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The Dialogue between Civilizations

The Dialogue between Civilizations

Preface

The ideas of Ilya Prigogine (1917–2003) are highly suggestive for analyzing modern civilization. He is best known for his theory of dissipative structures, for which he won the Nobel Prize in Chemistry; however, his work extended beyond the field of natural science and included the history of science, sociology, and economics. In *Order out of Chaos* (1984), which he co-authored with Isabelle Stengers, he positioned his shift from a mechanistic worldview to an evolutionary worldview as a “dialog between humans and nature,” and discussed his new worldview accordingly (later framing it as a vitalistic worldview). He took the perspective of civilization studies.

Prigogine posited that small fluctuations within a system cause changes in the entire system, and that these fluctuations contribute to the formation of order while coexisting with the surrounding environment. The global world system of modern civilization have originated from subtle fluctuations within the former system, such as the spread of monotheism, innovations in science and technology, and changes in culinary cultures. Each human being seeks sociocultural wealth in the place where they live, creating small fluctuations in the environment. This eventually gives rise to the chaos of conflicts and social problems. In time, as this series of overall changes (good or bad) stabilizes, it is positioned as a new form of order.

In the present day, this state of chaos is more serious than ever. The so-called “Doomsday Clock,” published annually by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, showed 89 seconds remaining in January 2025. The threats of climate change, its associated disasters, and even nuclear war are becoming increasingly dire, and nationalism and division are being increasingly promoted despite our desperate need for union. Is there any hope for a new order arising from this chaos?

Here, I would like to focus again on small fluctuations that often occur on the periphery but have the potential to change an entire system and revolutionize the world. As Prigogine says, as a world civilization, we have reached a point at which we must use our imagination and creativity to create these fluctuations. A new world cannot be born without dialog and diversity. For this reason, we must return to regions and communities as contextual peripheries.

This issue features the international symposium “Dialog between Civilizations,” which was held on January 12, 2025. This symposium invited Yan Lespoux from Université Paul Valéry-

Montpellier III to discuss the issue of modernization and diversity in France. His discussion focused on the impact of the subtle fluctuations occurring in France on its entire social system. The underlying theme of the conference, meanwhile, was the dialog between humans and nature. Research in civilization studies will continue to be conducted from the perspective of this dialog. I also hope that the efforts represented by this issue and those of the Institute of Civilization will become new fluctuations. Although small, these efforts will help in the birth of a new world that overcomes our current chaos.

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The Dialogue between Civilizations**

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International Symposium Report

The 5th Dialogue between Civilizations: Modernization and cultural diversity in France

Organizing Committee:

Toru HATTORI^{*1}, Mina ADACHI^{*2}, Yuki TAKATORI^{*3}, Yoichi HIRANO^{*4}

Keywords: Modernization in France, Industrialization, Cultural and linguistic diversity

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1. Introduction

On January 12, 2025, the Institute of Civilization Research at Tokai University held an International Symposium, “The 5th Dialogue between Civilizations,” on the Shinagawa Campus of Tokai University. The Institute held its first International Symposium at the European Center in Denmark in 2015, after which it held four successive symposia. However, after the last symposium in 2019, the Institute was forced to suspend this event, due to the spread of COVID-19. Thus, the 2025 symposium marked its revival. In his opening remarks, Shogo Tanaka, the Director of the Institute, emphasized the significance of being able to directly discuss important matters related to civilizations face-to-face (see Appendix 1). The main theme of this symposium was “Modernization and Cultural Diversity in France.” In this regard, Yan Lespoux, a specialist in Occitan studies from the University of Montpellier in France, was invited as the keynote speaker. Overall, this symposium consisted of two sessions: Session 1, “Modernization and Cultural Diversity in France” (held in English, 35 participants), and Session 2, “French-Japanese Research Exchange” (held in French, 15 participants). The organizing committee for this symposium included the following:

Executive Responsible: Toru Hattori

Organizer: Mina Adachi

Chair: Yuki Taklatori

Observer: Yoichi Hirano

This paper mainly reports on Session 1, covering the keynote speech, related reports, and the subsequent discussions. Session 2 will be presented in a separate paper¹ (*1). Although an overview of each report will be provided here, readers can refer to the papers of each speaker for more detailed information. This symposium was sponsored by the Institute of Civilization Research at Tokai University, with additional support by the Public Promoting Association Kura Foundation and the Tokai University Research Organization.

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¹ In Session 2, “French-Japanese Research Exchange,” the speakers from Session 1 introduced and discussed their research.

2. Aim and Overview of the Symposium

The theme of this symposium was “Modernization and Cultural Diversity in France.” In her opening address, organizer Mina Adachi explained the purpose of this theme (see Appendix 2), which is summarized as follows.

When viewed diachronically, modernization refers to a turning point. In this regard, historical turning points always include a transformation from an older system (i.e., the previous situation) to a newer one (i.e., the subsequent development). For example, in 19th century France, modernization has elucidated the issue of “the mixture of homogenization and the preservation of diversity,” which corresponds to the coexistence of globalization and the preservation of diversity in modern civilization. In France, each region has historically maintained its own culture and language. However, due to the national unification policies after the French Revolution, especially the policy of unifying the French language (*Francisation* or *Frenchification*), they have inhibited regional cultures and languages. Nevertheless, the awareness of regional cultures and languages remains strong to this day. Considering this background, this symposium specifically focused on southern France and examined how modernization since the mid-19th century has (or has not) influenced regional cultures and languages as well as their regional identities. In this regard, a broader discussion on how this issue relates to the present day was expected.

Session 1 of this symposium included the following program:

Keynote Speech:

- Yan LESPOUX (Lecturer, Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3 University)

Related Reports:

- Mina ADACHI (Assistant Professor, Tokai University)

- Yoichi HIRANO (Inviting Professor, Tokai University)

In this symposium, two discussants were invited: Kiyoshi Hara, a leading authority on the social history of language, known for his extensive research on Bretagne (Brittany), France; and Naoko Sano, a specialist in Occitan studies from the University of Montpellier. Serving as the chair was Yuki Takatori, a sociolinguistics specialist whose research focuses on the Hawaiian Renaissance. A summary of each presentation and the subsequent discussions are provided in the following sections.

3. Contents of the Keynote Speech

3.1. Keynote Speech

In Session 1 of this symposium, Yan Lespoux, an Occitan researcher from the Occitan Studies Department at the University of Montpellier, presented the keynote speech. Based on his speech, French was brought about by two opposing viewpoints: the French Revolution and the industrialization that spread from Great Britain to the European continent. In particular, the former saw the central government implement a national unification policy that included the French language, while in southern France (especially from the mid-19th century onward), a linguistic and cultural revival movement emerged that centered on a regional language (*Patois*). This speech also focused on the activities of the *Félibrige* (a representative of this movement), the Nobel Prize-winning poet Frédéric Mistral (its leading figure), and the relationship between these activities and the people of the time, particularly the peasants.

In this speech, Lespoux began with a description of the steamboat in Mistral’s 1897 poem, *Lou Pouèmo*

dou Rose, representing the modernization of southern France from the perspective of industrialization in rural areas. Specifically, southern France includes a hierarchical social order, and although it differs from region to region, there are many types of workers (from farm laborers to large-scale farmers), the majority of whom are peasants. Meanwhile, railway development from the mid-19th century on brought about significant changes in rural areas. However, in reality, agricultural mechanization in this region lagged behind that of other regions. Moreover, although a distribution system was developed through the railway system, this region was unable to maintain a competitive industrial advantage with other regions. In this regard, industrialization revitalizes urban industry and leads to the concentration of populations in cities, but the initiative for such industrial capital mainly comes from central urban areas.

In this context, a linguistic and cultural revival movement developed, represented by the *Félibrige*. However, among the seven people who founded the *Félibrige* in 1854, only one was a farmer. Additionally, when the movement emerged around 1880, more than half of the members were urban dwellers. At this point, the following question is raised: To whom were the *Félibres* (those belonging to the *Félibrige*) trying to appeal for the revival and preservation of the regional language and culture (i.e., the Occitan language and culture)? This was the main point of Lespoux's speech. In response to this question, he made the following points, based on the research of French historian Phillipe Martel.

At the core of the *Félibrige*'s activities is Félibréan literature based on the local language, in which one can find “*terroir* and people closely linked to their language that is the object of worship.” In this regard, the world depicted in Mistral's work, *Mirèio*, is *terroir* colored by the language and culture that the people have cultivated. It is also a world that positions the people of this region as “farmers and shepherds,” even as society undergoes modernization. Meanwhile, Mistral (who was a city dweller) did not depict an idyllic rural world. In fact, he constantly compared the city and the countryside, and showed that all the people of this region were essentially “shepherds.” In this regard, since the *Félibrige* activities were assertions made within the literature, his words did not reach all the people, especially the farmers. Instead, he was (in a sense) a guardian deity who attempted to preserve the traditional language and culture of the people who were beginning to be forgotten in the midst of modernization.

3.2. Related Reports (1)

Following the keynote speech, two related reports were presented. The first one was by Mina Adachi, a specialist in modern and contemporary history and civilization studies who has conducted research on regional movements related to the *Félibrige* and its pan-Latinism.

In this case, Adachi argued that France is an extremely diverse country, with each region including its own unique history and culture, and that modernization progressed with the gradual changes of industrialization. She then used the example of Provence, where the *Félibrige* movement (a precursor to regionalism in France) was born, as a case in which locally led cultural and revival activities managed to restrain the excessive transformation brought about by modernization. She also focused on how Provence accepted modernization and discussed whether it induced psychological anxiety in the region based on the following three points: (1) the problem of uniformity inherent in the spread of language education; (2) the reaction to railway development and the “economy” in the region; and (3) the sustainability of regional culture through ethnographic museums, reminiscent of today's *ecomusées* (eco-museums).

In the first point, Adachi reported that the revolutionary government's introduction of public education

hindered the use of traditional regional languages, especially by implementing French as the standard language in primary education. In the second point, the railway development in France, which played a major role in its industrialization, was discussed. Although railways were certainly an key factor in revitalizing the region, their adoption was not necessarily smooth, at least in the beginning. For example, when the idea of building a railway was first raised in Provence, its adoption did not proceed smoothly in order to maintain the existing order. This is representative of the reactions to modernization and economic development at the time. Finally, in the third point, the preservation of regional culture in the context of modernization was examined. Here, the focus was on Mistral and the Arles Ethnographic Museum (*Museon Arlaten*) that he founded. In particular, the importance of this museum in preserving and passing on living regional culture was reexamined from the perspective of the *ecomusée* concept.

Overall, Adachi's argument was that while the rationality and universality of modernization has resulted in the standardization of language and culture, the diversity of languages and cultural systems in southern France has not been lost to the present day. This is mainly due to the local efforts to preserve diverse regional cultures, which have existed since the early days of southern France. This can also be seen in the railway development in Provence, where the emphasis on regional spirituality and values over economics occurred at that time. Moreover, the establishment of Mistral's Arles Ethnographic Museum was an expression of the strong will to preserve the region's traditional culture and diversity for future generations, even as modernization progressed. In this regard, anthropologist Henri Giordan called France a country in which "uniformity and diversity coexist" and that this seemingly contradictory cultural form has helped sustain the regional language and culture. Here, we can also see the conscious effort to revive and preserve regional linguistic culture and diversity, especially during the wave of modernization.

3.3. Related Reports (2)

In the second related report, Yoichi Hirano, a researcher specializing in the history and philosophy of sciences and mathematics, discussed the phase of modernization in southern France from the perspective of cultural and civilization theories. The purpose of the report was to examine the changes in the consciousness of the regional people during the modernization of southern France by drawing on Shuntaro Ito's concept of the "living sphere" and Edward Relph's concept of "placeness." If we consider the space that encompasses all elements of human society (e.g., its organization, systems, thoughts, and activities) to be a "living sphere," then culture as ethos would be situated at its inner core, with civilization as its outer shell (see Fig. 1). As for the latter, when one society comes into contact with another, a "civilization transfer" may occur between each of the outer shells (civilizations). In this regard, the question arises as to how the inner core cultures mutually influence one another (e.g., whether the values held by

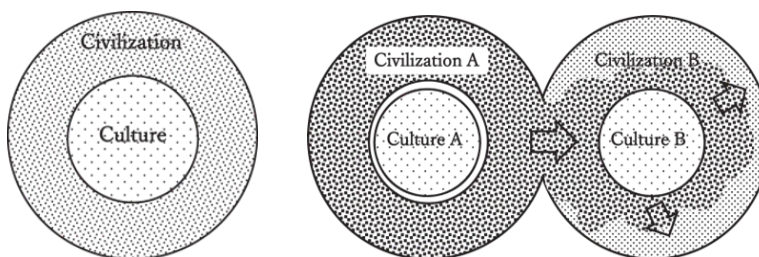


Fig. 1 "Living sphere"

each group change). Conversely, the “living sphere” formed by the people’s consciousness and activities is given meaning by the concept of “placeness,” as advocated by Relph. Meanwhile, “placeness” represents the area in which human societies historically and traditionally give meaning to their existence in relation to other groups, and even to nature (see Fig. 2).

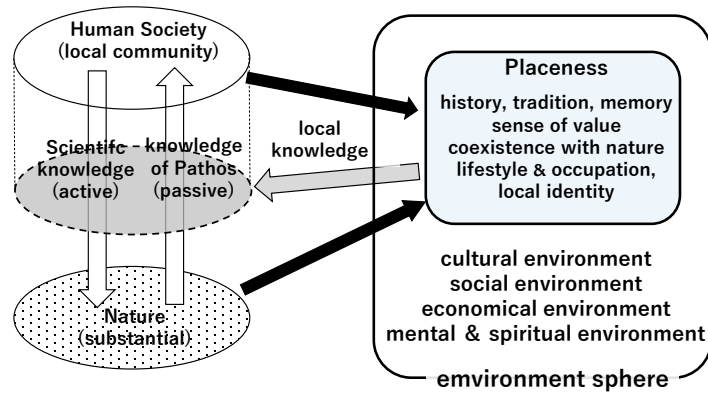


Fig. 2 Structure of “placeness”

Considering the modernization in 19th century France, the wave of industrialization is an important element to be examined. Although southern France is mostly rural, Hirano pointed out the problems of modernization in the region, citing the impact of railway development as an example. At that time, there was a tendency for the central power to “surpass the regions,” which was due to the differences in economic capital and competitiveness. Meanwhile, this tendency was also based on the fact that the people of southern France confronted modernization with a deep-rooted desire to preserve their traditions. Thus, this was the primary reason for the language and cultural problems in the region (which are the main themes of this symposium). Moreover, this report focused on the *Félibrige* and the underlying awareness of its “antimodernity.”

Overall, Hirano’s discussion can be summarized as follows. In the “living sphere” of the people of southern France, contact with the “sphere of modernity” at its inner core led to a civilization transfer on the outer shell, causing the culture of the former to change. Then, the “placeness” that they had formed in their respective regions lost its characteristics during the wave of modernization that brought about standardization and homogenization. Inevitably, “placeness” was transformed into “placelessness.” Nevertheless, some remnants remained in the inner core, including a sense of community backed by history and tradition. Finally, it was argued that it was these remnants that led to the subsequent development of the regionalist movement in France.

4. Discussion

Following the keynote speech and the two related reports, the two discussants made comments and raised questions. In this regard, one of the discussants, Kiyoshi Hara, commented on the regional linguistic and cultural situation in Bretagne (*Breizh*), especially in relation to the current linguistic and cultural revival in southern France. Although Bretagne also faces regional linguistic and cultural problems, the language is not declining as rapidly as in southern France. However, this language decline became evident just after World War II, when language defense movements were more active. Compared with the situation in Bretagne, the influence of medieval troubadours in France was also pointed out. In light of this background and considering that the 19th century Welsh poetry competitions, known as *Eisteddfod*, helped revive the metrical techniques of the poetry of medieval minstrels, he stated that it was necessary to determine the extent to which the presence of troubadours in southern France was important in the 19th century Romantic poetry movement.

As for the museums in the 19th century, Hara also mentioned that the establishment of the Rennes Museum in Bretagne in 1805 (the precursor to the current Musée de Bretagne) and the Breton Museum in 1846 demonstrated the uniqueness of Bretagne. In this case, he pointed out that, given that museums tend to display culture in a fixed manner through their exhibits, it is difficult to determine whether it led to a linguistic and cultural revival. Thus, he suggested that careful consideration must be made regarding the role of Mistral's Arles Ethnographic Museum in the language revival movement in Provence.

Meanwhile, the other discussant, Naoko Sano, raised the issue of what modernization and modernity in 19th century France meant for minority languages, indicating that the arrival of modernity was extremely uneven across regions, with diverse responses. The point here is that while the activities of the *Félibrige* and Mistral generally centered on the region of Provence, it is also necessary to consider other areas in southern France such as Languedoc and Auvergne. In this regard, she used Alphonse Daudet's late 19th-century novel *Lettres de Mon Moulin* (Letters from My Mill) as an example, suggesting that intellectuals of the time saw the inevitability of the disappearance of minority languages, due to modernization with its railways, telegraph poles, schools, etc. Conversely (and somewhat ironically), the Provençal countryside depicted by Mistral is (in a sense) a utopia that does not exist in reality, where the Provençal language appears to have "eternal life."

Based on these considerations, Sano continued by stating that the *Félibrige* attempted to systematize language through literature, which, in itself, was another form of modernization. For instance, in the early 20th century, the people in Languedoc were influenced by Catalan modernization and Catalanism, in which they began to seek a place for the Occitan language in school education. This led to a movement to preserve the regional language, including its orthography. In this regard, it is of great significance to examine the relationship between the modernization of Provence and Catalonia, as well as school education and its related activities in the former.

In response to these comments, a wide range of opinions were exchanged at the symposium. As for the development of the 19th-century French Romantic poetry movement based on the presence of troubadours (as raised by Hara), its connection to the *Félibrige* was examined. However, as seen in the correspondences between Joseph Roumanille and Mistral, they were not necessarily positive about the Romantic literature of the time. Regarding the role of museums in preserving languages and cultures, the meaning of the exhibitions was also discussed. As for Mistral's Arles Ethnographic Museum, it was suggested that the exhibitions were mainly intended to prevent the concrete form of traditional culture and customs from fading during the modernization of the time. Conversely, concerning the relationship between the *Félibrige* and Languedoc or Catalonia (as raised by Sano), it was confirmed that the relationship between the Occitan (Provençal) and Catalan languages (which have the same origins) is a topic that should be considered from a broader perspective, including Mistral's pan-Latinism.

5. Conclusion

This symposium, "The 5th Dialogue Between Civilizations," was held face-to-face for the first time in five years. The theme of this year's symposium was "Modernization and Cultural Diversity in France." We also invited Yan Lespoux, a specialist in Occitan studies from the University of Montpellier in France, to be the keynote speaker, making it a truly meaningful event for the Institute of Civilization Research.

In his keynote speech, Lespoux began by quoting a lyric poem by Mistral, after which he discussed the

position of this poet and the *Félibrige* in the modernization of 19th-century France. In particular, he reaffirmed the importance of noting the differences between the actor and the recipient when examining a certain claim or activity. In her related report, Mina Adachi discussed the relationship between the wave of modernization at the time and the situation in southern France. Specifically, she introduced the local response to industrialization, especially in terms of language and railway development, and then focused on the sustainability of local culture in terms of the establishment of Mistral's museum. Meanwhile, in another related report, Yoichi Hirano clarified the conceptual structure of the situation in southern France, based on the theory of civilization. Overall, although these lectures shed light on one aspect of the modernization of 19th-century France, they pointed out one direction in which the relationship between modernization and culture can be examined in the future.

Finally, regarding the significance of this symposium, it seems appropriate to quote from the closing remarks of Toru Hattori (the executive responsible of the symposium):

“In the past, the Transdisciplinary Research Group of the Institute has been pursuing ‘transdisciplinarity’ through the ‘International Symposium: Dialogue between Civilizations.’ This 5th symposium is the first occasion of the ‘Transdisciplinary Humanities in the Anthropocene Group,’ which is a developmental expansion of the ‘Transdisciplinary Research Group.’ It is the integrated knowledge research, as civilization research, in dealing with current global issues (including the environment and diversity) and will continue to deal with domestic and international issues. Although the theme of this year’s symposium was specific to France, the issues of modernization and regional diversity should be directly related to the current globalization and other forms of diversity. Finally, I hope that this international symposium will be a first step toward a more fruitful future development in the research of all the participants.”

