity prevailed. Atvidabergs FF won the Swedish football league in 1972 and 1973.

A clear example of the significance of sports and especially the team sport football can also be found in the ironworks community Degerfors. Degerfors football club was founded in 1907 on the initiative of the 19-year-old student Hans von Kantzow, who had moved to Degerfors and later became managing director of Bultfabriken AB in another footballing foundry community, Hallstahammar. The ironworks also granted land for a football ground in Degerfors. For many years there were two competing clubs, Degerfors IF and Jannelunds SK, which both fought at the top of a lower division. When DIF began achieving success in the 1930s, the managing director of the ironworks, B Carleson, promised to build a sports ground if the two teams merged. This was achieved in 1936.⁶² In addition, they managed to hire the Hungarian

⁶⁰ R Andersson, "Elofs grabbar-Fotboll, industry and society in the foundry community of Atvidaberg" Linköpings Universitet, Vt 1997. T Petersson, "Fotboll som företag- och varumarkesstrategi. Atvidabergs FF, Atvidabergs Industrier/Facit och familjen Ericsson, *Idrott, Historia, Samhalle*, 2006, pp 51-72. C Ericsson, *Fotboll, bandy och makt*, Stockholm 2004.

⁶¹ T Petersson, 2006, p 60

⁶² B Sund, *Fotbollens maktfalt*, Uppsala 1998

Istvan Wampetis to coach the club. Wampetis taught the boys of the ironworks to play “tactically and thoughtfully”.⁶³ Throughout the years the trade union movement at the ironwork also supported the sports club. The working – class organizations in Degerfors saw no contradictions between sports and trade-union or political work. The trade union did not oppose the merger between the two clubs, but considered it a unifying action which would strengthen the ties between fellow-workers both inside and outside their place of work.⁶⁴ The trade union also declared itself in favour of the new football ground.⁶⁵ In Degerfors, interest in football became a way of life and intense in an un-Swedish manner- as the sport “with endless discussions before and after the matches”.⁶⁶ Even the team’s training sessions brought large crowds to the ground, Stora Valla. On the whole the similarities with Sandviken and Atvidaberg were clearly evident: foreign coaches, good training conditions and strong solidarity. And the players of Degerfors also worked at the ironworks. The team played for 24 seasons in the Swedish First Division. Their biggest successes were achieved during the seasons 1940/41 and 1963, when the team reached second place in the league. As late as 1993 in, Degerfors IF won the Swedish Football Cup.

Japanese company sports

The 1920s were also the formative years for Japan’s industrial leagues. Innumerable companies institutionalized their commitment to paternalistic capitalism by sponsoring baseball teams or encouraging their employees to establish them. Although Yawata Iron and Steel Works, in northern Kyushu, were government-owned, its managers’ attitudes toward labor relations were essentially the same as those in private enterprise. When Japanese industry was hit by a wave of strikes in the winter of 1920, Yawata Iron and Steel was not spared. In an effort to improve worker-management relations, which were less than cordial, the company sponsored a baseball tournament. A representative team was organized by the plant’s workers in 1924 and recognized by the company in 1926. In 1927 the company team began to play against teams from other companies. Crowds of seven or eight thousand gathered to watch the games.⁶⁷ At first, workers were expected to play baseball on their own time, but the experiment in social control was so

⁶³ *ibid*

⁶⁴ A Bande, *Degerforsarbetarna under 75 år*, Kumla, 1979, pp 35-36

⁶⁵ *ibid*

⁶⁶ B Sund, 1998, pp 137-139

⁶⁷ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 132

successful that members of the representative team were allowed to begin their daily practice at 1:00 P.M. The entire team was transferred to Yawat Steel's main office and provided with tasks considerably less strenuous than shoveling coal into a blast furnace.⁶⁸ It was worthwhile, from the company's point of view. The management was persuaded that on-the-job productivity would increase and that sports would promote harmony between capitalists and workers. They became, according to Guttman and Thompson, enthusiastic and self interested advocates of the ethos of fair play, good sportsmanship, teamwork, and adherence to the rules of the game-all qualities of the ideal worker. The companies who sponsored baseball teams seem to have convinced themselves that their sports program was a benefit to their employees as well as to the firm.⁶⁹

The course and system of Japanese society after the second war was not entirely stable. The Japanese Government found it, Nakayama say, necessary to suppress the radical political movement as well as the organized labor movement. Both recreation in the workplace and corporate sport developed as countermeasures to the above political and labor pressures. An enhanced corporate consciousness and a focus on the welfare of employees were emphasized. The Ministry of Education regarded the promotion of physical education in the workplace as a management responsibility. The Japan Federation of Employer's Association also launched a programme to support recreation in the workplace in co-operation with the Japan Recreation Association which was increasingly encouraged throughout the 1960s. According to Nakayama recreation in the workplace was both a means of securing and retaining young workers in a corporation, and was a part of the social support needed by workers exposed to the industrialization and urbanization processes. Moreover, for the corporations, the strong promotion of efficient production relayed on the worker's *will to work*.⁷⁰ Therefore, The Ministry of Education argued, the significance of sport and recreation in the workplace came to be highly regarded, as the maintenance of the health of laborers and the adjustment in human relations among and between them and their superiors were needed first of all. Many employees of major corporations lived in a company flat or house, in a company town, and received various company benefits needed to maintain their lives. Besides the company corporate community, the large

⁶⁸ *ibid*

⁶⁹ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2002, p 132

⁷⁰ M Nakayama, "Economic development and the value of sport" in J Maguire and J Nakayama (eds), 2005, p 62

enterprises provided *support extending to all aspects of regular workers' lives*'.⁷¹ Also many medium-sized businesses formed sports clubs in addition to providing for sport and support systems for living. A survey by the Ministry of Education showed that large and medium-sized enterprises especially had improved their facilities and organization for sport in workplace, while public facilities for sport were poorly equipped and the organization for sport in communities were underdeveloped. "Enterprise-based welfare", including recreation in the workplace, is considered part of the Japanese style of management and is regarded as an important factor in Japanese industrial development.⁷² The life of processes of laborers are totally assimilated into the dominant corporate system, as the human relations within the corporation extend to and penetrate into their personal domains. Thereby, a kind of "corporate community relations" is formed. Actually on the basis of this "community feeling", the conflicts of interests between worker and manager are absorbed into "corporate co-operative systems". That is, they are neutralized by the exaltation of the corporate consciousness.⁷³ Corporate sport, or recreation in the workplace, was considered as important to the building and enhancement of the corporate community consciousness.

The special characteristic of Japanese sports has always been the role played by business enterprise. This characteristic is hardly unique, but it is certainly prevalent. The postwar years saw a reconstruction of the industrial and commercial leagues that had offered the prewar Japanese opportunities to continue to participate in sports after the end of their formal education. For most men, and for many women in the workforce, it was the company's sports program that provided the facilities for ball games and the martial arts.⁷⁴ Company policy defined much of post-war Japanese life, and sport was no exception. Japan had no sport clubs for use by the local community and no teams representing local towns. Instead football –along with volleyball and basketball–was played in schools, colleges and companies. Company players were full-time employees usually spending the morning in the factory or office, then training in the afternoon. Most lived in company dormitories, where they ate breakfast, lunch and dinner together in the canteen. More than Western sport, S Moffet says, professional or amateur, Japan's company sport resembled a capitalist version of the state-amateurism practiced in Eastern Europe's