Appendix 1. Opening Remarks by Shogo Tanaka, the Director of the Institute of Civilization Research

“As the Director of the Institute of Civilization Research, I am very pleased that we can host the ‘5th Dialogue between Civilizations.’ Briefly looking back on the past, we started this international symposium in 2015. Collaborating with the Tokai University European Center in Vedbaek Denmark, we invited four outstanding researchers from Denmark as well as those from other countries in Europe. It was a two-day symposium that covered important topics in contemporary civilization such as the relationship between culture and civilization, the preservation of cultural diversity in globalization, the embodied dimension of cultures, contemporary tourism and local cultures, etc. Since we were able to share so many important insights, we decided to organize the symposium again in 2017 and continued to organize it annually since that time. However, unfortunately, we had to cancel the last symposium planned for 2020, due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

During the pandemic, we saw a sharp rise in the opportunities to use online conference systems such as Zoom or Microsoft Teams. In fact, since 2020, our institute has organized several online symposia. Although the significant advantage of using online systems is the availability for the participants to attend an event from remote locations, interpersonal communication mediated by the online systems often lacked a type of “feel” through which we could confidently reach a mutual understanding. Recalling the personal experiences of the past four symposia in Vedbaek Denmark, dialogues and discussions in a face-to-face situation can allow us to grasp a deeper layer of the current global civilization and its complex problems. This is one of the reasons

why we refrained from holding the “Dialogue between Civilizations” symposium online. Here, I would like to invite all the participants to join this “dialogue” again. Although this is simply a half-day colloquium, it is our attempt to restart what could bring us many insights and prospects on contemporary civilization.”

Appendix 2. Organizer’s Address by Mina Adachi, the Organizer of the Symposium

“This symposium is being held as part of the inter-civilization dialogue that has been held annually by the Institute of Civilization Research. This time, outstanding regional researchers from Japan and France have been invited to discuss the relationship between modernization and regional diversity from the perspective of integrating the humanities and sciences.

At this point, what does modernization mean? Whether it is capitalism or industrialization, it can refer to a wide range of issues. However, it could not have occurred without the innovations in science and technology. In this regard, the development of science and technology has not only made it easier for people to interact with one another across civilizations, but also made it possible to share common concepts such as democracy. However, currently, the sharing of knowledge that could build peace has divided the world, while weapons based on science and technology are encouraging hands to pull the trigger on large-scale wars. In this regard, the modernized world appears to be heading toward an age of darkness.

Modernization has also created a standardized system based on a rational, objective spirit. However, is it possible that this has also left the human spirit behind? The wave of industrialization marked the beginning of modern civilization based on science and technology, and brought about major changes in the cultures and civilizations of each region. In this “Dialogue Between Civilizations,” we examine the spiritual impact of modernization, focusing on the relationship between nations and regions based on the fusion of humanistic and scientific knowledge.

In France, where modernization progressed from the Second Empire to the Third Republic, each region (in opposition to uniform administration) developed its own unique cultural movement. Thus, this symposium will consider the preservation and transformation of regional identity and diversity, amidst modernization from the perspective of contemporary issues.

For this symposium, we have invited Yan Lespoux from Montpellier University in France, who has extensive knowledge of Occitan studies. This is Professor Lespoux’s second time participating, following the 4th symposium in Denmark in 2019. We would like to express our gratitude to him for being the keynote speaker this time. We are also extremely grateful to have Professors Kiyoshi Hara and Naoko Sano as discussants. Professor Hara is a specialist in the spiritual history of Bretagne, while Professor Sano is an Occitanist researcher who has studied under Professor Martel at Montpellier University.

Moreover, we have invited Professor Yoichi Hirano, who specializes in the history of science and civilization studies, to provide a related report. I will also be presenting a report myself. Meanwhile, Professor Takatori Yuki, a researcher of minority languages in Hawaii, will serve as the moderator. This has provided a forum in which discussions on regional diversity can be held based on the wealth of knowledge of these professors.

Finally, this symposium would not have been possible without the support of the Institute of Civilization at Tokai University and the Public Promoting Association Kura Foundation. In this regard, we would like to express our deepest gratitude.”

*International Symposium Report**

《Keynote Lecture》

For whom do the Félibres sing? - the Félibrige, the modernization of the Oc space and the people in the second half of the 19th century

Yan LESPOUX**

Keywords: Modernization in France, Industrialization, Félibrige, Frédéric Mistral

Lou *Pouèmo dóu Rose*, Frédéric Mistral's last great epic poem, was published in 1897 and tells the story of a barge train's journey from Lyon to Beaucaire and its tragic return. The barge train, led by Maître Apian, is wrecked by a steamship. Mistral describes the craft as follows:

Then a sudden tremor stirred the waves,
startling the inland shipping,
while upstream a stream of smoke
obscured the sky: and behind the trees
suddenly appeared, splitting the Rhône,
a long fireboat. The whole crew
straightened their arms at the sight of the
monster.
At the stern, Master Apian, who had turned pale
stared mute at the magic boat,
the boat whose wheels beat like claws,
kicking up huge waves
and came crashing down on him.

*Pièi un esbrand subit i 'aguè dins l'oundo
Que faguè ressauta tóuti li barco,
Enterin qu'eilamont un flo de tubo
Ennegrissié lou cèu : e tras li pibo
Apareiguè subran, fendènt lou Rose,
Un long batèu à fiò. Se rebrassèron
Tóuti li marinié, gueirant lou moustre.
En poupo Mèste Apian, devengu pale,
Arregardavo mè la nau magica,
La nau qu'arpatejavo emé si rodo
E remouvié d'oundado espetaclouso
E fourmidablamen ié venié subre.*

In this way, modernity has literally overwhelmed traditional inland navigation and, with it, the people of the Rhône as they once were. Although Mistral's text was published in 1897, its story takes place around 1830, as it was in 1829 that Le Pionnier became the first steamboat to make the round trip between Lyon and Arles. The traditional inland navigation industry on the Rhône had succumbed to the faster and more efficient steamboat. But a quarter of a century later, the latter would give way to the railways after the completion of the Avignon-Valence (1853) and Valence-Lyon (1855) lines¹. So when Mistral wrote *Lou Pouèmo dóu Rose*, he was writing about a world that had already disappeared for more than a generation. And even when *Mirèio*, his

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¹ Rivet Félix. Le conflit entre la batellerie et le chemin de fer à Lyon au début du XIXe siècle. In: *Revue de géographie jointe au Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Lyon et de la région lyonnaise*, vol. 24, n°2, 1949. pp. 97-107. Online: https://www.persee.fr/doc/geoca_1164-6284_1949_num_24_2_5308.

first great epic poem and the work that would make him famous, appeared, this world, if not yet extinct, was already in decline.

When the Félibrige was founded in 1854, the inexorable march of progress had already largely eroded the traditional civilisation of Provence and the Occitan space in general. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether, beyond its literary, aesthetic and linguistic objectives, the Félibrige could, at least to some extent, represent a real Occitan space in the second half of the 19th century until the First World War. Who were these félibres? And who were they addressing in this changing world? That's what we're going to find out.

1. The socio-economic situation in the Oc region in the mid-19th century

One undeniable fact is that in a predominantly rural France, the Oc space is even more so. In his *Essai sur la statistique de la population française en 1834*, rich in information - although often questionable - Count Adolphe d'Angeville shows the pre-eminence of agriculture in the Oc space. The map drawn in the *Histoire d'Occitanie* by Armengaud, Delpla and Lafont², which shows the départements with the highest proportion of conscripts working as farmers, is particularly instructive. Of the 16 départements in the first series, i.e. those with the most farmers, 11 are Occitan. The same applies to the second series. As for the fifth and last series, that of the departments with the fewest farmers, there is not a single Occitan *département*. Unsurprisingly, the only two Occitan *départements* in the fourth series, Bouches-du-Rhône and Gironde, are also the Occitan *départements* with the highest proportion of urban population, thanks to the metropolises of Marseille and Bordeaux. Armengaud, Delpla and Lafont also explain that in 1851, 21.5% of the French adult population were farmers, but that this proportion reached 25.4% for the Occitan region.

The fact that agriculture was predominant did not mean that it was homogeneous, as Fabre and Lacroix point out in relation to the Languedoc³. Without going into too much detail, it should be noted that depending on the region, there was a more or less hierarchical social order, with different types of workers ranging from farm employees to large-scale farmers, not forgetting small landowners who carried out a complementary activity (in industry or crafts and/or as part of a seasonal migration). Then there are the large landowners, nobles or bourgeois, who own the land, sometimes drawing very comfortable rents that are enough to live on, or supplementing their activity as a notable person - lawyer, notary, tradesman, merchant, etc.

But what is also clear, when we look at agriculture in the Oc space in the first part of the 19th century, is its relatively archaic nature, characterised by a general backwardness from both a technical and a yield point of view. Eugen Weber, for example, quotes the report of an officer sent to the Basses-Pyrénées in 1836: he simply copies the report of an intendant dated from 1698, adding that agriculture '*seems to have been in its current state since very ancient times*'⁴. As we have already seen, this type of farming required the use of complementary activities, which could range from simple picking to liven up daily life - whether the produce

² Armengaud André, Delpla Claude, Lafont Robert. Centralisme et capitalisme triomphant. In: Armengaud André, Robert Lafont, *Histoire d'Occitanie*. Paris, Hachette, 1979, p. 644.

³ Fabre Daniel, Lacroix Jacques. La vie quotidienne des paysans du Languedoc au XIX^e siècle. Paris, Hachette, 1973.

⁴ Weber Eugen. *La fin des terroirs*. Paris, Fayard, 1983, p. 175.

was consumed or sold - to temporary migrations (for agricultural work in the fertile plains - harvesting, grape-picking, etc.) or various working occupations in towns or cities. - or to work in various occupations in towns or even abroad, particularly in Spain), as well as being heavily involved in rural industry (wool and silk production, for example, or metalworking, to name but a few highly developed industries).

The second half of the 19th century was marked by changes linked to the Industrial Revolution and the development of transport, although traditional agriculture did not completely disappear. The development of the road and rail network facilitated a number of changes in agriculture. This was the case in the Bas-Languedoc region, where monoculture vine-growing was developing, and in large parts of Provence, from the Rhône and Durance valleys to the coast, where fruit, vegetable and flowers production was on the increase. Traditional agriculture tended to decline during this period, but it was not the only one. Long-established commercial products found themselves in competition with more distant regions or with new industrial processes. Madder cultivation, for example, had to contend with the invention of artificial dyes, and wool production with the export of cheaper wools, sometimes from the other side of the Atlantic. Silk production, which Mistral mentions in particular in *Mirèio*, was affected by the vagaries of silkworm diseases and competition from Asia, especially from the 1850s onwards.

Traditional industry also fell victim to the Industrial Revolution. In the Hérault region, the number of people employed in textile workshops fell from 12,000 in 1864 to around 7,000 in 1896⁵. In Mazamet, for example, the wool and silk industry flourished thanks to the creation of trade circuits with North Africa, Spain and Argentina.

As for the production of raw materials, such as coal and iron, the share of Occitan production in France declined steadily after 1850. This did not prevent the existence of a modern industry, but it remained marginal: in 1911, the Occitan *départements*, according to Armengaud, Delpla and Lafont, had only 15.6% of the stationary steam engines in use in France. In fact, the industry was concentrated around a few major cities. In Provence, it was Marseille that captured this industry, from shipyards to soap factories and the manufacture of aperitifs.

We might think that with the Industrial Revolution, agriculture would become mechanised. This is only marginally the case in the Oc space. Mechanisation requires heavy investment that farmers with small holdings, the majority of whom live in our region, cannot easily afford. What's more, the land has to be suitable for mechanisation, which is not always the case, particularly in mountain areas. Lastly, when investment is possible, mechanisation competes with cheap labour, the farmhands and other little hands of agriculture. So there are also social obstacles to mechanisation. The map shows that while some départements, such as Hérault, were relatively well mechanised in 1890, the Oc space was generally less so than the rest of France.

Finally, most historians note that Occitan employers took few initiatives and were risk averse. As a result,

⁵ Armengaud André, Delpla Claude, Lafont Robert. *Op. cit.* p. 673.

investments in transport and industry were often made by outside capital. The Oc space, on the periphery of France, was slow to modernise and lagged behind the north and, of course, Paris. But however slow the change may seem, it is real, both economically and - as we shall see later - socially.

It was in this world that the Félibres lived and that they anchored their works and their discourse. But what do they say?

2. The terroir of the félibres and the people, omnipresent and mute

As Philippe Martel has shown on many occasions, what we find in Félibréan literature from the outset are the terroir and the people, intimately linked to the object of cult that is the language.

In *Bonjour en touti*, a poem written in 1851 and included in the anthology *Li Prouvençalo* published by Joseph Roumanille in 1852, Frédéric Mistral describes the Provençal language in these terms before the troubaïre, the poets in the langue d'oc, of whom he was one, rediscovered it:

*Atrouverian dedin li jas,
Cuberto d'un marri pedas,
La lengo prouvençalo :
En anèn paisce lou troupèu,
La cau avié bruni sa pèu ;
La pauro avié que si long pèu
Per tapa sis espalo.*

They found in the gîtes,
Covered in a rag,
The Provençal language:
On the way to graze the herd
The heat had turned her skin brown;
The poor girl had only her long hair
To cover her shoulders.

*E de juvenome, vaqui,
En varaian aperaqui,
De la vèire tan bello
Se senteguèron esmougu...
Que siegon doun li bèn vengu,
Car l'an vestido à soun degu,
Coumo una dameisello. ⁶*

And now some young men,
Snooping around,
To see her so beautiful
Felt moved...
So they are welcome,
For they have dressed her as they should be,
Like a lady.

Here, the people play an ambiguous role. They are the ones who have preserved the language in spite of everything, but they have not prevented it from being lowered. Is it not they who clothe it in the rags it wears? Admittedly, he had little choice, and as Mistral would later say in *La Coumtesso*, it was the French language that locked his overly beautiful sister behind the gates of a convent. However, we can't help but notice this ambiguity in the place occupied by the people in the reclaiming of the language. If they kept the Provençal language, or at least its dull reflection, they clearly didn't have the ability or the will to give it back the splendour

⁶ Mistral Frédéric. *Bonjour en touti*. In: Roumanille Joseph. *Li Prouvençalo*. Avignon, Roumanille, 1852, p. 4.

it once had. When, moreover? Mistral more or less said so in his 1868 speech in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence to the Catalan félibres, referring once again to the people and to what they should remember:

They must know, our people, that the language they speak has been, when they wanted it to be, the poetic and literary language of Europe, the language of love, of Gai-Savoir, of municipal liberties, of civilisation...⁷

The people, therefore, must be convinced of the nobility of their language. But they still had to be convinced. As far back as 1847, Camille Reybaud, in his preface to Roumanille's collection *Li Margarideto*, noted how little the people thought of their language:

*Nosto Muso eiçavaou fai una obro inutilo
Lou pople escouto plu qué lou dindin dé l'or ;
Sonjo plu qu'à véni pu riche qu'un milor ;
È toutaro lou moundé, hèlas ! fara lèi bano
En qu parlara maï la lengo dêi cabano.*⁸

Our Muse here below does a useless work
The people listen only to the tinkling of gold;
They only think of becoming richer than a milord;
And soon the people, alas! will blow their horns
To the one who still speaks the language of the huts.

From 1854 onwards, when the Félibrige was founded, it was the Félibres who were responsible for edifying these people through literature, as Mistral reminded us in 1875 in Montpellier in his speech on popular prejudices:

For some twenty years now, serious efforts have been made to revive and preserve the natural language of southern France and northern Spain. A few men, rebelling against the relentless levelling of centralisation, first tried to bring Provençal back to literary life. They succeeded, we must say, much better than they thought. Then there were many good people who, moved by their affection for the language of their childhood, helped the Félibres.⁹

But Mistral goes further in the second part of his speech. Part of the population, the Provençal bourgeoisie, is not without responsibility for the decline of the language:

Where does this contempt come from, which, widespread among the bourgeois class, now threatens to corrupt the people? Where does this discredit come from, which now more than ever makes our language foreign to the very race in which it was born?

Is it due to the ever-increasing oppression of the Parisian centre? Does it stem from the changes that the railways seem to have brought about in communications? Does it come from the mania of our century to want to flatten everything out, and to want everyone to walk the same way, think the same way, talk the same way?

⁷ Mistral Frédéric. *Discours e dicho*. Raphèle-lès-Arles, C.P.M., 1980, p. 135. All quotes in english are translated by ourself.

⁸ Roumanille Joseph. *Li Margarideto*. Paris, Techener, 1847, p. 4.

⁹ Mistral Frédéric. *Discours e dicho*. Raphèle-lès-Arles, C.P.M., 1980, p. 136.

There's more than that: there's also something else. But if we dig even deeper, this is what we discover: vanity and foolishness. All of us, out of a legitimate and natural need, want to rise above the masses. [...] "The gentlemen speak French? - Well then, let's speak French, and we'll look like gentlemen". So it is vanity, the petty vanity of parvenus or ignorants, that causes so many fools to abandon the language of their fathers.¹⁰

So where is this people? This omnipresent people, constantly invoked, for whom we speak and write, as Mistral has been saying ever since the first lines of *Mirèio*: 'Car cantan que per vautre, o pastre e gent di mas', 'We sing only for you, shepherds and people of the farmhouses'. There's a lot to be said for this 'Pour vous': to you or for you? Because the Provence that Mistral describes in *Mirèio*, *Calendau* or the *Pouèmo dóu Rose* is no longer the Provence in which Mistral lives, the Provence in which the Félibres live, the Provence in which these people live. And we might well wonder whether Mistral and the Félibres, to a certain extent, do not want the people to remain in the place they assign him, in a Provence that no longer exists - and Mistral knows this, as he said in his speech at the Sainte-Estelle in Gap in 1886:

We complain today that the countryside is abandoned, that the villages are depopulated... And you, gentlemen, in these steep and wild mountains, where nevertheless France is happy to find, in the hour of danger, valiant inhabitants to guard its border, you can know something about it.

The population is leaving, the youth is going down to the rottenness of the cities. Stripped of their language and the poetry it exuded, and of the languor that accompanied those from your region leaving the country, what do you want to keep them in those poor villages where cats die?¹¹

As the critics said of *Mirèio*, Mistral is a new Virgil. The agrarian poet sings of an ancient countryside that some critics fantasise about, contrasting it with the rottenness of the city that contaminates the morals of the people. As Philippe Martel has clearly shown, what appeals to a large proportion of French critics is not any kind of literary revolution to be found in *Mirèio*, but on the contrary the 'almost miraculous emergence, in this time of decadence, of a work that brings literature back to its origins'¹². Barbey d'Aurevilly's review of Mistral's poem, quoted by Martel, speaks for itself:

Here is a beautiful and proud reply to many contemporary things. While we are becoming more and more civilised, and realism, that literary excrement, is becoming the expression of our adorable progress, a poet of nature, solitude and idealized reality gives us a poem made with primitive things and eternal feelings. It is not a short-breathed poem like the best poems of this pulmonary, asthmatic and lyrical age, which only has sighs... when it has them.

'Idealized reality', says Barbey d'Aurevilly in a beautiful oxymoron, opposed to the realism of

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 137-138.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 161.

¹² Martel Philippe. *Les félibres et leur temps. Renaissance d'oc et opinion (1850-1914)*. Bordeaux, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010, p. 191.

contemporary French literature, which has detached itself from Romanticism. From the novelistic point of view, this is not *Madame Bovary* and, from the poetic point of view, it is a far cry from *Les Fleurs du Mal*.