⁷¹ M Nakayama, 2005, p 63

⁷² *ibid*

⁷³ *ibid*

⁷⁴ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2002 p 166

communist era.⁷⁵ Many of the workers came from the countryside and lived away from home in company dormitories. To improve their morale and help them identify with their employer, companies formed teams that played each other in a corporate league. Workers then followed their company team's progress on radio broadcasts and cinema news bulletins.⁷⁶ Companies also organized sports days, excursions to swim at the beach and educational classes. These helped nurture a culture of company as family, and enabled employers to manage workers' leisure time.⁷⁷ Corporate sport began in the 1950s, as Japan began its post-war reconstructions. The first big company sports team were set up by textile companies.⁷⁸ After 1965 it also began to be not only an interest to unite employees because of the raising interest from TV and newspapers to coverage the matches. It then became more important that the company's name would be seen on TV and in newspapers.⁷⁹ Soccer was introduced by the British in the Meiji in 1873 through a British naval commander and then spread slowly via academic institutions era but remained a marginal sport until the 1960s.⁸⁰ On 10 September 1921, the Japan Football Association (JFA) was set up. Though most western sports were introduced to Japan around the end of the nineteenth century, baseball quickly outstripped all others. Football was a minor affair. That changed in 1960 when a team from electric wire manufacturer Furukawa Electric Co. became the first company team to win the Emperor's cup. In 1965, an amateur football league, the JSL, consisting of company club teams, was established.⁸¹ Moffet describes through Takayoshi Yamano how a footballer's day was at the company Yanmar Diesel. He had a regular job at the company but "It wasn't really a job, and there wasn't anything for me to do". The real day started in the afternoon, when he would train at the company football ground from two to five. At the weekend he played matches against other companies, which was his real value to the company because the results appeared in the paper with the company name.⁸²

The trade union initiated cultural and sports activities in the Toyota Motor Co. until about 1950, and these activities were considered quite remarkable. Management took a positive interest in

⁷⁵ S Moffet, *Japanese rules*, Yellow Jersey press, London, 2002, p 7

⁷⁶ S Moffet, 2002, p 9

⁷⁷ *ibid*

⁷⁸ S Moffet, 2002, pp 8-9

⁷⁹ S Moffet, 2002, p 10

⁸⁰ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 216. S Moffet, 2002, p 8

⁸¹ A Guttman, L Thompson, 2001, p 216. H Ebishima and R Yamashita, "FIFA 2002 world cup in Japan: The Japanese football phenomenon in cultural contexts, in J Maguire and M Nakayama (eds), 2005, p 125

⁸² S Moffet, 2002, p 7

cultural and sport activities about 1951, while the union was weakened by a large-scale labor dispute 1950. In this situation, the company constructed several different sport arenas for different sport activities. The Toyota General Sports Meeting, which included 10 companies allied to Toyota, was also held. The company constructed a general sports arena in 1957 and formed the Toyota Club, an integrated organization, in 1959. Most members in the sports section of the Toyota club were clerks, engineers and trained factory workers, while little representation of unskilled workers was low.⁸³ The company, at this time, gave priority to sports activities over cultural activities and the promotion of sport activities for general employees over the development of sports clubs for athletes. In addition, sport and recreation, as well as the public relations magazine and the company communication system “play a most important role in uniting the various groups within the company”.⁸⁴ The goal (was) to develop a Toyota-man and build Toyota spirit. Nakayama emphasize that social studies and physical education are included as a part of the life guidance provided to the trained worker. Teamwork is stressed and regarded as important in physical education. Morale, human nature and trust in the corporation are shaped on the basis of co-operative consciousness, and this co-operative consciousness is produced by teamwork. The teamwork that develops through physical education soon leads to a person’s consciousness of being a Toyota team member. The organization of trained workers in active service, also has a committee for physical education which organizes sports teams at each job sites, and participates in training as well as inter-job site matches.⁸⁵ The role of sport in the workplace has been to reproduce the energy for work of general employees who are separated according to their respective managerial function, bring them into harmonious relationship, and cultivate a fellow feeling and a corporate consciousness. In 1960, Toyota city had a population about 47,000. Approximately 14, 000 inhabitants were employees of the Toyota Motor Co. Toyota city’s sport governing body (Taiiku-Kyokai) consisted of 22 sports associations, many members of which were the employees of the Toyota Motor Co. or allied corporations.