There is obviously a misunderstanding between the critics - some of them anyway - and Mistral, who is seen as a moralist poet when *Mirèio* is hardly such a moralist poem. But the attraction of the Provençal landscape for Parisian critics blinded them to the point of imagining Mistral as one of the peasants he portrayed. Moreover, Lamartine, concerned about Frédéric Mistral's moral health, invited him to become once again the peasant he liked to think he was:

As for you, O poet of Maillane, unknown a few days ago to others and perhaps unknown to yourself, return humble and forgotten to your mother's house; harness your four white bulls or your six shiny mules to the plough as you did yesterday; spade with your hoe the base of your olive trees; bring back for your silkworms, when they wake up, the armfuls of leaves from your mulberry trees; wash your sheep in the spring in the Durance or the Sorgue; throw away your pen and only pick it up again in winter, at rare intervals of leisure, while the Mireille that Heaven has no doubt destined for you spreads the white tablecloth and cuts the slices of golden bread on the table where you clinked your glass with Adolphe Dumas, your neighbour and your precursor. Nobody makes two masterpieces in one lifetime; you've made one: give thanks to Heaven and don't stay among us; you'd miss the masterpiece of your life, happiness in simplicity. LIVING ON LITTLE! ¹³

This is, of course, the idea that Parisian critics have of Mistral's work. More generally, these Provençal poets, these félibres, can only be, in the mind of these critics, peasants, pure products of the world they describe in their works or of the world from which it is imagined that they write. And yet, as we saw above from the extracts from Mistral's speeches, he speaks of the people from a certain height. He gauges them, judges them and urges them to take hold of their culture and language. This is because he is not one of them, or not really. This brings us to the Félibres. Who were they? And who are they ultimately addressing?

3.O pastre e gent di mas

We are going to begin here by largely repeating the work carried out by Philippe Martel on the sociology of the Félibres¹⁴. Let's start at the beginning with the seven 'primadié', the founders of Félibrige, Joseph Roumanille, Frédéric Mistral, Théodore Aubanel, Anselme Mathieu, Paul Giéra, Alphonse Tavan and Jean Brunet. There was only one peasant among them: Tavan. Notary clerks (Giéra, Roumanille for a few years), printers and booksellers (Aubanel, Roumanille), artisans and merchants (Brunet), small landowners (Mistral, Mathieu), the founders of Félibrige were essentially members of what we would call today the upper middle class.

Unsurprisingly, this is what Philippe Martel found when he studied the *Cartabèu de Santo-Estello*, the

¹³ Lamartine (de) Alphonse. *Cours familier de littérature. XL^e entretien*. Paris, 1859, p. 309-310.

¹⁴ Martel Philippe. Qui sont-ils ? D'où viennent-ils ? Les félibres au XIX^e siècle. In: *Des hommes et une langue : itinéraires biographiques, XIX^e et XX^e siècles*. Limoges, Lambert-Lucas, 2018, p. 17-28.

yearbook of the *félibres*, for those *félibres* whose profession was indicated. For the year 1877, for example, where 79% of the 230 members indicated their profession, 20% were state employees, 17% exercised a liberal profession and 10% were members of the clergy. Only 2% were farmers, none were blue collar workers and 4% were artisans.

Where did they live? That same year, 1877, four départements - Hérault, Gard, Vaucluse and Bouches-du-Rhône - accounted for 55% of the *Félibres*. Once again, this was no surprise, as this was the cradle of the *Félibrige*. More surprisingly, 57% of them live in towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants. Better still, more than a third of *Félibres* live in five cities: Marseille, Avignon, Montpellier, Toulouse and Paris.

In fact, the average *Félibre* in 1877 was a middle-class man (there were only 2% female *Félibres*) living in the city.

In an age of industrialisation, urbanisation and - we'll come to this later - education, and even though our Oc space was less industrialised, less urbanised and less educated than the national average, it could be said that the *Félibres* were men of their time.

And so we come back to the initial question of whom were they addressing?

These *Félibres* were educated people. It was at the Dupuy college in Avignon that the pupil Frédéric Mistral met the supervisor Roumanille. The *Félibres* of the second half of the 19th century grew up at least partly in the langue d'oc. They were not part of the elite who had already completely abandoned it. But it was in French that they learned to write and read, and it was classical Greek, Latin and French literature that was their model. Many of them undoubtedly benefited from the initial effects of the Guizot law of 1833.

The Guizot law of 28 June 1833 on primary education obliged municipalities with more than 500 inhabitants to have a primary school for boys or to subsidise a religious school. It also created an inspection service and stipulated that each *département* had to have a teacher training college. While its effects should not be overestimated - it did not make school compulsory for all children, that would have to wait until 1881 with the Ferry laws - they should not be underestimated, particularly for the middle classes, for whom schooling was an important issue, a means of ensuring that their children could rise in society.

The fact is, however, that the poorest rural populations have slower access to school. So there is a real gap between *Félibrige* and the people it claims to sing for. Philippe Martel was able to point out the ambiguity that could exist in the *Félibréen* and Mistralian discourse in particular regarding the meaning of the term 'people'¹⁵: does it refer to the peasants or to the people of the Oc region as a whole? Although Mistral can sometimes be somewhat vague in his speeches, the fact remains that the way in which he regularly contrasts this people with the towns and the way in which he praises those who work the land in his texts makes it quite clear that the people are above all those '*pastre e gent di mas*'.

¹⁵ Martel Philippe. Poètes et paysans : les écrivains paysans dans le *Félibrige*. In: *Études de langue et d'histoire occitanes*, Limoges, Lambert Lucas, 2015, p. 185-199.

The first collective literary experience of the Félibrige was precisely popular literature par excellence: the almanac. *L'Armana provençau* was published for the first time in 1855 and contains everything that makes this genre so special: proverbs, funny stories, fairy tales, short texts on history, advice for farmers, poetry and songs...

The text that opens this first issue reads as follows:

*Es pas douna'n touti d'èstre Felibre ! La lengo maire a pas lou bonur de recata touti sis enfant soutu soun alo : lis un la fugisson, d'àutri la descounsolon, la matrasson e la chauchon. Li Felibre rèston à soun entour, l'aparon, la counsolon, l'amon e la canton. Ei ce que fan quand felibrejon toutis ensèn dins li grando e li pichòti Felibrarié.*¹⁶

Not everyone can be a Félibre! Mother tongue does not have the good fortune to shelter all her children under her wing: some flee from her, others afflict her, mistreat her and trample her underfoot. The Félibres stood by her, defended her, consoled her, loved her and sang to her. That's what they do when they 'félibrèjent' together in large and small 'Félibraries'.

The félibres occupy a special place here. They are not the people. They are the guardians of the language while many abandon it. As we saw earlier in Mistral's speeches, those who abandon the language are those who want to do as the 'Gentlemen' do. No doubt this should not be seen as a dig at the people of the land, who have preserved the language. But they don't have the ability that the Félibres have to sing it as they do. They have become a closed circle whose mission is to work for the language and the people they sing about. In a way, they proclaimed themselves the mouthpieces of those who had neither their knowledge nor their talent.

L'Armana provençau reached print runs of up to 15,000 copies during the 19th century and was certainly the most accessible piece of Félibréan literature to the people, even though, over time, poetry took second place to proverbs and other advice to farmers. But while 15,000 is a large number for a work in the langue d'oc, it's still not an exceptional print run for an almanac. So do the félibres really reach the people they sing for?

This is doubtful. Outside the *Armana*, Félibrige literature, which is based on essentially French models, remains a literature that is more accessible to people from the same classes as the Félibres than to the peasants of the *Pays d'oc*. As for Félibrige itself, it remained a relatively closed association. So it could be said that the Félibres spoke more about the people than for the people and, moreover, that they spoke mainly among themselves. Certainly also because this idealized, simplified people, if it really existed at all, did so only in their youth. In the second half of the 19th century, the people were also caught up in the profound changes in the economy and society, and the literary games played by the félibres, however serious they considered them, were superfluous for this people.

¹⁶ *Armana Prouvençau pèr lou bèl an de Dièu de 1855*, p. 3.

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*International Symposium Report **

《Related Report (2)》

Modernization of France and preservation of regional cultures

Mina ADACHI**

Abstract

When did modernization in France begin? To answer this question, it is necessary to consider the meaning of “modernization.” If we regard modernity as scientism and rationalism, then modernization began with the scientific revolution. The rational spirit of modernity laid the groundwork for the French Revolution, which then steadily spread the ideal of rationality to society. The spread of public education can be considered another trend of modernization after the bourgeois revolution. The establishment and expansion of a public elementary education system and the French language education policy that it promoted were essential in this respect. The issue of language especially that of language choice was closely related to the new subordinate economic and value system-based relationship between the state and the various regions. Furthermore, during the Second Empire (particularly after 1859), when industrialization in France accelerated, the expansion of railways led to the introduction of urban culture, information, customs and pastimes from Paris and, above all, opportunities for factory work in Paris, rapidly transforming local communities. Taking these circumstances into consideration, this study examines the issues of modernization and regional diversity in southern France, particularly Provence. Two primary trends were observed in Provence in the second half of the 19th century: modernization led by the central government and the linguistic and cultural revival movement represented by the Félibrige, which aimed to preserve the traditional language and culture of the region. The way in which Provence, a mostly rural area, attempted to reconcile these opposing trends is important for understanding the modernization of France. This study examines three issues: (1) the problem of uniformity inherent in the spread of language education, (2) the reaction to railway construction and the “economization” of rural areas, and (3) the preservation of local culture through ethnographic museums reminiscent of today’s *écomusées* (eco-museums). Modernization in Provence certainly brought about changes such as the establishment of factories. The way in which Provence was perceived is illustrated by the foundation of the Arles Ethnographic Museum (*Museon Arlaten*) by Frédéric Mistral, which was a precursor of *écomusées*. Mistral’s efforts to establish this museum were characterized by a strong desire to pass the traditional culture of the region—the living culture of the people through their language—on to future generations in the midst of modernization.

Keywords: Modernization and Industrialization in France, Regional mentality, Écomuée, Frédéric Mistral, The Arles Ethnographic Museum (*Museon Arlaten*)

1. Introduction

Boosted by the development of science and technology, modernization and globalization have brought

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knowledge to humanity. Enabled by the scientific and technological revolutions, industrialization led to an influx of rural populations into cities. Thus, modernization hindered the preservation of traditional culture. According to the 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, “culture is at the heart of contemporary debates about identity, social cohesion, and the development of a knowledge-based economy¹.” Thus, it is meaningful to reexamine local culture during modernization in 19th-century France under this light and to consider the current situation.

Two salient facts can be noted regarding the relationship between the French nation as a whole and the various regions of France. First, France is an extremely diverse country, with each region having its own history and culture. Second, modernization, which included a cultural aspect during the 19th century, progressed alongside gradual industrialization. In terms of both mentality and urban space, the turning point of modernization in France can be placed during the Third Republic. After the French Revolution, the spirit of modernization gradually spread, while after the Second Empire, the transformation of living spaces began. Although France had closely observed industrialization in neighboring countries, it experienced belated and gradual industrialization under the rule of Napoleon III. During this period, political ideology in France shifted from conservatism to liberalism.

Why did industrialization progress so slowly in France? One reason is that Britain, the first country to industrialize, had already created and dominated a global capitalist system. France could not compete in terms of exporting cheap, mass-produced goods. Instead, it promoted its traditional industries to differentiate itself from Britain and find a way to participate in the international capitalist economy. This partly explains its slow industrialization². Another reason is that locally led cultural activities and revival movements resisted modernization in an attempt to preserve traditional culture.

In this paper, we consider the case of Provence, where the *Félibrige* movement, a forerunner of regionalism in France, appeared. In particular, we focus on how Provence reacted to railway, a symbol of modernization and whether it caused anxiety to the people of the region. Two trends can be discerned in Provence in the second half of the 19th century. One was modernization led by the central government. The other was a movement aimed at preserving the traditional language and culture of the region, represented by the activities of the regionalist organization *Félibrige*. The way in which Provence, a mostly rural area, attempted to reconcile these opposing trends is important for understanding modernization in France. As a starting point for this analysis, we discuss three issues: (1) the problem of uniformity inherent in the spread of language education, (2) the reaction to railway construction and the “economization” of the region, and (3) the preservation of regional culture through ethnographic museums reminiscent of today’s *écomusées* (eco-museums).

2. The problem of uniformity inherent in the spread of language education

In France, public elementary education was institutionalized by the revolutionary government and introduced French language education. French language education was considered necessary because it was believed that revolutionary ideas could be truly understood only through the language of the people who started the French

¹ Katérina Stenou, *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: a vision, a conceptual platform, a pool of ideas for implementation, a new paradigm*, Unesdoc digital library, Cultural Diversity Series No. 1, 2002, p. 4.

² Gillet Marcel, “Au XIXe siècle : industrialisation linéaire ou industrialisation par bonds ?”, In: *Revue économique*, vol. 23, n. 5, 1972, p. 724.

Revolution and the revolutionary government that took charge.

In a speech in 1794, the revolutionary Abbé Grégoire characterized French as the “language of liberty” (*langue de la liberté*). This statement was based on the revolutionary government’s concern that patois (regional languages) were used in “feudal systems,” and their continued use amounted to the continuation of feudal ideas. In other words, the eradication of patois was considered necessary for the complete elimination of feudalism. The trend toward the *francization* of public education through the standardization of the French language continued during the Third Republic, and the basic stance on linguistic unification remained unchanged. The 1882 Ferry Law, which laid the foundation for modern education by making it free, compulsory, and laïcité, also banned the use of patois³. Through introducing French language policy into public elementary education, thought of prejudice against patois encouraged a large number of people to doubt about situation formal of language education and minority languages. We will discuss why industrialization, and the standardization of French occurred at the same time in the next section.

What is the current situation of patois in southern France? Ninety percent of the inhabitants of the Midi-Pyrénées region have heard Occitan, but only 4% understand it well. Fourteen percent can use it in simple communication, while 32% can only understand partial words. This does not mean that people are uninterested in Occitan. Seventy-four percent are enthusiastic about preserving it and popularizing its teaching. However, only 22% want to develop and improve it⁴. This is because in current uniform society by emphasizing modernization, efficiency, and rationalization, Occitan is not considered necessary for social advancement. Nevertheless, the continued revival of the language and culture minorities can also be seen as a result of the preservation of each region’s identity. Of course, the current situation is not so encouraging. In September 2024, an elderly Maillane native lamented the ongoing restrictions on the use of Provençal (an Occitan dialect) due to the strict unification policy in public education⁵.

3. Railway construction and reaction to “economization” in rural areas: The case of Provence

3.1. Regional reactions to railway construction in Avignon

Regarding the way in which the Industrial Revolution unfolded in France, in 1921 the British historian John Harold Clapham stated the following:

³ Adachi Mina, Development of regionalism from a viewpoint of the Félibrige in the 19th century: Mistral and Roumanille's "regional consciousness" and its influence, Tokai university, 2021, Doctoral dissertation, pp. 69-97.

⁴ https://www.univ-montp3.fr/uoh/occitan/une_langue/co/module_L_occitan_une%20langue_10.html

⁵ In southern France, Occitan is still restricted in school education. In some areas, such as Montpellier, Occitan classes are held only one hour per week.

Regarding “dialects of official languages,” which are not included in the scope of the “European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages” (ECRML), Sano points out that they are “minoritized languages,” and by not putting them on the table for discussion, it is possible to protest against the arbitrariness of determining the boundary between languages and dialects. Sano Naoko, “Introduction - Linguistic minorities: Expanding human rights or protecting cultural heritage?,” *Language and Society*, vol. 26., Multilingual Society Research Association, Sangen-sya, pp. 9-29, p. 22. (in Japanese; original title: 佐野直子、「序論—言語マイノリティ：人権の拡張か、文化遺産の保護か」、『ことばと社会』).

The Loi de Deixonne is now known as the first step in opening up minority languages in France to the educational field. However, in the mid-20th century, when the rights of minority languages had not yet been established, this proposal for an education law from the central government was not fully implemented from the start. The concerns of regionalists who sought to adapt educational methods to the Occitan situation at the time of the creation of the Loi de Deixonne are detailed in the following literature.

Yan Lespoux, *Pierre-Louis Berthaud : un occitaniste dans le siècle*, le bord de l’eau, Bordeaux, 2019, pp. 159-166.

In the course of the nineteenth century most French industries were remodeled, but it might be said that France never went through an Industrial Revolution. There was a gradual transformation, a slow shifting of her economic center of gravity from the side of agriculture to that of industry, and a slow change in the methods of industrial organization⁶.

Nevertheless, France also experienced industrialization. In his *Textile Industry* (1956), Claude Fohlen pointed out that long-term artisan businesses developed during the Second Empire. In 1866, the commercial of a wool completely transformed by first purchaser Adam, who was the house Veuve Jules Desurmont and Son. The railway brought a textile economy of transport and security of time... much more than the speed of transport. Textile regionalism was tending to disappear, a national market was replacing regional markets, putting local organizations to sleep: halls, exchanges, fairs⁷. Ernest Labreuse suggested that this was made possible by mechanization and the introduction of the steam engine, especially because of the advantages of the industrial economy and inexpensive transportation.

It can be said that the railway was a civilizational apparatus. Like the paving of roads, the construction of railways created logistics routes and enabled the development of industry and a centrally managed economy. In fact, combined with the free trade set in motion by the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty in January 1860 (i.e., during the Second Empire), the railway played an important role in driving industrialization by enabling the rapid movement of people and goods, as well as increasing the flow of ideas, information, and culture.

Did the railway change the relationship between cities and rural areas, bringing them closer together spiritually and socially? Did the regions aim to adopt it quickly? In Provence, where the *Félibrige* was active, Avignon, Arles, and Tarascon were considered possible locations for railway construction. The aim was to build a railway from a large port on the Mediterranean coast to the Rhône River. However, an important issue was where to place the beginning of the line north of Marseille. From the perspective of the railway company, the intermediate stops were not necessarily important. When the first construction plan was proposed in 1832, Avignon rejected it because people feared that the radical ideas of dock workers and sailors would flow into the city⁸. Other reasons were related to economic concerns, such as a lack of funds for the construction of the line and fluctuations in profits. Above all, the rejection was the result of the conservative society of Avignon, which was largely royalist and feared sudden change. Rather than exploring the possibility of higher profits, people placed importance on maintaining order in local society. This differed significantly from the movement in Catalonia, for example, which aimed to build a railway led by the local people, with an emphasis on economic independence. The agricultural workers whom regionalist Frédéric Mistral addressed in his speech and his ideal of preserving the traditional spirit of rural society reflected the mentality of Provence in the late 19th century⁹.

3.2. The impact of railway construction on local communities and languages

When did railway construction start in Provence? In the Occitan region (Pays d'Oc), construction began relatively late. A line between Avignon and Marseille was established in 1849 and connected to Paris in 1857.

⁶ J.H. Clapham, *The Economic Development of France and Germany 1815- 1914*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1re éd., 1921, 4e éd. (1961, x-420 p.), p. 53.

⁷ Claude Fohlen, *L'Industrie textile au temps du Second Empire*, Paris, Plon, 1956, 534 p.

⁸ Gagnière Sylvain, Gragnier Jacky, Poly Jean-Pierre, et al., *Histoire d'Avignon*, Éditions Édisud, France (Aix-en-Provence), 1979, p. 551.

⁹ Mistral, Frédéric, *Discours e dicho di F. Mistral*, Librairie Roumanille, 1906.

Bordeaux, a large port city with a size comparable to that of Marseille, had already been connected to Paris in 1852. Railways centering on other port cities (Toulon and Nice) were also built during the Second Empire¹⁰.

How did the construction of railways impact the region? Built rapidly during the Second Empire, railways became major transportation routes that supported free trade. This new means of transportation contributed to the expansion of the market for fresh products, such as fruits, vegetables, and flowers. However, traditional agricultural practices such as cereal and olive production and sheep farming declined under the influence of free trade. Thus, pastoral life declined along with the ethnic character of the region¹¹. These rapid changes also increased competition between companies in the commercial sphere, making it difficult for many traditional local companies to stay in business. For example, traditional shipping and trade, such as that provided by the Compagnie du canal du Midi, was replaced by railway transportation, leading to the decline of the wool and textile industries in the Occitan region. Areas where railways were built gained an advantage in terms of both production technology and the supply of raw materials and finished goods. The scope of business activities also expanded. For example, in the financial industry, large banks expanded, absorbing local banks. According to André Armengaud, the absorption of local companies by large companies or their shrinkage and eventual disappearance contributed to a redoubled effort to spread the use of French and destroy patois. Moreover, the downsizing of local banks led to the closure rather than rescue of local factories. The decline of local industries led to a reduction in local jobs¹².

Modernization is often contrasted with local romanticism and traditionalism and is generally considered to have affirmed the civil revolution. In this sense, Mistral's traditional linguistic and cultural revival movement can be seen as anti-modern, even though he was a republican and a true liberal—unlike the pseudorepublicanism and liberalism of the Second Empire. Thus, the ideas about republicanism and liberty held by Paris and those held by the provinces (in this case, republicans in Provence, such as Mistral) are thought to have differed. This point requires further consideration.

4. Preservation of local culture through ethnographic museums: The case of Arles

4.1. Relationship between central and regional areas from the perspective of *écomusées*

In Provence, Mistral established the Arles Ethnographic Museum in 1896. The museum's exhibits include agricultural tools, household utensils, tableware, furniture, and traditional clothing. The population of Provence is a traditional rural society, and its language (whose vocabulary differs significantly from that of French) includes many words and expressions related to agriculture, land, and nature¹³. Among the many different

¹⁰ Armengaud, André et Lafont, Robert, *Histoire d'Occitanie : institut d'études occitanes*, Littérature Hachette, 1979, p. 661. The layout of the line was not designed for the economic benefit of the people of Occitan and was also influenced by the rivalry between Talabot, director of the Compagnie des chemins de fer de Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée, who planned to build a private line from Lyon to Marseille, and Péreire, founder of the Compagnie des chemins de fer du Midi, who had an interest in the Bordeaux–Sète line.

Founded in 1857, the Compagnie des chemins de fer de Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée was one of the most important private companies. It was nationalized in 1938 with the foundation of SNCF. The Compagnie des chemins de fer du Midi was an early French railway company that operated a network of routes in southwestern France.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 667.

¹² Adachi Mina, *Development of regionalism from a viewpoint of the Félibrige in the 19th century: Mistral and Roumanille's "regional consciousness" and its influence*, 2021, pp. 168-172.

¹³ Cf. Claude Martel, "Toponymie et parémiologie. Les noms de lieux dans les proverbes en Provence", *Le Monde alpin et rhodanien. Revue régionale d'ethnologie*, 1997, 25-2-4, pp. 201-214.

linguistic and cultural systems of the regions of southern France, the museum's exhibits are limited to the Arles region.

The Arles Ethnographic Museum can be considered a precursor of *écomusées*. The term “écomusée” is a combination of the words “écologie” and “musée.” The term “écomusée” was first used by Robert Poujade, the French minister of nature and environmental protection, at the 9th Plenary Assembly of Museums of the ICOM, which was held in Grenoble in 1971. The concept was promoted by George Henri Rivière (1897–1985), a French archaeologist and the first president of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), in the context of an effort to reaffirm local culture and limit centralism. Rivière, who was the director of the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Paris at that time, proposed exploring the relationship between humans and the environment (i.e., humans' living conditions), which was the original idea behind *écomusées*.

Rivière described his concept of an eco-museum linked to sustainable regional development by not only rationally managing natural resources but also recognizing the value of natural and cultural heritage that is common to all humanity and promoting cultural preservation individually and collectively¹⁴. Therefore, the main actors involved in the establishment of an *écomusée* are not only the central or local governments but also local people. According to Rivière, natural and cultural heritage consists of both nonrenewable (such as lost landscapes, ruined monuments, and the last traditional craftsmen) and renewable resources (new landscapes, habitats, and crafts). He highlighted the necessity of recognizing and respectfully utilizing and sharing essential resources both within and outside the region. He also emphasized the importance of museum exhibitions as a tool for teaching the importance of such resources to current and future generations. In March 1981, the Principes d'Organisation des Écomusées (Principles of the Organization of Eco-museums, commonly known as the Charte des écomusées), codified the activities and organizational structure of *écomusées* under the approval of the Ministry of Culture¹⁵.

4.2. Circulating “living culture” and the role of ethnographic museums: The Arles Ethnographic Museum as an *écomusée*

The Arles Ethnographic Museum (*Museon Arlaten*) moved to its current building in 1906. It was reopened in 2021 as a new tourist destination and an institution aimed at revitalizing the region since it started renovation work in 2009. There are also exhibits that you can actually touch, such as items that recreate traditional living spaces in Provence and a small model of a tarasque, a monster recognized as a cultural symbol and used in traditional festivals in the region. There are also photos and computer-generated showing people in traditional clothing dancing to the music of traditional instruments. The visitors amid moving painting to virtually project themselves onto premodern Provence landscapes, providing a virtual experience. What is unique about the

¹⁴ Simon Leresche, *De l'écomuséologie à la Charte de Sienne, le rôle social des musées*, Mémoire rédigé pour l'obtention du Certificat, Cours de base en muséologie 2017-2018 d'ICOM Suisse, 2018, p. 6, 9, 11. Philippe Jessu, “Georges Henri Rivière et le musée régional”, *Ethnologie française*, nouvelle série, t. 17, No. 1, Hommage de la Société d'Ethnologie française à Georges Henri Rivière, 1987, p. 79. pp. 79-86.

Baba Kenichi, A new perspective on regional cultural policy: From cultural heritage protection to the inheritance of traditional culture, Yuzankaku, 1998, p. 148. Original title: 馬場憲一『地域文化政策の新視点—文化遺産保護から伝統文化の継承へ—』

¹⁵ The definition of *écomusée* is necessary distinguish it was used as politic instrument under the Nazis Administration. Cf. Nina Gorgus, “L'Heimatmuseum, l'écomusée et G. H. Rivière”, *Culture & Musées*, 2000, 17-18, pp. 57-69.

Arles Ethnographic Museum is that many of the exhibits are designed to help visitors realize the value of nonrenewable resources through experience. Nevertheless, it is not registered as an *ecomusée*. Perhaps there is a reason for not being defined as an *ecomusée* aimed at preserving and revitalizing the local culture of Arles. This could be the topic of future study.

Museum exhibits that represent regional cultures seem to be separated from the real lives of local people, losing the vitality of living culture. The act of exhibiting cultural heritage certainly entails presenting it as a still life. However, the example of the Arles Museum shows that exhibitions can be designed in a way that does not stifle cultural creativity. For example, local people can imitate the people depicted in paintings by dressing up in the same traditional costumes and assuming the same poses. Museumgoers, can lie down in a room where images of premodern Provençal landscapes are projected onto all four walls. In doing so, they do not simply view the exhibits in a detached manner but can experience traditional culture themselves. Thus, visitors function as subjects experiencing the objects exhibited at the museum. Through this experience, however simulated, they may discover new value in their real lives and gain inspiration to create a new culture. The museum can thus contribute to revitalizing traditional culture in the real world. Hence, it is not merely a place for preserving culture but one that can connect traditional with modern culture in actual living spaces, giving rise to new culture. Thus, Mistral's desire to protect the traditional language and culture of Provence remains alive in the museum. His museum was based on his own feelings about the modernization of southern France. Inspired by this museum, the idea of *écomusées* was born out of a concern about the threat to traditional culture posed by modern, globalized, mechanical civilization and a desire to respect diversity worldwide.

5. Conclusion

Despite the standardization of language and culture caused by the rationality and universality of modernization, France's language and cultural diversity has survived to this day. This is partly the result of various initiatives to preserve local cultures independently of governmental policies. Provence, the focus of this paper, was characterized by a desire to prioritize its spirituality and values over the economic interests represented by the construction of railways. However, the attempt to hamper modernization indicates a one-sided attitude toward industrialization at the time. Mistral's efforts to establish his ethnographic museum, reminiscent of today's *écomusées*, reveal a strong will to pass the traditional culture of the region—the living culture of the people through language—on to future generations not against, but despite modernization. Henri Giordan called France a “mixed coexistence of unity and diversity¹⁶.” This seeming contradiction has served to preserve French cultural diversity. The Arles Ethnographic Museum has played a key role in preserving and revitalizing the region's cultural traditions.

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International Symposium Report*

《Related Report (2)》

An essay on the modernization of southern France in the 19th century

Yoichi HIRANO**

Abstract

Modernization is generally seen as the move away from feudalism and the transformation of economic and social structures accompanying industrialization. In France, industrialization gradually progressed from the mid-19th century. In this study, we will examine the relationship between the modernization of southern France and regional cultural diversity from the perspective of cultural and civilizational theory, focusing on Félibrige, a representative group of the linguistic and cultural revival movement. Especially in France, the policy of national unification after the Revolution, especially the policy of Frenchification (*francisation*), eroded the traditional language and culture of the region and forced its transformation. On the other hand, industrialization was promoted by the construction of railways after 1850, which linked the center and the regions. The construction of railways was expected to revitalize local industries, but in reality it led to urban concentration, which caused social problems. In this study, based on the concept of "placeness" proposed by Relph, we will examine the relationship between the center and the regions using Ito Shuntaro's culture and civilization model. Ito regards the entire human activities in a certain collective (human society) as "life sphere," in which culture lies at the inner core as an ethos, while civilization lies at its outer shell. From the perspective of Relph's "placeness," the people of southern France have built their own "placeness" - a spiritual living space that contains and supports the meaning of their existence - based on their traditional language (*patois*) and culture. The spirit of modernization that appears there demands uniformity in the name of freedom and equality, but it forces a shift from traditional "placeness" to "non-placeness" that is not based on the region. The powerful influence of modernization has eroded not only the outer shell (civilization) of the local "life sphere," but also its "inner core," which was the core of the mentality. This has caused movements like Félibrige to remain justly in the realm of a linguistic and cultural revival movement. However, the consciousness of traditional culture that remained in the inner core (residue) was maintained afterwards, and it is thought to have been passed on to pan-Latinism related to language and culture, and even to the Occitan movement in the second half of the 20th century. In that sense, the language and culture revival movement, which may have been "antimodern" at the time, can be seen as having been inherited by a new "modernization" that pursues human freedom and equality.

Keywords: Modernization and Industrialization in France, Civilization study, Cultural diversity, Placeness, Regional mentality, Félibrige, Frédéric Mistral.

1. Introduction

"Modernization" refers to a shift from a feudal system to a system in which sovereignty lies with the people. In relation to the theme of this symposium, modernization in 19th-century France concerned the unification of

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the nation and the homogenization of the people aimed at the formation of a nation-state after the French Revolution. Considering that France is composed of regions with diverse cultures and languages, the relationship between the central government and the various regions is important in this respect. On the other hand, from the perspective of the history of science and technology, “modernization” mainly refers to the Industrial Revolution, which brought about technological innovation and the transformation of industrial structures, which led to changes in social structures. This starting point corresponds to Alvin Toffler’s “Second Wave.” This is the period of the development of rationalism after the scientific revolution and the origin of modern scientific and technological civilization.

Regarding southern France in the 19th century, several issues related to the relationship between modernization and regional culture can be identified. The national policies of the central government after the French Revolution were reflected in the region, with the policy of French standardization (*francisation*) leading to the suppression of regional languages and cultures. Furthermore, while industrialization certainly improved the working environment in regional areas, it cannot be said that this necessarily promoted smooth development in southern France, where agriculture was the main industry. Particularly regarding the language and cultural revival movement represented by the *Félibrige* in southern France, which is one of the themes of this symposium, it seems that there was a certain time lag in the penetration of modernization in terms of people’s spirituality. In this paper, we introduce a tentative theory regarding this issue from the perspectives of civilization and culture theory and suggest directions for further discussion.

The issue of the role of Center Region in French modernization can be seen as a set of binary relationships: feudal society and free society, homogenization and preservation of diversity, nature and its mechanization, human and nonhuman, etc. These complicated and intertwined relationships created chaos. Gilles Lapouge likened mechanical and technological civilization to a utopia and highlighted its uniformity. However, it is well known that one of its symbols, the mechanical clock, was an effective means of controlling and dehumanizing factory workers. On the other hand, when discussing modernity as a relationship between humans and nature, Bruno Latour explained it as a situation in which nature is separated from humans and at the same time interpreted and used by rational subjectivity from the chaotic relationship between humans and nonhumans. To understand this aspect of modernization in 19th-century France, it is important to consider how the national policies of rationalization and mechanization introduced by the central government were accepted (or not accepted) by regional people who had coexisted with nature for centuries.

In this study, we examined these issues from the perspective of civilization theory and cultural theory. Since modernization is a civilizational behavior, it is important to discuss its relationship with the culture of each region. We drew on the concept of “life sphere,” which was introduced by Shuntaro Ito to describe the relationship between civilization and culture. According to Ito, culture lies at the inner core of the life sphere, while civilization lies at its outer shell. We also drew on the concept of “placeness” proposed by Edward Relph. A human society has its own meaning as a community, which Relph defines as “placeness.” When modernization brings about standardization in society, it also results in the loss of the placeness of traditional regions—in other words, in “placelessness.” If modernization is defined as a life sphere with a new civilization—if this term can be used to refer to the collective results of the central government’s policies—then examining how it changed people’s mentality and the “life sphere” of southern France becomes an issue related to the region’s placeness and culture.

2. 2. Theoretical basis

As mentioned above, France has historically encompassed various regions with diverse languages and cultures. Southern France is a cultural region based on Occitan, which originated in the *Troubadours* of the 12th century. In response to the policy of unifying the French language that accompanied modernization after the French Revolution, a movement aimed at reviving regional languages and cultures arose in southern France, represented by the *Félibrige*, one of whose leaders was the poet and Nobel laureate Frédéric Mistral (1830–1914). Language is, in a sense, a fundamental element in the formation of culture and is deeply related to mentality and spirituality. Therefore, to examine the cultural diversity of southern France, it is necessary to analyze the changes in people’s consciousness in response to modernization.

Ito defines a life sphere as a space that encompasses all elements of human groups, such as their organizations, systems, thoughts, and activities.¹ A life sphere characterizes each region, with culture as its inner core and civilization as its outer shell (Fig. 1). If we consider modernization an external force exerted on a region, a question arises as to how its life sphere is affected. Ito argues that when two groups come into contact (i.e., civilization contact), in some cases, a civilization transfer occurs between their life spheres’ outer shells (i.e., civilizations; Fig. 2). Therefore, modernization first affects the outer shell of each region’s life sphere. In this case, the question that arises is how its inner core (culture) is affected—for example, whether a group’s values change.

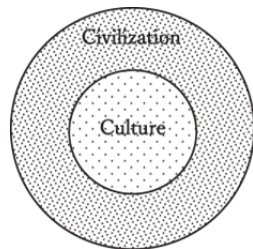


Fig. 1. Structure of a life sphere

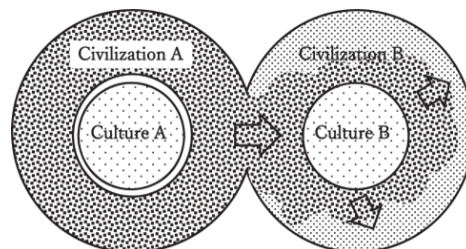


Fig. 2. Civilization transfer between life spheres

On the other hand, a life sphere formed by people’s consciousness and activities is given meaning by placeness, as theorized by Edward Relph.² Placeness is defined as an abstract domain in which human groups historically assign meaning to their own existence in relation to nature and other groups (Fig. 3). When the people of a certain region (i.e., a community) develop spiritual consciousness (such as religiosity) while in contact with the nature of that region, create customs and traditions, and earn their own livelihoods, a territory that encompasses all of these activities is formed. It thus becomes a sphere with characteristics unique to that group. Relph describes this abstract sphere as having placeless. Therefore, an external influence or pressure can prompt a change in placeness. Using the concepts of “life sphere” and “placeness” makes it possible to examine how the mentalities and values of the people of southern France changed with modernization.

¹ Ito, Shuntaro, “Japan, Islam, and the West: Peaceful Coexistence or Conflict?,” *Second International Seminar on Civilization Dialogue*, Sept. 2–3, 1996 (in Japanese). Original title: 「二十一世紀の文明共存へ—『文明衝突説』を超えて」.

² Relph, Edward, *Place and Placelessness*, Sage, 1976. Toru Hattori used the concept of placeness, which was used as a basis for this study, in tourism research and environmental and quality of life research. See Hattori, Toru, “Local Identity as the Concept of Agency,” *Civilizations* (『文明』), No. 27 (Special Issue of Covid-19), 2020, pp. 25–28; Hattori, Toru, and Hirano, Yoichi, “The Importance of the Local Identity for the Expansion of the Concept of e-QOL,” *15th International Conference on Innovative Computing, Information and Control (ICICIC2021)*, Sept. 13–16, 2021, Matsue, Japan (online, oral presentation).

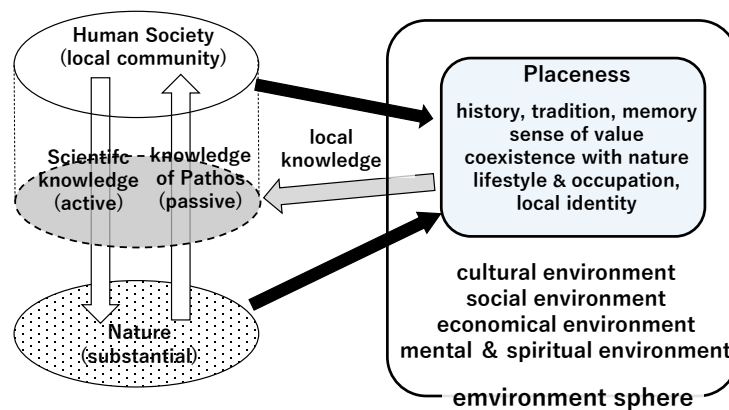


Fig. 3. Structure of placeness

3. Changes due to modernization

Regarding the Industrial Revolution, in his take-off theory, Whitman Rostow argues that socioeconomic changes occurred in five phases: (1) traditional society, (2) preconditions for initiation or take-off, (3) take-off, (4) march toward maturity, and (5) era of mass consumption. The Industrial Revolution was prepared in the second phase and took off in the third phase. In France, “traditional society” in the first phase refers to the ancient régime system before the French Revolution, in which craftsmen still played an active role. Rostow assumes that in France, the transition from the second to the third phase occurred between 1830 and 1860, which was the period of railway development (described below). However, in France, this transition undeniably had its own unique characteristics. The French Revolution advocated for equality as a human right, but this was theoretical and conceptual. In reality, the free labor system brought about by industrialization did not lead to economic equality, giving rise to a new set of social problems. During the transition from the second to the third phase, industrialization certainly expanded working environments but mainly led to the rise of urban elites, and poverty in rural areas was not immediately eliminated.

On the other hand, Minoru Tanigawa views the modernization process during the Industrial Revolution through the lens of “workers.” In particular, he identifies three processes in the transition from artisan to non-artisan labor: (1) A shift from individual to corporate management, (2) a shift from the individual and independent mentality of artisan laborers to the inclusion of workers in the nonclass category of “citizen,” and (3) a transformation from a class-based into a civil-legal value system.³ Non-artisan labor also led to the class homogenization of workers. As they were no longer skilled artisans, factory laborers performed functions as “ordinary” workers.

In industrialization (and hence, modernization), energy reform, such as the introduction of steam engines, is essential. Tanigawa highlights the importance of the introduction and expansion of railways as a step toward modernization (Fig. 4).⁴ The introduction of steam locomotives promoted the development of transportation networks, which in turn promoted the expansion of the product distribution system, which in turn promoted the

³ Tanigawa, Minoru, *History of the Social Movement in France: Association and Syndicalism*, Yamakawa Editions, 1983, pp. 9-10 (in Japanese). Original title: 谷川稔『フランス社会運動史—アソシエーションとサンディカリズム』.

⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

establishment of large-scale factories in rural areas.⁵ The establishment of factories led to new working conditions in southern France (where agriculture dominated), but it also led to an influx of people into regional cities. Table 1 shows the population changes in the major cities of southern France in the 19th century.⁶ Between 1830 and 1890, the population of France increased by 17%, while the populations of the cities shown in Table 1 doubled or more than doubled (2.5 times in Marseille, 3.3 times in Lyon, and 1.9 times in Bordeaux). Thus, compared to the total increase in the national population, urban areas experienced significant increases. Conversely, the rural population dropped from 26 million to 23 million in the second half of the 19th century.⁷ This corresponds to a decrease of 10 percentage points (from about 50% to 40%) relative to the total population of France. Considering the general increase in the French population, it can indeed be concluded that there was an exodus from rural areas. The rapid population growth in cities caused public safety and hygiene problems. Moreover, given that industrial society based on factory work was built by a small elite in urban centers, it is easy to understand why peasants' living conditions did not improve very quickly.