If we briefly compare company sports in the two countries we can conclude that in Sweden sports were, in the examples given from different companies, frequently used in the integration project from the beginning of the 1920s and forth, both in theory and in practice. The companies

⁸³ M Nakayama, 2005, p 64

⁸⁴ M Nakayama, 2005 p 64 cit Nihon Jinbun Kagaku-Kai, 1963:116

⁸⁵ M Nakayama, 2005, p 64

supported sport actively by building sport grounds and economic support to the clubs. The management at the companies pointed to the health and moral benefits of participation in sport, in particular emphasizing the use of sport as an example what the management and the employee and their family's could accomplish through cooperation. Sport was viewed as a promoter of loyal cooperation among friends under the supervision of a competent management. In Japan sport was also supported by companies from the beginning of the 1920s as an effort to improve relations between employer and employee. The management had the idea that sports would promote harmony between capitalists and workers and that production figures would increase. Sports ethos like fair play, good sportsmanship and teamwork were important concepts. After the second war the support to corporate sport was intensified as countermeasures to political and labor pressures. Also The Ministry of Education considered physical education in the workplace as a management responsibility. Corporate sport was considered as important to the origination and improvement of the corporate company community consciousness; a harmonious relationship.

Conclusions

We can conclude from this study that the attempt to nurture responsible and loyal co-workers could be optimized if the paternalistic strategy was used within all fields and if employees were encouraged to pursue activities that would strengthen the ties between companies and their employees. These areas can be considered free zones in the struggle between labor and capital. The social integration project created a need for new and more efficient forms of socialization. Sport was then one of the new elements of the integration project, during the 1920s and forth both in Sweden and in Japan, an arena where hegemony over the workers was too established and the possibility of conflict minimized. Spare time was identified as an opportunity to nurture the workers and encourage them, through their playing of new organized, codified and rule-bound sports, to learn to accept and respect authority figures. In Sweden football was identified as a particularly valuable tool for achieving these ends, and the local managements of various companies felt that by supporting the establishment of a football club they could create a consensus or area of common ground with their workers and hence achieve hegemony. In Japan in response to oppose workers radicalization and to prevent such influence companies have made strong attempts to compete for the leisure time of their employees considering such effort to be a

part of management strategy. Companies have organized sports and cultural events and supported sport activities in many ways and big amounts. The main difference is in the way that sport was organized and how it was modeled, in Sweden as a popular democratic movement a movement that Swedish company managers understood to use. In Japan in the opposite way company managers who organized sports to use. In order to be effective producers, the companies clearly needed physically fit and disciplined workers and sport was viewed as an important way, both in Sweden and Japan, of ensuring an effective workforce. This was clearly an important factor in the companies support for sports and sports activities. However, the role of sport and the sports movement as an institution that taught moral virtues, sportsmanship and respect for authority and inculcated a sense of fair play was also important, as these were qualities that would be beneficial in the companies. The argument presented in this paper is that sport was an important free zone for creating a consensus between employer and employee. Sport was a way of reaching stability and, ultimately, hegemony within the domains of the companies.

There are some studies that reinforce the conclusion that sport has been viewed as a means of achieving improved health and moral fostering, and above all a sense of removing class barriers and deepening social solidarity. That in the case of companies who used soccer and sports in general, as part of their welfare schemes, sports did become a means to set up social control. Explanations given by various scholars as to why sports, and above all football, gained support suggest that the leader/leaders strove for local prestige and identification with the local community, but in some cases had a genuine interest in sports. Furthermore, sport also viewed as an arena that would help legitimize the “natural” hierarchy and maintain hegemony. There are also scholars who indicate that sport was a site of class struggle and continuous debate, and that it provided the working classes with a voice to challenge the prevailing power relations in society.⁸⁶ In the historiography of sport in Britain, several scholars have touched on the subject of management relationship with sport and above all football. Much of these works indicates that industrial companies had an instrumental view of sports and deliberately exploited them for their own interest.⁸⁷ C Korr showed in his study about the football club West Ham United how it was

⁸⁶ See for example S G Jones, *Sport, Politics and the working class*, Manchester, 1998

⁸⁷ See for example C Korr, *West Ham United*, London, 1986. J Bale, *Sport and place*, London, 1989. J Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, New York, 1986

started by the owner to Thames Ironworks in East End. The owners A F Hills explicit will was that it would strengthen the “co-operation between workers and management”.⁸⁸ He saw football also as a mean for “raising the moral of his workers and the reputation of his firm”.⁸⁹ John Bale underlines the tradition and the importance of the English football clubs local rootedness “... A tradition in British football is its localism to support football was to become involved in a pattern of local loyalties. Working class people could be helped to feel that they belonged to a community by the activities of the local football team and their attachment to that team”.⁹⁰