The introduction and expansion of railways is one of the symbols of the Industrial Revolution. In France, however, development began relatively late. Construction started in the 1830s. In 1850, the railway system was centered in Paris. By 1860, it had expanded to include Lyon/Marseille, Bordeaux, and other areas.⁸ In southern France, the private company La Compagnie du Midi had been responsible for the development of railways, mainly in the southwest, since 1852.⁹ The development of railways was expected to revitalize local industries. Urbanization indeed led to the revitalization of various cities (such as Paris, Marseille, Lyon, and Bordeaux) but at the same time caused various social problems. In rural areas, on the other hand, several problems arose due to the power imbalance caused by modernization promoted by the center. Regions were left behind due to the centralization of production and delays in

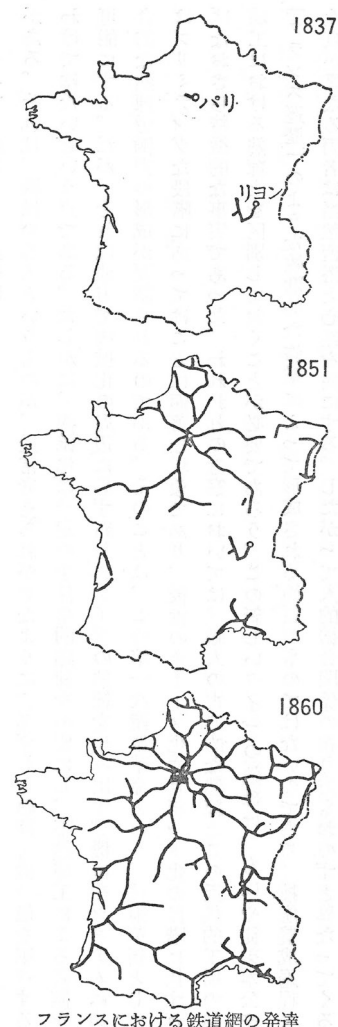


Fig. 4. Development of the railway

⁵ One outstanding example in southern France is the soap factory (Savonnerie du Midi) founded in Marseille in 1894, which led to the production of typical Marseille soap throughout the 20th century. Savonnerie du Midi, "La savonnerie du midi, une histoire," <https://www.savonneriedumidi.fr/la-savonnerie/> (accessed December 1, 2024).

⁶ There are various studies on population changes, but Table 1 is based on the following: Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, "Données historiques de la Statistique générale de France (SGF), 1800–1925," <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2591293?sommaire=2591397> (accessed December 1, 2024); St.-Jours, Bernard, *Population de Bordeaux depuis le XVI^e siècle*, Imprimerie G. Gourouilh, 1912.

⁷ Molinier, Jean, "L'évolution de la population agricole du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours," *Economie et Statistique*, 1977, 91, pp. 79–84 (especially p. 80).

⁸ For the development of railways in France in the 19th century, see Bouneau, Christophe, "Chemins de fer et développement régional en France de 1852 à 1937: La contribution de la Compagnie du Midi," *Histoire, économie et société*, 1990, Year 9, No. 1, pp. 95–112.

⁹ For the dynamics between central and regional areas in relation to the development of railways, see University of Montpellier, "Révolutions politiques, révolution industrielle: La fin d'un monde?," https://www.univ-montp3.fr/uoh/occitan/une_histoire/co/module_occitan_histoire_28.html (accessed December 1, 2024).

the introduction of technology, which led to a decline of local industries, as they were unable to compete with those of major cities. Two examples are shown as follows:

Example 1: Agriculture in southern France continued to follow tradition, even in the face of modernization.

The vineyards of Languedoc were incorporated into the framework of speculative agriculture, but overproduction led to falling prices, which caused a major crisis in 1907.

Example 2: Coal mines were developed in Alès, Decazeville, Carmaux, and elsewhere, but they did not expand as much as those in the north and did not lead to the growth of heavy industry in the region. The old steel industry in the Pyrenees was unable to survive in the face of competition from blast furnaces in the north. This was also largely the fate of the textile industry in Languedoc and the Pyrenees-Piedmont.

Thus, modernization did not permeate local communities until at least the end of the 19th century. In fact, it was the electrification of railways from the 1910s onward that led to progress in local agricultural policies and distribution reforms.

City	Around 1830	Around 1850	Around 1870	Around 1890
Marseille	150	190	312	370
Lyon	97	250	300	321
Bordeaux	120	150	190	230
France	34,000	—	37,600	40,000

Table 1. Population increases in the 19th century (approximate values in thousands)

4. Considerations from the perspective of civilization theory¹⁰

Modernization was, in a sense, a movement for liberating people from feudal rule and promoting free activity in politics, the economy, and society. People sought “comfort” in the changes brought about by the scientific revolution and the Industrial Revolution, and current civilization can be seen as an extension of this. However, modern civilization can also be thought to have discarded humanity—especially the organic connection between humans and nature—and to have confined human activities in a compact space characterized by material mechanism, rationality, and homogeneity. This is the kind of utopia that Lapoue described.

In 19th-century southern France, modernization and the concentration of people in cities as workers did not necessarily create a broad heightened awareness of regional diversity. Rather, it seems that as modernization took hold, such awareness remained limited to a minority. One may argue that the central policy of liberty and equality trampled on the region under the banner of homogeneity. If this is what we call “modernization,” then regional language revival movements such as the *Félibrige*, which are the topic of this symposium, must be described as “anti-modern.”

At any rate, how can we understand regional diversity in southern France from the perspective of

¹⁰ We have discussed “placeness” and “life sphere” from the perspective of civilization theory in the following article: Hirano, Yoichi, Yoshida, Kingo, Adachi, Mina, “A Study on the Mutual Influence of Culture and Civilization,” *Bulletin of School of Letters*, Tokai University, 109, 2019, pp. 1-19. Original title: 「文化・文明の相互関係に関する一考察」.

civilization and culture? Considering the concept of “placeness” proposed by Relph, the people of southern France built their own placeness—a spiritual living space that contained and supported the meaning of their existence—based on their traditional language (patois) and culture centered on their relationship with the nature with which they came into contact and their agricultural activities, which focused on nature. Each region formed its own placeness, and all regions combined formed the regional identity of southern France. However, modernization demanded rationalistic uniformity in the name of liberty and equality, forcing the transformation of traditional placeness into a placelessness that was unrelated to the region (Fig. 5). This development has parallels with modern globalization. In the name of scientific positivism, modern civilization brings convenience to life based on rational and objective thinking. To put it in extreme terms, a room in a hotel on a seaside or in a rural resort area provides amenities comparable to those of a room in a high-rise building in a city. There, visitors from cities can enjoy the surrounding nature from the comfort of a living space that does not differ from their usual living spaces. The question, however, is whether they can find an organic connection with nature here. It is this organic connection that is related to regional diversity, and it is there that the placeness of a region exists. The nature seen from a hotel window is merely a picture characterized by placelessness.

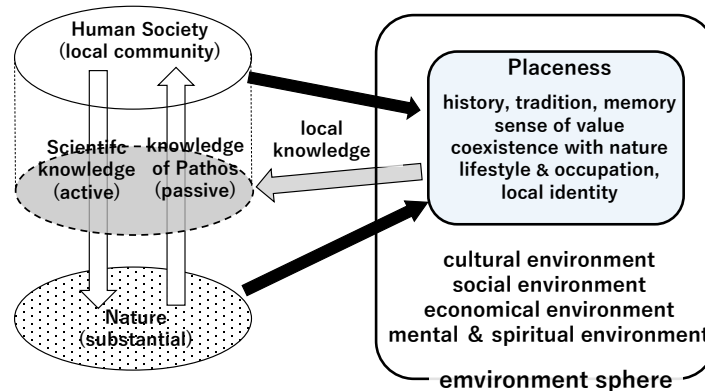


Fig. 5. Change from “placeness” to “placelessness”

Let us consider the situation in southern France in the 19th century from the perspective of Ito Shuntaro’s “life sphere.” The inner core of the regional people’s life sphere consisted of a culture based on their traditional consciousness, including language, and the outer shell consisted of a civilization based on an agricultural lifestyle. On the other hand, modernization as a life sphere is characterized by rationality, rationalism, and homogenization at its inner core, which is surrounded by an outer shell of industrialization and a homogeneous national system. The regional life sphere is weak, while the modernization life sphere is strong. When the two come into contact (civilization contact), a civilization transfer from the stronger to the weaker occurs. This transfer also affects the inner core of the weaker life sphere: the consciousness of the people in the region. Factors such as convenience of life, industrial activity, and economic benefits attract people (Fig. 6). This general characteristic of modernization always favors the stronger life sphere. Modernization in 19th-century southern France can be seen through this prism.

The question, then, is to what extent civilization transfers affect the inner cores of regional people’s life spheres. For example, Japan experienced two turning points at the end of the 19th century: the Meiji Restoration

and defeat in World War II. These events changed the mentality of the Japanese people dramatically, as their life sphere was greatly influenced by contact with Western civilization. Not only their life sphere's outer shell (civilization) but also its inner core (culture) changed, creating modern Japan. Similarly, it can be argued that the penetration of modernization into southern France brought about gradual changes, including changes in mentality, which lies at the inner core of a life sphere. Therefore, even in the case of the Félibrige movement, it seems necessary to further examine the results of “anti-modern” tendencies for southern France.

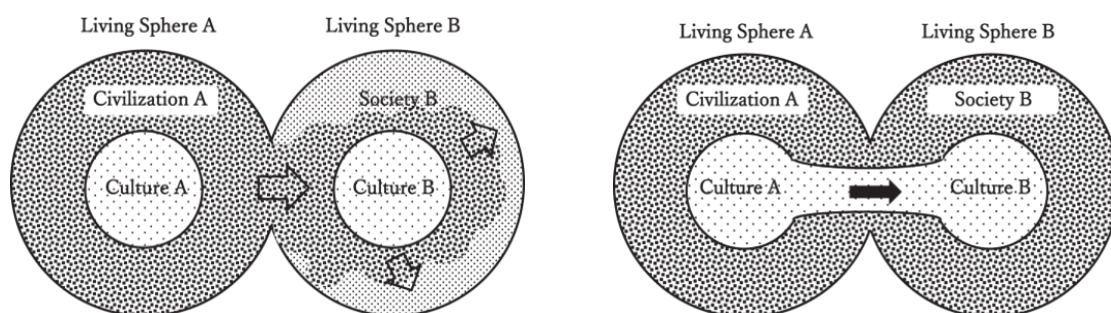


Fig. 6. Cultural transformation (core) through civilization transfer (shell)

5. Concluding remarks

In the end, how should we interpret the linguistic and cultural revival movement in the face of modernization in 19th-century southern France? Even Mistral, the main representative of the Félibrige, seems to have consistently insisted on positioning the language and culture of southern France at the core of people's regional identity in his speeches from 1870 onward. Although, at some point, he envisioned a federal system, he encouraged the people of southern France to maintain their regional consciousness. In doing so, it seems that he tried to protect the consciousness of language and culture as the foundation of the inner core of their life sphere amid the onslaught of modernization.

According to the concept of “life sphere,” the culture that constitutes the inner core of a regional life sphere also changes when it comes into contact with an external civilization. Nevertheless, the inner core is not necessarily entirely altered; rather, it retains some of its elements (Fig. 7). For example, no matter how Westernized Japan's lifestyle has become, a Japanese identity can still be found—for instance, in spiritual traditions such as Shinto and Buddhism. Traditional consciousness (spirituality or mentality) can persist. If anything, the existence of such remnants can be considered a strength of regional identity and diversity.

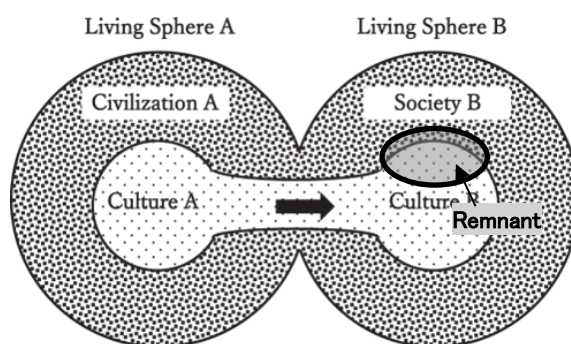


Fig. 7. Remnants in the inner core of a life sphere

In the case of southern France, Mistral's words are important.¹¹ In his speech “What We Want” (“Ço que

¹¹ Mistral's regional consciousness is discussed in detail in the following articles: Adachi, Mina, “The Development of the Regional Consciousness of the Félibrige in the 19th Century: The Regional Consciousness of Mistral and Roumanille and Their Influence,” (original title: 19世紀フェリブリージュにみる地域主義の展開—ミストラルとルーマニユの「地域意識」

voulèn”) given at Saint-Rémy in 1868, he stated:

“That their descendants may continue to speak the language of their own land, that they may be proud of, that they may be strong in, and that they may be free in. Brave people, [...] without blushing in front of anyone, without being ashamed of their history, without being ashamed of their country, without being ashamed of their nature, may regain their original place among the peoples of southern France. In Provence and Catalonia, [...] they will see art born, literature develop, people grow, and the nation flourish in regions that are now only vestiges of the past.”¹²

This speech shows Mistral’s strong pride in and affection for his own regional language (patois). He suggests that if people continue to use their language, “the nation will flourish”—that is, regional culture will be preserved and revitalized. As previously mentioned, the policy of linguistic unification was emphasized during the period of modernization in France. For Mistral, the suppression of regional languages by modernization meant the loss of people’s identity, which was the foundation of the inner core of their life sphere.

As previously noted, in his speeches from 1870 onward, Mistral repeatedly expressed the desire to preserve and promote regional languages and cultures. In his speech at the Ste. Estelle Festival in 1877, he stated expressed this desire as follows:

“Language, I think, is something noble, noble and marvelous, because it is the gathering place of the sublime light of knowledge that man calls Logos [the Word of God, Verbe]. [...] In the depths of language have accumulated all the historical changes that have created it, all the emotions of people, and the thoughts of people over 10, 20, 30, or even 100 generations. [...] Language, in a word, is the intuitive expression of all of life, life itself, the expression of human thought, the sacred instrument of civilization, testament to whether society will disappear or survive.”¹³

Regarding this speech, Adachi notes, “Language is an essential element for humans that connects the past, the present, and even the future. [...] For Mistral, language is something that expresses the feelings and thoughts of the people of a region, and it is the very ‘*l’âme de la région*’ (soul of the region).¹⁴” This *l’âme de la région* was what Mistral was eager to preserve as a remnant of the inner core of the region’s life sphere. In fact, this mentality will continue to exist in the inner core of people’s life sphere even as modernization progresses.

Previous studies have suggested that Mistral (and other Félibrige poets) and Catalan poets tended toward pan-Latinism, which is considered a literary—and therefore cultural—rather than a political tendency. In addition, the mid-20th-century Occitan movement aimed to revive the Occitan language, which Alain Touraine would later call “Félibrigesation.” In fact, the regional language and cultural issues surrounding southern France persist to this day. It can be argued that at the root of these issues are the remnants of mentality in the inner core

とのその影響—), Doctoral dissertation, Tokai University, 2021 (in Japanese); Adachi, Mina, and Hirano, Yoichi, “The Modernity of Félibrige Movement in the 19th Century—from a Viewpoint of Language and Culture in Human Society,” *ICIC Express Letters Part B: Applications*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Feb. 2020, pp. 181–187.

¹² Mistral, Frédéric, *Discours e dicho di F. Mistral*, Librairie Roumanille, 1906, pp. 16–17 (translated by the author).

¹³ Ibid., pp. 28–29 (translated by the author).

¹⁴ Adachi, Mina, Doctoral dissertation, CH.6.

of the region's life sphere that survived the modernization of the 19th century. The linguistic and cultural revival movement represented by the Félibrige may have been “anti-modern” at the time, but it seems to have been inherited by a new modernization that pursues liberty and equality in the future. Here, we can see the timeless relationship between modernization and regional cultural diversity in southern France in the 19th century.

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International Symposium Report : Session 2

Compte-rendu de la réunion d'échange de recherche, organisé dans le cadre du « 5e Dialogue entre les Civilisations »

Comité exécutif:

ADACHI Mina ^{*1}, HIRANO Yoichi ^{*2}

Keywords: Diversité linguistique et culturelle, Études françaises et occitanes

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1. Introduction

Le 12 janvier 2025, l'Institut de recherche sur les civilisations (*Institute of Civilization Research*) de l'Université de Tokai a organisé un Colloque international intitulé « 5e Dialogue entre les Civilisations ». Le thème de cette conférence académique était « Modernisation et diversité régionale en France » et Yan Lespoux de l'Université de Montpellier en France a été invité comme conférencier principal. La réunion était composée de deux parties : Partie 1 « Colloque - Modernisation et diversité culturelle en France » et Partie 2 « Échange de recherche franco-japonais ». Cet article rend compte de la deuxième partie.

L'objectif général de ce Colloque était d'examiner comment diverses régions, notamment dans le sud de la France, ont réagi à la modernisation de la France qui a progressé tout au long du XIXe siècle. Le problème s'inscrit dans le contexte particulier du sud de la France. Historiquement, chaque région de France a conservé des cultures et des langues diverses, mais la politique d'unification nationale après la Révolution française, en particulier la politique d'unification de la langue française (francisation), a entraîné la dégradation des cultures et des langues régionales. En réponse à cela, dans le sud de la France, le Félibrige, groupe de renouveau linguistique et culturel, ainsi que son représentant, Frédéric Mistral, poète lauréat du prix Nobel, œuvrent à la préservation des langues et cultures régionales. En fait, la connaissance de la langue et de la culture régionales reste profondément enracinée à ce jour. Aussi sera-t-il pertinent d'examiner comment la modernisation depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle a (ou non) affecté la langue et la culture régionales du sud de la France, ainsi que l'identité régionale qui en a découlé.

La première partie du Colloque a été marquée par un discours liminaire de Yan Lespoux et deux rapports connexes¹. Sur la base de cette discussion, la deuxième partie a été consacrée à la présentation de l'état actuel de la recherche sur le développement historique et la situation actuelle de la langue du sud de la France (occitan) au Japon et en France, ainsi qu'à un échange d'opinions. La réunion s'est déroulée en français. Cet article fournira un aperçu de chaque présentation et de la discussion, mais chaque intervenant a rédigé un article sur

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¹ La première partie s'est déroulée en anglais. Pour plus d'informations, consulter l'article séparé (voir pp. 1-36).

la présentation, auquel on peut se référer (ces articles appartiennent à leurs auteurs respectifs).

2. Structure de la réunion d'échange de recherche

La deuxième partie de la réunion d'échange de recherche a été composée comme suit :

- (1) Discours introductif : Kiyoshi Hara, Naoko Sano
- (2) Commentaire : Yan Lespoux
- (3) Discussion
- (4) Présidents : Mina Adachi, Yoichi Hirano

La réunion d'échange de recherche a débuté par un discours d'ouverture de Mina Adachi et a été animée par Mina Adachi, Yoichi Hirano.

Tout d'abord, les professeurs Hara et Sano ont chacun prononcé un discours introductif. Kiyoshi Hara est une autorité de premier plan en matière d'histoire sociale du langage et est particulièrement connu pour ses recherches sur la Bretagne en France. Naoko Sano est chercheuse sur la région Occitanie avec une vaste expérience de recherche à l'Université de Montpellier. En réponse, Yan Lespoux a fait un commentaire, prenant en compte la situation actuelle en France. Une discussion générale avec les participants, comprenant une séance de questions-réponses, a suivi.

3. Contenu des discours introductifs

3.1. Discours de Kiyoshi Hara

« La situation des langues celtiques au XIXe siècle et leur renouveau »

Kiyoshi Hara a parlé du déclin et du renouveau des langues régionales pendant la révolution industrielle, en utilisant d'abord l'exemple des langues celtiques en Grande-Bretagne. En prenant le gaélique comme exemple, il a retracé les changements historiques dans ces langues, tels que la réévaluation et la renaissance des contes et des chansons populaires qui ont commencé au XVIIIe siècle, et la découverte de traditions orales dans le contexte du mouvement romantique au XIXe siècle, et examiné le déclin et le renouveau de ces langues. Il y a eu effectivement un renouveau du gaélique en Irlande au XXe siècle, mais il a finalement été submergé par la domination de l'anglais.

Avec ce contexte historique en tête, Kiyoshi Hara a ensuite porté son attention sur la région Bretagne en France. En Bretagne, la découverte des contes et des chansons populaires débute un peu plus tard, au XIXe siècle. Le régionalisme politique a commencé à la fin du XIXe siècle, mais les mouvements de défense de la langue ne sont devenus actifs qu'après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, lorsque le déclin de la langue est devenu évident.

Kiyoshi Hara a poursuivi en proposant une manière de penser la langue et la culture. En fait, les mouvements de renouveau des langues minoritaires en Europe occidentale ont adopté une perspective complètement différente dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle. L'idée selon laquelle la diversité linguistique et culturelle a une valeur culturelle est devenue courante. Cela a donné lieu à un mouvement en faveur du respect de la richesse culturelle, illustré notamment par la Convention sur la diversité des biens culturels adoptée lors de la Conférence générale de l'UNESCO en 2005. Des mouvements similaires peuvent également être observés au Japon, où des efforts sont en cours pour préserver et transmettre les dialectes locaux. Kiyoshi Hara

a ainsi souligné que la préservation des cultures locales fondées sur la langue peut être considérée comme une tendance culturelle du XXI^e siècle.

3.2. Discours de Naoko Sano

« Un camin cap a la lenga occitana passat per una japonesa »

(Un sentier vers la langue occitane suivi par une Japonaise)

S'appuyant sur ses propres expériences, Naoko Sano a parlé des changements au fil du temps dans l'utilisation et l'apprentissage de la langue minoritaire, l'occitan. Elle a également souligné le nouveau problème de la modernisation linguistique actuelle. Elle souligne que, sur la base du cours historique de l'Europe, la modernisation linguistique s'est produite en deux étapes : la première étape fut la « Première révolution écolinguistique » (Baggioni, 1997) et la « grammatisation » (Auroux) qui ont eu lieu vers le XVI^e siècle, et la deuxième étape fut la « Seconde révolution écolinguistique » (Baggioni, 1997) qui a eu lieu au XIX^e siècle. Cette dernière période en particulier fut une époque où les langues nationales furent institutionnalisées dans la formation de chaque État-nation, et en France, la politique d'unification de la langue française conduisit à la suppression de l'occitan et à son déclin.

Naoko Sano a essayé d'apprendre l'occitan dans les années 1990, mais a trouvé cela extrêmement difficile au Japon. Finalement, elle a suivi des cours d'occitan à l'Université de Montpellier, mais même à cette époque, le nombre de dictionnaires était réduit, et vivant en milieu urbain, il n'était pas toujours possible d'utiliser l'occitan. Elle a rejoint le Cercle occitan (IEO) dirigé par Joan Larzac et le groupe de musique traditionnelle *Fai Tirar Marius*, où elle a appris des chants et des danses occitanes et a rencontré d'autres locuteurs actifs de la langue.

Compte tenu de cette histoire, l'environnement d'apprentissage de l'occitan s'est grandement amélioré aujourd'hui avec la diffusion d'Internet. En ce sens, « l'occitan s'est modernisé », souligne Naoko Sano. Cela signifie en même temps que la langue minoritaire occitane est devenue une langue à part entière, séparée de son contexte historique et social. Mais cela n'est pas forcément à l'avantage de la langue : parler l'occitan dans une culture rurale et traditionnelle n'est plus qu'une utopie. Selon elle, la modernisation de l'occitan fait référence à la manière dont la langue se situe dans de nouveaux contextes culturels et sociaux.

4. Commentaires et discussion

Suite aux deux exposés ci-dessus, Yan Lespoux a fait quelques commentaires, suivis d'une discussion entre tous les participants

4.1. Commentaire de Yan Lespoux

En réponse aux deux exposés ci-dessus, Yan Lespoux a formulé les commentaires suivants sur la situation actuelle en France, notamment sous l'angle de la diversité linguistique et culturelle au sens moderne du terme.

Tout d'abord, il était important de souligner que le français est la seule langue officielle en France. Bien que l'occitan soit aujourd'hui étudié dans une certaine mesure, il ne bénéficie pas nécessairement d'une grande attention en tant que langue régionale. En fait, beaucoup considèrent que l'utilité de la langue régionale occitane est moindre que celle du français. À cet égard, la situation est différente du Japon, où il existe de nombreux dialectes différents. À ce propos, et concernant les recherches de Kiyoshi Hara sur la Bretagne, Yan Lespoux a poursuivi en évoquant les recherches certainement menées en France dans une perspective historique et éducative. Cependant, dans la réalité, la situation varie d'une région à l'autre. Par exemple, au Pays basque, on

parle basque à l'ouest et occitan à l'est. Cependant, en principe, seul le français est disponible. Un facteur majeur fut la loi de 1881 (Loi Ferry) qui interdisait l'usage des langues régionales dans l'enseignement scolaire pour les élèves de 6 à 13 ans.

Ensuite, en relation avec le rapport de Naoko Sano, Yan Lespoux a soulevé la question de la langue dans l'éducation scolaire. En France, après la loi Ferry, l'usage des langues régionales (occitan, breton, basque et catalan) dans l'enseignement scolaire fut assoupli par la loi Deixonne en 1951. Cependant, elle ne permettait qu'une heure d'étude par semaine. Cette situation s'est encore améliorée en 2021, et l'étude du patois occitan est désormais plus facile. Actuellement, des cours d'occitan sont proposés à l'Université de Montpellier, et peuvent également être suivis via Internet.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la France est un pays dont le français est la seule langue nationale, et cela pour des raisons politiques et idéologiques.

4.2. Discussion

Après les exposés de Kiyoshi Hara et de Naoko Sano puis les commentaires de Yan Lespoux, la discussion entre les participants a porté principalement sur la question de la langue française.

L'enseignement des langues comme le français au Japon se réduit progressivement. Kiyoshi Hara et Mina Adachi ont expliqué que dans leurs cours à l'université, ils enseignent le français en relation avec l'art et la culture plutôt que la langue elle-même. D'autre part, Naoko Sano a souligné que même si l'enseignement du français est proposé, la connaissance du français n'est pas nécessairement élevée, car les étudiants considèrent le français comme moins utile et efficace que l'anglais. Néanmoins, il existe encore des possibilités d'apprendre la langue occitane ; elle profite notamment de l'utilisation de chansons occitanes en classe pour exposer les élèves à la culture.

D'autre part, des cas où le français a été diffusé dans d'autres régions, comme la Nouvelle-Calédonie, ont également été évoqués. Il s'agissait d'un cas où une puissance coloniale étendait sa langue dans une région où il existait déjà plusieurs langues natales, mais en indiquant que ce problème diffère par nature des problèmes linguistiques régionaux en France.

Enfin, il a été souligné que le fait que la France ait désigné le français comme seule langue nationale est important pour considérer les différences avec la situation actuelle dans d'autres pays européens. La singularité de la France apparaît encore plus évidente si l'on considère que l'Espagne reconnaît plusieurs langues officielles dans différentes régions, et les situations en Suisse et en Belgique, etc. Cela est dû en grande partie à la politique linguistique française qui a suivi la Révolution. En fait, comme le montrent les arguments de Grégoire et Barère en 1794, l'appel à la « langue de la liberté » immédiatement après la Révolution a eu un impact majeur sur les mentalités. Néanmoins, il devient de plus en plus courant de voir des noms de gares et autres panneaux de ce type écrits à la fois en français et dans la langue régionale, ce qui témoigne également d'un mouvement en faveur du respect de la diversité régionale.

Au travers de ces échanges, tous les participants ont acquis une meilleure compréhension de la complexité des questions linguistiques en France, tout en réaffirmant l'importance de respecter la diversité régionale, étant donné que les différentes régions de France ont des origines historiques diverses.

5. Observation conclusive

Cette rencontre d'échange de recherche nous a rappelé les complexités et les problèmes impliqués dans la

réflexion sur la langue et la culture. La France en particulier est un pays qui a désigné le français comme unique langue nationale, et cette politique a façonné l'État-nation moderne. D'un autre côté, il est également vrai que la conscience de la langue et de la culture propre à chaque région demeure. Dans une société internationale où la mondialisation progresse, il semble que les langues et les cultures régionales offrent une direction vers laquelle trouver son identité.

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«Discours Introductifs 1»

La situation des langues celtiques au XIXe siècle et leur renouveau

HARA Kiyoshi *

Mots-clés: langues celtiques, renouveau des langues minoritaires

La Grande-Bretagne a été la première à connaître la révolution industrielle, mais en même temps, il y a eu un déclin et une renaissance des langues dans les régions périphériques. En Écosse, une réévaluation et une renaissance des contes et chansons populaires gaéliques écossais ont commencé dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle. Il s'agit du mouvement dit romantique, dans lequel James McPherson et d'autres ont exhumé des traditions orales transmises parmi les paysans. Cependant, au XIXe siècle, le mouvement visant à démontrer le caractère distinctif de la région en anglais, mené par Walter Scott parmi d'autres, est devenu courant, et la région parlant le gaélique était située au nord, une région relativement sous-développée, de sorte que son déclin a progressé rapidement. Le mouvement de renouveau était centré sur les questions politiques et économiques, appelant à la correction des disparités économiques, et la langue et la culture n'avaient pas beaucoup d'importance, même au XXe siècle. Cette situation est encore plus prononcée dans les langues minoritaires des Cornouailles (Kernow / Cornwall), le cornouaillais / kerneweg et de l'île de Man (Elan Vannin), le gaélique / gaelg. Le cornouaillais est devenu une langue éteinte à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et sa renaissance a dû attendre les efforts de passionnés à la fin du XIXe siècle. Comme le cornouaillais, le mannois, c'est-à-dire le gaélique d'Elan Vannin, a connu un mouvement de renouveau à la fin du XIXe siècle sous l'influence d'autres langues celtiques, mais on pense que les locuteurs qui avaient acquis la langue comme langue maternelle ont disparu dans les années 1950 ; depuis, à l'instar du cornouaillais, on le considère comme une langue ressuscitée.

Au XVIIIe siècle, lorsque le Pays de Galles (Cymru) commença à décliner, la langue galloise, cymraeg, fut utilisée dans un mouvement de renouveau religieux mené par les méthodistes au Pays de Galles. À la fin du XVIe siècle, la Bible fut traduite en langue galloise, ce qui devint la base du mouvement linguistique en tant que langue écrite standard. Au XIXe siècle, un concours de poésie médiévale, l'Eisteddfod, fut relancé et, malgré la reconnaissance de son déclin, il ne sombra pas totalement. Le renouveau de la poésie en vers est important car il confère un prestige culturelle à la langue. Au cours de la seconde moitié du XXe siècle, et particulièrement depuis les années 1970, des mouvements de renouveau linguistique se sont développés dans les régions linguistiques minoritaires de toute l'Europe de l'Ouest, et le mouvement éducatif en faveur de la langue galloise a joué un rôle exemplaire. En 1962, Saunders Lewis donna une conférence radiophonique à la BBC en gallois intitulée « Tynged yr Iaith / Fate of the Language », initiant la création de la Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg / Welsh Language Society et d'autres organisations qui ont jeté les bases de son enseignement. On doit à ce groupe l'abandon des panneaux de signalisation uniquement en anglais au profit de panneaux bilingues. Dans les années 1980, l'utilisation de la langue dans les médias a été consolidée avec la création de

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la chaîne de télévision en gallois S4C. Un référendum organisé en 1997 a permis à Cymru d'avoir sa propre assemblée nationale, Senedd Cymru, qui est entrée en fonction en 1999. Ici aussi, le gallois est utilisé aux côtés de l'anglais.

En Irlande, la « famine de la pomme de terre » de la fin des années 1840 amena le pays à un point critique où il finit par perdre la moitié de sa population. L'impact sur le gaélique irlandais fut également significatif, de nombreuses personnes ayant émigré de l'île. La famine a également entraîné un déclin rapide de la langue. La Ligue de la langue gaélique, créée en 1893, a mené à la renaissance de la culture gaélique, mais plus tard, ce sont les partis politiques qui sont devenus le centre du mouvement, ce qui entraîna l'insurrection de Pâques de 1916. En Irlande, la politique prit le pas sur la culture, et le renouveau de la culture gaélique a été plus lent qu'au Pays de Galles. Une fois l'indépendance acquise, le gaélique est devenu la langue nationale et la première langue officielle devant être étudiée par tous les citoyens irlandais. Des zones de protection de la langue gaélique, appelées « Gaeltachts », ont également été établies, mais il était toujours difficile pour le gaélique de vaincre l'anglais.

Et la Bretagne? Un peu plus tard qu'en Écosse, les découvertes de contes et de chansons populaires sont apparues dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle et se sont poursuivies dans la seconde moitié. L'un des plus célèbres est Barzas Breiz (Poèmes en Bretagne, en 1839), écrit par le noble bretonnant Hersart de la Villemarqué. Cela coïncide avec le fait que la révolution industrielle en France a été plus lente qu'en Grande-Bretagne. La ligne de chemin de fer vers Rennes, centre politique de la Bretagne, a été construite en 1860 sous le Second Empire. Le déclin de la langue bretonne fut également plus lent qu'en Écosse. Celui-ci est dû à son utilisation dans les églises de la zone bretonne, jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle. Bien qu'un mouvement de renouveau linguistique ait commencé vers la fin du siècle, il était limité aux catholiques et à un petit groupe d'intellectuels. À partir de la fin du siècle, un mouvement politique régionaliste s'est amorcé, partagé avec d'autres régions linguistiques minoritaires de France, comme le sud de la France. Au XXe siècle, notamment dans l'entre-deux-guerres, des mouvements autonomistes et même nationalistes ont commencé à émerger dans un contexte d'appels croissants à l'autodétermination nationale suite à la naissance de la Société des Nations. Ce n'est qu'après la guerre, lorsque le déclin linguistique est devenu évident, que le mouvement de renouveau de la langue est devenu actif.

Pour résumer la situation linguistique dans le monde parlant la langue celtique et le mouvement de renouveau qui y règne, l'endroit où le renouveau est actuellement le plus avancé est le Pays de Galles (Cymru). Ce sont les circonstances historiques qui ont préparé le terrain, notamment son utilisation dans le travail missionnaire protestant au XVIIIe siècle et sa renaissance dans les concours de poésie au XIXe siècle. Tous deux avaient le sens de maintenir « le prestige ». La prémisse de l'utilisation religieuse fut également la traduction de la Bible en gallois au XVIe siècle. Cette traduction a signifié la continuation de l'autorité de la langue écrite, qui s'est avérée efficace dans le mouvement de renouveau linguistique de la seconde moitié du XXe siècle, en particulier dans le mouvement d'éducation des jeunes gens.

D'autre part, la découverte de contes et de chansons populaires, qui était une extension du mouvement romantique, influença le renouveau linguistique ultérieur en Bretagne, tandis qu'en Écosse (Alba), la renaissance des contes et des chansons populaires grâce à des traductions en anglais et l'affirmation de leur originalité à travers l'anglais étaient courantes. Le gaélique n'a joué qu'un rôle secondaire. En Irlande, des

facteurs économiques telle que la « famine de la pomme de terre » ont contribué au déclin de la langue, mais ils ont également mis au premier plan des mouvements politiques, conduisant à l'indépendance au XXe siècle.

Les mouvements de renouveau des langues minoritaires qui eurent lieu en Europe occidentale depuis la seconde moitié du XXe siècle, et particulièrement depuis les années 1970, se fondent sur une perspective complètement différente de celle qui existait jusqu'alors. L'idée est que la diversité linguistique et culturelle a une valeur culturelle. Au XXIe siècle, cette idée est devenue courante lorsqu'on pense à la richesse culturelle, comme en témoigne l'adoption de la Convention sur la diversité culturelle lors de la Conférence générale de l'UNESCO en 2005.

Enfin, permettez-moi de mentionner une initiative similaire au Japon. En décembre 2024, le 10e Sommet sur les langues et dialectes en danger s'est tenu à Hachijojima dans les îles Izu, parrainé par l'Agence des affaires culturelles au Japon. Le projet a été lancé par l'Agence des affaires culturelles en réponse à l'Atlas des langues en danger dans le monde de l'UNESCO de 2009, qui a identifié huit langues liées au Japon. Jusqu'à ce que l'UNESCO remarque que la langue de l'île de Hachijo était une langue, il n'y avait aucun mouvement pour la préserver ou la protéger en tant que dialecte. Suite à l'avertissement de l'UNESCO, le conseil local de l'éducation et d'autres acteurs ont pris l'initiative de lancer un mouvement de préservation. Bien sûr, à Okinawa, qui avait autrefois une dynastie indépendante, le mouvement pour préserver et protéger sa langue, uchinaaguchi, a une longue histoire. De plus, la langue aïnou de Hokkaido est une langue complètement différente du japonais, et le mouvement de renaissance y a donc également une longue histoire. Cependant, au XXIe siècle, des efforts sont entrepris pour préserver et transmettre même des langues considérées comme des dialectes du japonais, comme le hachijo-go. On peut effectivement dire qu'il s'agit d'une tendance culturelle du XXIe siècle.

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«Discours Introductifs 2»

Un camin cap a la lenga occitana passat per una Japonesa

(Un sentier vers la langue occitane suivi par une Japonaise)

SANO Naoko*

Mots-clés: Diversité linguistique, et culturelle, Études de la langue occitane

Dans ce petit essai, j'aimerais raconter mon histoire personnelle dans l'apprentissage de la langue occitane depuis les années 90. L'environnement d'apprentissage a considérablement changé depuis lors, ce qui pourrait refléter la modernisation de cette langue.

Qu'est-ce que la modernisation des langues en Europe ? On dit qu'elle s'est déroulée en deux étapes. La première étape fut la « Première révolution écolinguistique » (Baggioni, 1997) et la « grammatisation » (Auroux, 1992), qui s'est produite vers le XVI^e siècle. Au cours de cette période, des grammaires, des dictionnaires et même des œuvres littéraires, ainsi que des traductions de la Bible, ont été imprimés et publiés dans quelques langues dites vulgaires, souvent sous l'égide de l'État.

La deuxième étape fut la « Deuxième révolution écolinguistique » (Baggioni, 1997) qui s'est déroulée au XIX^e siècle : l'institutionnalisation des langues nationales dans chaque État-Nation. La langue nationale se diffusa dans tout le pays par le biais de l'enseignement obligatoire. En revanche, au cours de ce processus, les langues qui ne sont pas devenues des langues nationales ont été opprimées et ont décliné.

Qu'est-il arrivé à la langue occitane pendant ces siècles ? Grâce au prestige des troubadours au Moyen Âge, l'occitan a connu une sorte de codification au XIII^e siècle, mais sans l'appui du pouvoir. La Deuxième révolution écolinguistique qui s'en est suivie a conduit à la nationalisation du français et à la suppression de l'occitan.

Si les chemins de fer, les poteaux télégraphiques et les écoles sont des instruments représentatifs de la modernité, et s'ils sont des instruments qui chassent les langues minoritaires (Daudet), alors le bastion de la résistance est aussi l'enseignement. Mais comment, où et par qui et à qui ?

Je n'en connais pas toute l'histoire, c'est pourquoi j'aimerais partager mon expérience depuis les années 1990.

Au début des années 1990, lorsque j'ai commencé à m'intéresser à l'occitan en tant qu'étudiante, il y avait très peu d'informations sur cette langue au Japon, sauf quelques livres, une grammaire, un livret de conversation rédigé par Kazuko Tada (Tada 1988a, Tada 1988b). *Mireille* de Frédéric Mistral avait été déjà traduit par Fujio Sugui (Mistral=Sugui 1977). Cependant, étant tous deux décédés au moment où je me suis intéressée à l'occitan, je n'ai pas pu les rencontrer.

Un autre professeur, spécialiste des études bretonnes et celtiques, disposait d'un manuel d'occitan, *l'occitan lèu-lèu e plan* (Bazalgues, 1977). Je suis donc allée à sa rencontre dans une université près de Tokyo

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pour demander d'en faire la photocopie. C'est tout ce que j'ai pu obtenir au Japon. Finalement, j'ai décidé de me rendre en Occitanie, à Montpellier.