In an investigation of Factory football done by the Australian scholar P Mosley shows that hundreds of soccer clubs were formed from first war and forth. These soccer clubs was comprised of employees of the one company.⁹¹ Many clubs in Sydney were part of company inspired Sporting and Welfare Associations and therefore did receive sizeable support. These Associations were managerial schemes aimed to create contended and more efficient workforce and in extension larger profits. 1915 to 1929 was a period of considerable industrial strife and it was considered that companies were in need of better industrial relations and one of the means to reach those sports was important. In 1921 Lewis Berger and Sons Ltd supplied a home field and dressing sheds to the teams supplied by its employees. Short thereafter the engineering firm Babcock and Wilcox opened a new ground for the use of its soccer teams. The company, Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Pty. Ltd, developed inter-departmental competitions in cricket, tennis, boxing and swimming. Football fields and tennis courts was founded and after a grandstand had been added in 1936 the Camellia Park became a regular venue for state baseball championship and soccer matches. British Tobacco Co Ltd meant in august 1932 that *sport is a big and important item ...It has achieved all it was supposed to do – unite a huge force into one happy and contended family*.⁹² The management at Lewis Berger and Sons was also very pleased that the social and sporting associations for their employees had the effect of *reducing strikes, go-slows and any industrial disruptions*.⁹³

⁸⁸ C Korr, 1986, pp 3-4

⁸⁹ C Korr, 1986, p 4

⁹⁰ J Bale, *Sport and Place*, London, 1989, pp 28-29

⁹¹ P Mosley, “factory Football: paternalism and Profits”, University of Sidney, p 25

⁹² P Mosley, p 31

⁹³ *ibid*

Managers like Agnelli in Italy (FIAT) and Peugeot in France entered the sphere of football not just for sporting reasons. Initially, football could appear to be a prolongation of the paternalism practiced in the industrial enterprises, operated by the likes of Agnelli and Peugeot. For example was the FIAT workers invited by Agnelli in person to see free of charge the matches played by Juventus first team. The *Gruppo Sportivo* FIAT began during the beginning of the 1920s to organized that the workers and employees to play football or practice other sports. The president of *Gruppo Sportivo*, suggested “that it was a question of a huge program of physical training, harmony and fraternization between all the FIAT workers’ families”.⁹⁴ Implicit in this was the intention to maintain social order and peace among employees through sporting activity and engagement. A similar objective was found at Peugeot where every effort was made to associate the club and its player with the “wider Peugeot family”.⁹⁵ Thus home games were preceded by a procession through the streets of Montbéliard, led by the Peugeot band, and various attractions in the vicinity of the stadium were offered free of charge by the Sochalian factory management. The football provided a playful touch to the paternalistic social system established by the firm which included the Peugeot band and social measures from distribution of food to the extension of the opening of the hospital beyond working hours.⁹⁶ In Peugeot the totally integration of the football club into a company strategy aimed at both the modernizing of traditional paternalism and reinforcing the sports image of the firm.⁹⁷ Apart from its social role within the company’s, the football team also served to promote FIAT and Peugeot products.

My conclusion of this study is that although there are obvious historical and cultures differences between companies in Sweden and Japan; differences in the industrialization and in the modernization of these two countries; differences in how sport were introduced and how it was shaped; there are similarities in how sport was used in company strategies and the explanation to that is that it was the business enterprise that created this similarities.

⁹⁴ P Dietschy & A Mourat, “The motor car and Football industries from the early 1920s to the late 1940s: The cases of FC Sochaux and Juventus” in J Magee, A Bairner, A Tomilson (eds) *The Bountiful Game? Football Identities and Finances, Meyer & Meyer Sport*, (UK)Ltd, Aachen 2005, p 52

⁹⁵ P Dietschy & A Mourat, 2005, p 52

⁹⁶ *ibid*

⁹⁷ P Dietschy & A Mourat, 2005, p 57