À cette époque, l'Université de Montpellier disposait d'une *Seccion Occitana*, qui proposait non seulement des cours pour débutants mais aussi une gamme complète de cours en occitan. Malheureusement, les dictionnaires et les manuels didactiques n'étaient pas encore en nombre suffisant. Parmi les ouvrages disponibles figurait *Lou Tresor dóu Felibrige* (Mistral, 1877), grand dictionnaire rédigé par Frédéric Mistral avec la graphie félibréenne, mais qui ne convient pas aux débutants s'appuyant sur la graphie dite normalisée. Le seul dictionnaire suffisamment didactique disponible alors était celui d'Alibert (Alibert, 1966), publié à titre posthume sous une forme inachevée. Malgré tout, il y avait en ville une *Libreria Occitana* vendant des livres et des revues, et la commune voisine, Béziers, jouissait d'un établissement appelé Centre international de documentation occitane (CIDO).

N'ayant pas d'occasions de parler l'occitan dans la vie quotidienne dans les zones urbaines, j'ai fréquenté le Cercle occitan (IEO) dirigé par Joan Larzac, le traducteur de la Bible en occitan. J'ai aussi rejoint *Fai Tirar Marius* (Photo 1), un groupe de musique traditionnelle, où j'ai appris des chansons et danses occitanes, et à jouer de la flûte.

Pour avoir davantage d'opportunités de pratiquer la langue, je suis allée participer à l'*Escòla Occitana d'Estiu* (Penne-d'Agenais), et l'*Universitat Occitana d'Estiu* (Nîmes) pendant les vacances d'été, où j'ai pu faire la connaissance des locuteurs d'occitan, pas « natifs » mais « complets », ce qui à savoir des locuteurs spontanés désireux de continuer de pratiquer la langue.

De retour au Japon, j'ai pu continuer l'apprentissage de l'occitan grâce aux cours par correspondance du *Collegi d'Occitania*. Mais il y avait un autre problème : comment poursuivre des recherches sur l'occitan et où présenter et échanger les recherches au Japon ?

Heureusement, le Groupe des études sur la société plurilingue créé en 1997 par Kiyoshi Hara est devenu un forum d'échanges académiques entre les chercheurs sur les langues minoritaires au Japon et à l'étranger. La 100e réunion du Groupe a eu lieu le 11 janvier 2025.



Photo 1 : Groupe de musique traditionnelle FAI TIRAR MARIUS, dans les années 90
(Photo: Jean-Paul Canivet)

En outre, la SOCIETAS JAPONICA STUDIORUM ROMANICORUM (la Société japonaise des langues romanes) est *de facto* le centre pour les études sur les langues romanes minoritaires au Japon se consacrant à toutes les études sur les langues romanes qui ne sont pas langues nationales.

Depuis l'année dernière, je propose un cours sur la langue et la culture occitanes à l'Université Préfectorale d'Aichi. Aujourd'hui, grâce à la disponibilité de dictionnaires et de tableaux de conjugaison occitans sur Internet (<https://dicodoc.eu/fr/dictionnaires>), il est possible pour les étudiants japonais d'apprendre facilement l'occitan. Le CIDO de Béziers est devenu le CIRDOC et de nombreux documents historiques sur la langue occitane sont consultables sur son site. Grâce à Internet, n'importe qui, n'importe où, n'importe quand peut apprendre l'occitan.

La langue occitane s'est modernisée. Cela signifie à la fois qu'elle est sortie de son contexte historique et social et qu'elle est devenue l'une des « langues justes ». Le fait qu'elle soit présentée comme un choix parmi les centaines de langues que l'on peut apprendre dans le monde n'est pas nécessairement un avantage pour l'occitan. Cependant, alors qu'il n'est plus possible d'imaginer la campagne comme utopie où l'occitan est parlé dans la vie traditionnelle, l'avenir de la langue sera déterminé par la création de nouveaux réseaux culturel et social par une langue occitane modernisée.

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Research Paper

Role of Social Capital in Influencing Tourist Satisfaction and Revisit Intention in Hokkaido

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Abstract

Tourism plays a crucial role in revitalizing local economies and fostering cultural exchange. However, the industry faces challenges such as environmental degradation and negative impacts on local communities. To promote sustainable tourism, it is essential to understand tourists' behavioral characteristics and develop effective policies and strategies accordingly. This study posits that social capital, comprising trust, norms, and networks, is a key determinant of sustainable tourism destinations. A qualitative case study approach will be employed, specifically focusing on tourist evaluations of tourism resources such as natural scenery, historical buildings, and cultural facilities. The study will examine how these spaces contribute to the development of social capital. Drawing on insights from behavioral economics, concepts such as reference point dependence and loss aversion will be applied to elucidate tourists' decision-making processes. Data collection will primarily rely on tourist vendor websites and review information to assess tourists' perceptions, attitudes, and behavioral intentions. The analysis aims to explore the causal effect of social capital on tourist behavior and its implications for sustainable tourism development. This research will contribute not only to the development of sustainable management strategies for tourism destinations but also to the expansion of theoretical perspectives in tourism studies by integrating insights from behavioral economics. The findings are expected to provide novel insights into the complex interrelationships among tourists, tourism destinations, and local communities, thereby fostering a deeper understanding of sustainable tourism.

Keywords: Sustainable tourism, Social capital, Behavioral economics, Tourist behavior

1. Introduction

Several scholars have examined the concept of sustainable tourism development. Clarke (1997) provides a comprehensive analysis of various approaches and their effectiveness. Collins (1999) critiqued the sustainability claims of most commercial tourism developments, arguing that they often fail to meet the true sustainability criteria. In particular, he highlights the misuse of the term “sustainable” in the context of natural capital depletion. Similarly, Saarinen (2006) assessed the sustainability of tourism and the limitations of tourism growth. He critically discusses the relationship between sustainable development and sustainable tourism, emphasizing the role of social capital, tourism activities, and local communities. He underscores the necessity of a framework that comprehensively considers the capacity to achieve sustainable tourism. However, much of the existing discussion is framed within an economic perspective, with insufficient focus on how tourism activities enhance social capital and contribute to an increased sense of well-being among tourists. This study aims to bridge this gap by elucidating the behavioral characteristics of tourists, particularly their decision-making processes concerning tourist satisfaction, revisit intentions, and their potential influence on tourism policy and strategies.

Given the inherently contextual nature of tourism activities, a specific case study, such as Hokkaido,

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facilitates a more nuanced discussion. Hokkaido, renowned for its captivating natural beauty, diverse seasonal landscapes, fresh seafood, and unique cultural heritage, is one of Japan's premier tourist destinations, attracting a significant number of international visitors year-round. These attractions exert a significant influence on the regional economy, with tourist spending generating ripple effects across various sectors, including accommodation, food and beverage, and transportation. Regional tourism plays a crucial role in promoting local brands, such as Hokkaido's scenic landscapes, culinary traditions, and cultural heritage, thereby enhancing the region's global visibility. However, the rapid expansion of tourism has also presented challenges, including environmental burdens and negative impacts on local communities. The phenomenon of "overtourism" has become increasingly prevalent, particularly in popular destinations where an influx of tourists disrupts residents' daily lives, leading to issues such as traffic congestion, littering, and inappropriate tourist behavior. Addressing these challenges necessitates the development of sustainable tourism models that foster harmonious coexistence between residents and tourists.

The foundational work on social capital can be attributed to Coleman (1988), who explored the relationship between social and human capital. He posited that social capital emerges from relationships characterized by trust, cooperation, and mutual benefit, which are cultivated through interactions and networks among individuals and groups. This concept, as defined by Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988), includes the degree of trust and cooperation shared within and across social groups, significantly influencing the functionality and sustainability of organizations and communities. Social capital can be conceptualized as a relational structure that exists among multiple individuals and groups. Drawing on Putnam's (2000) typology, this study focuses on the significance of bonding-type social capital, which refers to the social capital generated within closely-knit, homogeneous groups. This study explores the critical role of bonding-type social capital, particularly in the context of interactions between tourists and local communities.

Social capital generally refers to relationships and social connections based on trust, norms, and networks among people (Putnam 1993). Within the tourism context, social capital emerges as a crucial factor in fostering positive interactions between local communities and tourists, thereby facilitating sustainable tourism outcomes. Trust between residents and tourists fosters a sense of safety and security, encouraging repeat visits and positive reviews that enhance a destination's reputation. Furthermore, adherence to local norms and etiquette promotes responsible tourist behavior, thus contributing to environmental preservation. Collaborative networks involving residents and tourism businesses facilitate information sharing and the identification of new tourism resources. The interplay of these elements enriches the tourist experience and generates not only economic but also cultural and social enrichment for the region.

McGehee et al. (2010), in a study of 307 tourism stakeholders in a four-county region in Virginia, investigated the relationships between tourism-related social capital and other forms of capital. Their analysis revealed correlations between length of residence and tourism-related social capital, as well as linkages between tourism-related social capital and cultural, political, human, privately constructed, and financial capital. No significant relationship was found between tourism-related social capital and publicly constructed or natural capital. Notably, certain destinations, such as Japan, which possess abundant natural

capital, have achieved significant tourism success, highlighting the importance of considering the interplay of various forms of capital within tourism destinations. This study further explores the interrelationships between these diverse forms of capital within the context of successful tourism destinations.

Place plays a crucial role in cultivating social connectedness, a fundamental component of social capital. As Lewicka (2005) argues, attachment to place fosters civic engagement, promoting sustainable and environmentally responsible behaviors that benefit both individuals and the community. Within the tourism context, investigating the development of social capital within tourist destinations is essential. This study examines the relationship between social capital and specific destination characteristics, focusing on natural landscapes, historical architecture, and cultural facilities. While natural landscapes are often categorized as natural or environmental capital, their influence extends beyond physical resources, potentially contributing to social capital development by fostering a sense of place and community among residents and visitors. Similarly, although historical architecture is typically considered physical or cultural capital, surrounding community activities and cultural values significantly contribute to the formation and enhancement of social capital. Cultural institutions serve as crucial nodes for social interaction and relationship building, functioning as tangible "physical foundations" for social capital development. In conclusion, the resource characteristics of tourist attractions play a crucial role in shaping social capital development through co-created relationships between local communities and tourists.

This study investigates the constituent elements of social capital and assesses its impact on the development of tourist destinations, focusing specifically on its influence on tourist satisfaction and revisit intentions. This study examines how trust, norms, and networks, which are key components of social capital, shape tourist satisfaction. A qualitative analysis will be conducted to explore the effects of social capital on tourist satisfaction with specific tourism resources, including natural scenery, historical buildings, and cultural facilities. By incorporating the principles of behavioral economics, particularly the concepts of reference point dependence and loss aversion, this study aims to gain a deeper understanding of tourist behavior and elucidate their decision-making processes. Data analysis will be based on information obtained from tourist vendor websites and reviews to evaluate tourist perceptions, attitudes, and behavioral intentions. This study subsequently analyzes tourist behavior and explores the causal relationships between social capital and tourist decision-making. This study contributes significantly to the development of sustainable management strategies for tourism destinations. Furthermore, by integrating behavioral economics into tourism studies, this study expands the theoretical boundaries of this discipline. Ultimately, it provides novel insights into the intricate interrelationships between tourism destinations and local communities, fostering a deeper understanding of the factors that contribute to the realization of sustainable tourism.

2. Tourist satisfaction and revisit intentions

In tourism research, it is widely acknowledged that tourist satisfaction and revisit intention are significantly influenced by tourists' perceptions of destination attributes. Alegre (2010), however, emphasized the role of negative experiences and investigated the impact of positive and negative evaluations on overall satisfaction and revisit intention. Enhancing tourist satisfaction and fostering a

strong intention to return not only increases visitor numbers but also revitalizes the local economy, strengthens the destination brand, and contributes to sustainable tourism development. To achieve these goals, destinations must prioritize meeting tourists' needs and expectations by offering compelling experiences. Tourist satisfaction is defined as a psychological state in which tourists perceive their destination experience as fulfilling their expectations and needs. This suggests that the destination experience evokes positive emotions and a sense of fulfillment. Similarly, revisit intentions refer to the strength of a tourist's desire to return to a previously visited destination. Revisit intention is closely correlated with tourist satisfaction and serves as a crucial indicator of sustainable destination development.

Several key trends should be considered concerning tourist satisfaction. First, satisfaction is significantly influenced by the discrepancy between tourists' prior expectations and their perceived experiences. Second, satisfaction is a multifaceted construct involving various dimensions, including the appreciation of natural scenery, cultural experiences, and service quality. Third, given the subjective nature of satisfaction, it is crucial to gather feedback from a diverse range of tourists with different values and experiences. Similarly, several trends should be considered regarding the revisit intention. First, revisit intention is a time-dependent construct with distinct short- and long-term considerations. Second, conditional revisit intention, which refers to the intention to return under specific circumstances, must also be carefully examined.

The influence of social capital on tourist satisfaction and revisit intentions can be elucidated by examining its constituent elements. Firstly, concerning trust, elevated trust in residents and fellow tourists can cultivate a sense of security and comfort during the visitor experience, potentially augmenting satisfaction and increasing the probability of return visits. Secondly, adherence to local norms and customs contributes to a more comfortable and enjoyable visitor experience, positively impacting satisfaction levels. Thirdly, social networking, facilitated through interactions with residents and other tourists, can engender novel discoveries and enriching experiences, thereby enhancing both satisfaction and the intention to revisit the destination. These findings indicate a significant correlation between each element of social capital and key tourist outcomes, specifically satisfaction and revisit intentions.

3. Evaluation Methods using Behavioral Economics

The application of behavioral economics principles in tourism research remains relatively limited. A prominent concept in behavioral economics is the demonstration effect, which posits that individual behavior is significantly influenced by social interactions and the surrounding environment. Fisher (2004) emphasized the role of social comparison within this framework, highlighting how individuals' consumption behaviors are often shaped by a desire to emulate their peers' lifestyles. This study departs from conventional approaches by arguing that tourists' behavior can also influence residents, potentially leading to behavioral mimicry. While the existing literature on behavioral economics in tourism is scarce, particularly regarding its impact on tourist satisfaction and revisit intention, this study elucidates the role of key behavioral concepts, such as reference point dependence and loss aversion, in shaping tourist experiences. Specifically, it examines how these concepts influence satisfaction levels and willingness to revisit in the context of Hokkaido. The analysis is grounded in authentic tourist narratives, using real-world reviews and testimonials to explore the influence of social capital on tourist sentiment and

behavioral intentions.

3.1. Indicators in Behavioral Economics

3.1.1. Reference Point Dependence

Rooted in behavioral economics, the concept of reference point dependence posits that individuals evaluate situations and make decisions based on subjective reference points, such as prior experiences and contextual information. Consequently, objectively identical situations may be perceived as either gains or losses depending on an individual's reference point, resulting in behavioral variations. Analogously, tourists appraise potential destinations by employing various reference points, encompassing past travel experiences and online reviews. For example, pre-trip exposure to visually compelling photographs on social media platforms can cultivate elevated expectations. However, if the actual experience fails to meet these pre-formed expectations, tourist satisfaction may diminish. This qualitative study investigates the role of review information in the formation of tourist expectations and the subsequent impact of these expectations on satisfaction and revisit intentions. Specifically, the research examines the influence of the discrepancy between expectations established through reviews and the actual tourist experience on visitor satisfaction and the propensity to revisit the destination.

3.1.2. Loss Aversion

Loss aversion, a core concept in behavioral economics, describes the psychological phenomenon in which individuals experience greater emotional impact from losses than from equivalent gains. This means that the perceived pain of losing 10,000 yen, for instance, is generally greater than the perceived pleasure of gaining the same amount. Rooted in the prospect theory, this concept has been shown to influence a wide range of decision-making processes. In the context of tourism, loss aversion significantly impacts tourists' destination selection. For example, exposure to negative reviews about a potential destination can evoke a fear of negative outcomes, such as wasted time or having a disappointing experience, thereby discouraging tourists from selecting that destination. This study examines how review information shapes tourists' decision-making processes through the lens of loss aversion. Negative reviews act as a significant deterrent, as they heighten the perception of potential losses and motivate tourists to avoid such risks.

4. Review Information on the Tourist Destination

Tourist satisfaction and revisit intentions are intrinsically linked to the presence of robust social capital within a destination. Online reviews offer valuable data for assessing the impact of social capital on these outcomes, providing authentic insights into tourist experiences. However, careful consideration must be given to the interpretation of review data due to inherent biases and subjective elements. Reviews are susceptible to selection bias, as tourists with highly polarized experiences (positive or negative) are more inclined to actively post reviews.

This study analyzes online reviews pertaining to natural scenery, historical architecture, and cultural facilities in Hokkaido. Specifically, the analysis centers on three case studies: Four Seasons Hill in Biei-cho ("Jalan," 2024a), representing natural scenery; the former Hakodate Ward Public Hall ("Jalan," 2024b), a historical structure constructed during the Meiji era (1868-1912) and currently utilized as a cultural facility; and the Hokkaido Asahikawa Art Museum ("Jalan," 2024c), renowned for its extensive collection of exhibits on Ainu culture and the natural environment of Hokkaido. For each case study, 20 reviews

were collected from the Jalan website and subjected to qualitative analysis through collaborative discussions among the research team. The analysis identifies and interprets patterns related to reference point dependence and loss aversion, core concepts in behavioral economics, as they manifest in tourist reviews and their potential relationship to social capital.

4.1. Four Seasons Hill

This analysis begins by examining the concepts of reference point dependence and loss aversion, with a focus on the expected bloom time of lavender. The frequent mention of “lavender” in the reviews suggests that it serves as a primary reference point for visitors. Disparities between expected and actual bloom times, such as encountering an already-passing bloom period, elicited expressions of disappointment among reviewers, indicating a prominent role for loss aversion in their evaluations. Furthermore, the perceived value for money, as reflected in the frequent comments about admission and parking fees, highlights price as a significant reference point. Expressions of appreciation for free access or complaints about high costs demonstrate that price strongly influences visitor evaluations. Additionally, the analysis reveals a gap between expectations and reality, as some reviews expressed disappointment when the experience did not align with previsit expectations shaped by photographs and videos. This underscores the role of prior information as a reference point for visitor evaluations.

The analysis further explores the link between these findings and social capital. Review platforms serve as valuable sources of information and facilitate the trust of potential visitors. By sharing their experiences, reviewers contribute to a collective pool of knowledge, enhancing trust in the selection of tourist destinations. Moreover, the reviews highlight the development of positive relationships between visitors and residents, exemplified by expressions of gratitude for free public access, which fosters a sense of trust and goodwill within the local community.

Concerning social norms, the positive evaluation of the park’s well-maintained landscape suggests a high level of normative awareness among visitors. Environmental consciousness, reflected in the appreciation of flowers and the emphasis on coexisting with nature, further demonstrates the influence of social norms on visitor behavior. Finally, the analysis highlights the role of networks in shaping visitor experiences. The exchange of information through review platforms fosters connections among visitors, and the expressed desire to share the experience with friends suggests the potential for further network expansion and information dissemination.

In conclusion, the review data for Four Seasons Hill demonstrate that tourists use prior information and expectations as reference points when evaluating their experiences. Furthermore, diverse factors, including price, interactions with nature, and relationships with residents, significantly influence their evaluations. These findings are deeply intertwined with the core components of social capital, namely trust, norms, and networks, and are believed to have a significant impact on visitor satisfaction and their intention to revisit.

4.2. Former Hakodate Ward Public Hall

The analysis begins by examining the influence of reference point dependence and loss aversion on the evaluation of a building’s exterior. Notably, comparisons between the observed exterior, especially the contrast between yellow and light blue, and visitors’ preexisting mental images of the building suggest that reference point dependence plays a role in shaping perception. Furthermore, discrepancies between

anticipated and actual interior features and furnishings significantly impacted visitor satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Historical value also emerged as a key factor, with reviews indicating that imagining the building's historical context and past appearance enhanced visitor appreciation. Additionally, the experience itself was deemed valuable, with many reviews highlighting the memorable nature of visiting the building. Several aspects of social capital were evident in the analysis. First, trust in reviews emerged as a crucial factor, as visitors rely on others' experiences to inform their destination choices. Second, trust in the preservation of the building was reflected in visitors' appreciation for the careful maintenance and restoration efforts. Third, the concept of "norms" was observed in the implicit emphasis on appropriate visitor behavior, such as respecting others and maintaining decorum within the building. Respect for historical significance was also a recurring theme in the reviews. Finally, the analysis revealed the role of social networking facilitated by review platforms. The exchange of information and experiences through online reviews fosters a network among users, enabling the dissemination of information and potentially leading to the formation of new social connections. The observation that visitors often intend to visit the building with friends further supports this notion. Overall, the review data on the former Hakodate Ward Public Hall demonstrate that tourists comprehensively evaluated diverse aspects of the building, including its exterior, interior, historical significance, and visitor experience. Notably, comparisons with prior expectations, the state of preservation, and interactions with other visitors significantly influenced visitor satisfaction and dissatisfaction. These findings suggest a strong correlation between these evaluation factors and the key components of social capital, namely trust, norms, and networks, which ultimately influence tourist satisfaction and their intention to revisit.

4.3. Hokkaido Asahikawa Art Museum

This analysis explores the concepts of reference point dependence and loss aversion, especially concerning the museum's aesthetic integration with its natural surroundings. Evaluations of the building's appearance, especially its harmonious relationship with the environment, suggest that visitor perceptions are shaped by comparisons with preconceived notions and expectations. Additionally, the quality and presentation of the exhibition content significantly impact visitor satisfaction, with discrepancies between the anticipated and actual experiences contributing to dissatisfaction. Several aspects of social capital were identified in the analysis. First, trust in online reviews was evident, as visitors relied on the experiences of others when deciding to visit. Second, trust in the museum's management was reflected in expressions of confidence regarding the quality of exhibitions and the maintenance of museum facilities. Third, adherence to appropriate museum etiquette, such as respecting other visitors and maintaining a quiet atmosphere, was frequently noted in the reviews. Furthermore, respect for the artwork was demonstrated through visitor behavior and comments that conveyed an understanding and appreciation of the artwork.

The analysis also highlights the role of social networking facilitated by online review platforms. The exchange of information and experiences among visitors fosters a sense of community and facilitates the dissemination of information about the museum. The observation that visitors often plan to visit the museum with friends further supports the role of social networks in shaping visitor experiences.

Review data from the Hokkaido Asahikawa Art Museum revealed that visitors holistically evaluated multiple aspects of the museum experience, including its architecture, exhibition content, and integration with the natural environment. Notably, comparisons with preconceived notions, interactions with other

visitors, and adherence to social norms significantly influence visitor satisfaction and dissatisfaction. These findings underscore the deep connection between visitor experiences and the key components of social capital: trust, norms, and social networks, which ultimately affect visitor satisfaction and their intention to revisit.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the impact of social capital on tourist satisfaction and revisit intentions within the context of Hokkaido. The findings reveal a significant relationship between the key components of social capital—trust, norms, and networks—and positive tourist outcomes. Trust in the preservation of natural scenery and historical architecture at tourist sites, coupled with meaningful interactions with fellow tourists, emerged as crucial factors in enhancing visitor satisfaction. This study contributes to the tourism literature by applying the concept of social capital to provide a more comprehensive understanding of tourist behavior. Moreover, it highlights the critical role of social capital in the sustainable development of tourism destinations and offers valuable insights for future policy development. Future research should employ rigorous quantitative methodologies and larger datasets to further elucidate the complex relationship between social capital and tourist behavior.

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Research Paper

Synthetic knowledge in civilization studies

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Abstract

The beliefs and experiences of academics in a given period are one focus of civilization studies. This history provides a synthetic means of connecting various academic fields by examining the shared experiences and environments—or external factors—behind developments in those fields, which makes it possible to understand seemingly separate intellectual achievements in a cross-disciplinary way. If the evaluation or formation of ideas is the basis of civilization studies, it is natural that the study of external factors impacting and methods of connecting those ideas are a relevant means of analyzing them.

Hughes' portrait of the *fin de siècle* can be seen as an example of this method. He examined the spread of positivism, which began with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, as the external factor impacting the thinkers discussed in his work. The individual intellectual achievements in various *fin de siècle* fields are thus linked as a unified endeavor against the background of this common task. This method can be applied to a wider range of subjects. Burckhardt's, "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy" (*Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 1860) and "The History of the Renaissance in Italy" (*Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, 1868) were also histories of a civilization's context, but these large-scale works went beyond the scope of intellectual endeavors to unify the human activities of 15th century Italy from an overarching perspective of "honor." These examples illustrate the creativity available within this field.

However, adopting this perspective also means giving up the benefit of rigor that can be obtained by limiting one's subject. Furthermore, neither histories of the *fin de siècle* nor the Renaissance can eliminate the subjectivity of the historians writing those histories nor there is a risk of being criticized as generalizing. To better recognize the creative value of studies that use this "method of connection," it is therefore necessary to develop a methodology that can withstand such criticisms.

Keywords: Civilization study, Jacob Burckhardt, Trataro Shimomura, Synthetic knowledge, Total history, Transdiscipline

1. Introduction

How academic disciplines that deal with human knowledge are related to wider human activities and their history, and what progress they have made, leads to an understanding of the general *raison d'être* of human activities in a given context. If we consider that the totality of human activities in specific contexts form civilizations, then the history of academic developments in a time and place leads directly or indirectly to the history of that civilization.

The experiences of people active in academic disciplines in their respective civilizations have long been a topic in the civilization studies. Despite facing decline since the later 20th century, the topic has continued to make an impact. Henry Stuart Hughes (1916-1999) explored the intellectual situation in Europe in the late 19th

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and early 20th centuries through biographies of intellectuals of the time (1958). Hiroshi Saito (1931-2020) pointed to it as the foundation of the idea of civilization studies (1979). Even more recently, Tsuneo Yasuda's lecture, "20th Century Academic Philosophy," at the Institute of Civilization directly addressed this theme (2017).

The history of a discipline often focuses on the history of theoretical developments within the discipline. However, the shape of knowledge in a given civilization cannot be seen by simply taking individual disciplines separately, as human knowledge is composed of a complex network of intertwined elements. Therefore, a comprehensive view that integrates these histories is useful for understanding what meaning the discipline has given to human activities over time. If history that looks exclusively at theoretical developments within specialized frameworks is called "internal theoretical history," then history that focuses on the above topics can be called "the history of external factors." Examining the latter could play a positive role in the pursuit of synthetic, comprehensive knowledge as a way of connecting various academic fields. By looking at the shared experiences of the individuals behind the theoretical developments within academia, it becomes possible to grasp seemingly separate intellectual phenomena from the same era in an inter- or transdisciplinary way.

European academia has built the philosophical foundations of modern scholarship, but it is also possible to consider the evaluation or formation of ideologically different forms of knowledge as an element of the foundation of civilization studies. In this respect, "the history of external factors" and methods of connection are necessarily important. Because a specialization is an autonomous system, it is simultaneously exclusive (Kamikawa, 1990). The history of disciplines is centered on specific theoretical developments, and such works generally create a sense of disconnection. Discussions of previous research and the use of strictly defined technical terms are certainly important evaluation targets for this approach. However, specialists also exclude not only subjects that are unrelated to their own research from their evaluations, but also intellectual achievements acquired through methods outside their own specialty.

Naturally, the advancements enabled by specialized disciplines have made human life more comfortable and expanded and deepened the possibilities of human life. From a philosophical point of view, this process is necessary for human freedom and liberation (Shimomura, 1997). However, the disadvantages that hyperspecialization has brought to human society and human freedom must also be recognized. Such disadvantages have spurred the need for a new approach to civilization studies. In postwar Japan, this drove multiple academics to the belief that the task of civilization studies is the "coexistence of symbiosis" of various civilizations (Ito, 1997), with a general focus on the "will to coexist" (Saito, 1979). This marked the emergence of an orientation of civilization studies toward the "history of external factors" and using a methodology focused on connections.

Based on the above, this paper presents a tentative theory on the significance and necessity of synthetic or comprehensive knowledge in civilization studies. Here, "synthetic knowledge" means knowledge that is not limited to a particular field but integrates various fields. First, the necessity of the "internal theoretical history" and the "history of external factors" as "synthetic knowledge" will be examined in the context of the histories of two fields: science and mathematics. Next, Hughes' *Consciousness and Society* (1958) will be taken as an example of civilization studies. Hughes examined the ideological trends of the late 19th century and introduced a perspective that broadly connects specialized disciplines, rather than focusing on specializations within them. Finally, this study explores Carl Jacob Christoph Burckhardt's (1818–1897) research on the Italian Renaissance

as a history created through his method of “articulation,” which, like synthetic knowledge, extended beyond the scope of intellectual endeavors to describe the external political, economic, artistic, and cultural factors that allowed for the “unorthodox individualism” seen across 15th century Italy.

However, as many have pointed out, adopting this approach means giving up the benefits of rigor that can be obtained by limiting the subject. In response to such criticism, Torataro Shimomura (1902–1995) proposed a more coherent methodology for maximizing the creative potential of the “method of connection” within civilization studies. This paper therefore also examines Shimomura’s *The World of Burckhardt* (1983) as a reframing of Burckhardt’s approach in contemporary civilization studies. We argue that this method provides a foundation for histories of “synthetic knowledge.”

2. “Internal theories” and “external history”: the “total history” of science

“Synthetic knowledge,” achieved by fusing “internal theoretical history” and the “history of external factors,” is important for both the histories of individual academic disciplines as well as civilization studies in general. Synthetic knowledge is composed of a combination of disciplines. This approach was apparent in the methods of the Annales School (*L’école des Annales*) founded by Lucien Febvre (1878–1956) and Marc Bloch (1886–1944) around 1930. Their research combined elements of popular culture, life history, and social history with historical research. In other words, synthetic knowledge requires that specialized disciplines be linked together (interdisciplinary), or that the boundaries between them be crossed (transdisciplinary).

The importance of a synthetic perspective is not limited to the humanities and social sciences. Since the scientific revolution of the 17th century, science and mathematics have been developed under the mechanistic positivism presented by René Descartes (1596–1650) to establish an autonomous discipline. Therefore, historical research on science and mathematics has tended to focus exclusively on the history of theory construction. However, the dominance of theory was not necessarily the case in actual historical academia. For one well known example, Louis Pasteur’s (1822–1895) “denial of spontaneous generation” was accepted with the strong backing of the Catholic Church in the 19th century.

The same is true of the history of mathematics, a field treated as representative of logical theoretical systems. Around 1980, Judith Grabiner (b. 1938), a historian of mathematics, advocated for a research methodology based on “total history.” She argued that even in the history of the development of mathematical theory, it is necessary to examine the influence of external, nonmathematical factors. She thus proposed a synthesis of internal history and external history, again demonstrating the possibility of synthetic knowledge.

One topic in the history of mathematics that is relevant to “total history” is the problem of the insolvability of quintic equations. This problem was solved by French mathematician Évariste Galois (1811–1832) by converting it into an abstract theory called the “permutation group of solutions,” an idea that contributed greatly to developments in the field of algebra. However, his ideas were not necessarily understood in France at the time. It was only after Galois’ death that German mathematician Julius Wilhelm Richard Dedekind (1831–1916) embraced Galois’ findings (1857). It was not until Camille Jordan’s (1838–1922) *Theory of Substitutions* (1870) that Galois’ solution was accepted in France.

It is easy to say that Galois’ ideas were extremely advanced at the time in France at the time. However, it could also be the fact that the subjects of mathematics in France and Germany were different. For example, Augustin-Louis Cauchy (1789–1857), a French mathematician and a professor at the École Polytechnique,

wrote in 1821 that he was not interested in the topic of quintic equations because it did not fit into the classes he taught. At the time, French academia was more focused on applied mathematics, which was reflected by the curricula at the École Polytechnique. This was likely due to national policies promoting science and technology in France. This policy appears to have also influenced mathematics in Germany. This illustrates how research in an academic field depends heavily on external factors like national policy and educational content, a phenomenon for which the approach of “total history” and the idea of synthetic knowledge is effective. Shimomura’s concept of the “method of connection” is also effective in this sphere, emphasizing a transdisciplinary approach. Even in the histories of science and mathematics, which focus on the development of strict, objective theories, a rigorous historical approach requires understanding the contexts behind those theories.

3. Hughes and the intellectual history of the late 20th century

This section returns to the use of synthetic knowledge in civilization studies using Hughes’ *Consciousness and Society* (1958). This work can be seen as a history of external factors surrounding the intellectual world of late 19th century Europe. Hughes saw the spread of positivism as the important context of the famous thinkers he discusses, which began with the publication of Charles Darwin’s (1809–1882) *On the Origin of Species* (1859). For Hughes, “positivism” was the approach to analyzing human behavior using natural science (Saito, 1979). Following Darwin, the idea that the main determinants of human activity are not “conscious and logical selection” but “genetics” and “environment” became widespread. Biological approaches began to be adopted in the study of human cultural and spiritual domains as a result.

The positivist mindset was extremely significant across multiple disparate fields in the late 19th century and early 20th century, impacting a diverse array of scholars like psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), sociologists Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Max Weber (1864–1920), philosophers Henri-Louis Bergson (1859–1941) and Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), and novelists André Gide (1869–1951) and Hermann Hesse (1877–1962). It connected them not only across the distinct academic disciplines in which they were engaged, but also by transcending the differences between the intellectual pursuits of scholarship and creativity.

The experience of positivism can thus be understood as a widespread understanding of humanity as being defined by rational, logical systems, such as biology. To that extent, individual intellectual achievements in various fields of the time can all be interpreted as a common effort toward exploring the human condition from this viewpoint. However, as Hughes claims, these scholars also embraced a spirit of freedom in this pursuit, which was marked by the championing of conscious, logical choice rather than genetic or environmental determinism:

Hence, in the perspective of a cultural scene dominated by Social Darwinism, the young thinkers of the 1890s can be regarded as aiming at precisely the opposite of what they have usually been accused of doing. Far from being “irrationalists,” they were striving to vindicate the rights of rational inquiry. Alarmed by the threat of an iron determinism, they were seeking to restore the freely speculating mind to the dignity it had enjoyed a century earlier (Hughes, p. 39).

Criticisms of these innovators have often portrayed them as mystics, “irrationalists,” and romantics because of their interest in the nonrational motivations of human behavior and in the illogical, the uncivilized,

and the inexplicable. However, Hughes rejected this view, arguing “The social thinkers of the 1890s were concerned with the irrational only to exorcise it they sought ways to tame it, to canalize it for constructive human purposes” (Hughes, pp.35-36).

Perhaps most importantly, positivism led to the development of psychoanalysis, which was understood as the task of elucidating the mental and emotional logic of human beings. Hughes thus evaluated Freud within this wider historical perspective: “Rather than simply affirming that the unconscious did not follow the usual rules of logic, he attempted to define the strange rules by which such illogical logic operated” (Hughes, p. 136).

Although this section has only examined part of Hughes’s argument here, it has illustrated his multifaceted perspective, which transcended the boundaries of specialized fields. Hughes’ work on the history of external factors combated the “irrationalist” criticism that had been levied against late 19th century thinkers. Instead, he understood them as rationalists within their positivist context, thus providing a model for understanding academic developments on their own terms.

4. Burckhardt’s histories of Renaissance Italy and Shimomura’s reinterpretation

The “method of connection” that integrates the achievements of various academic fields plays an effective role in civilization studies. It can be applied not only to specialized academic fields but also to a much broader range of subjects. One of the most notable early examples is Burckhardt’s “*The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*” (1860), in which he used the “method of connection” to create a work of astonishing scale that goes far beyond the scope of academic activities, providing a unified description of political, artistic, and cultural phenomena that occurred in 15th century Italy. This section will examine the continued potential of Burckhardt’s methods, especially as interpreted by Shimomura.

(1) Burckhardt and Shimomura

To understand Burckhardt, it is necessary to first understand his ideological context. The short period from the winter of 1859 to the early autumn of the following year marked a watershed for the biological understanding of human beings against the staunch defense of traditional European humanism. Burckhardt published his landmark *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, translated as *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, during that time (1860). This work, which the author himself considered unfinished, would go on to have a major influence on modern understandings of the Renaissance. Importantly, Burckhardt is now considered to have helped form the ideological foundations of civilization studies.

While Burckhardt’s work has become somewhat unfashionable in the historical field itself, part of the reason he remains impactful in the field civilization studies is due to Shimomura’s research, which came to fruition with the publication of *The World of Burckhardt* (1983).¹ Shimomura championed a mutual analysis of the humanities and natural sciences, which was linked to a concept of civilization inspired by the idea of *civitas*, the classical concept of a community of educated, free citizens. As will be discussed below, Shimomura’s sympathetic portrayal of Burckhardt was not that of a half-hearted rebel against the growing positivist trend as described by Hughes. Rather, in an era in which positivism was increasingly seen as the core of knowledge, Shimomura argued that Burckhardt viewed history as an art form that guided people toward culture (*Bildung*).

¹ Shimomura’s initial research on Burckhardt was reported at the Theory Study Group held by Tokai University’s Institute of Civilization Research on October 13, 1976, and a transcript of the report was published in the 19th issue of *Bunmei* (文明) the following March.

(2) Shimomura's interpretation of Burckhardt

According to Shimomura, the basis of Burckhardt's cultural historical works is art history, but this was an "art history as a task" rather than a "history of artists" (1983, p. 95). Here, a "history of artists" focuses on the individuality of each artist and on summarizing and characterizing their work. It does not question the origin of an artist's themes and tends to assume that artists choose their themes themselves (Shimomura, 1983, p. 96). However, "art history as a task" focuses not on the talent or originality of artists, but on the act of creation and its origins as reflected by that act. For example, in *The History of the Italian Renaissance* (1863), Burckhardt claimed that the motivation formed by Renaissance building owners, architects, scholars, and critics in regard to architecture was "honor." Here, "honor" is defined as the impulse to distinguish oneself from others and compete to express one's superiority and originality: "Architecture was the best and greatest means to monumentally record and satisfy the Renaissance man's sense of honor and his desire to make himself immortal" (1983, p. 100). The physical endurance of architecture was seen as a means of ensuring the immortality of one's honor.

Additionally, "art history as a task" is also a "categorical systematic description" (1983, p.129). In other words, it takes the form of a systematic description that connects a wide range of phenomena individually according to the topic and depicts them as an orderly whole. This point can be understood from the following comprehensive explanation by Shimomura:

[Burckhardt's] "art of architecture" includes the city as a whole, as well as its streets, squares, palaces, churches, villas, gardens, and fortifications, and even extends to the reflection on the organic fusion of religious architecture (churches and monasteries) and secular architecture in the city as a whole. He organically considers these urban buildings from the demands of honor as a natural impulse of the people of the time, and proves that each individual piece follows the stylistic laws of the time, and thus possesses monumentality, balance, and exemplary qualities (Shimomura, 1983, p. 102).

The "art of architecture," however, was only a part of Burckhardt's interests in Renaissance concepts of art. The title of the first chapter of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* is "The State as Art," which makes this clear. The state itself was understood as a work of art motivated by honor. Honor thus connected the various human achievements of 15th century Italy, even the human being itself, to form a unified systemic whole. It is probably impossible, and is indeed unnecessary, to identify a single direct factor that led to this understanding of honor. Rather, what is noteworthy is how these experiences and tasks complemented each other as illustrated by the many events that occurred in this temporal and geographical context.

Burckhardt's work was a true innovation in the historical field. As Shimomura claims: "the Renaissance in the modern sense of the word has [only] existed since its formation by Burckhardt" (1983, p. 220). Indeed, "the concrete realization of the Renaissance was entirely his creation" (Shimomura, p. 219). Burckhardt's foundational understanding of Renaissance Italy as a distinct civilization was achieved by the "connection" of various external factors or, more broadly, the utilization of synthetic knowledge.

5. Conclusion

Since the 19th century, the archetypal idea of knowledge has compartmentalized into specialized fields. In the

scientific and mathematical fields, this has been firmly established by the successive creation of new technologies and the dramatic changes they have brought to people's lives, particularly in the natural sciences and applied mathematics. Since the early 20th century, electric lighting, telephones, automobiles, airplanes, widespread sanitation, and improved medical care provided obvious symbols of human progress. As Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) noted, in the dawn of the modern era, “One began to believe more in this “progress” than in the Bible, and its gospel appeared ultimate because of the daily new wonders of science and technology” (1945, p.3). At the same time, the belief arose that technological progress would necessarily bring about mankind's moral improvement. Voting rights were given to a wider range of citizens in many countries, and reformers worked to address problems like unsafe working conditions and poverty. However, this unbridled belief in progress would be considered rash optimism by the next generation. Following the tumult of the early 20th century, it became clear that material improvements did not necessarily lead to improvements to the human spirit. If anything, as the century progressed, people began to believe that the human spirit was on a path of decline.

In Japan, civilization studies represent an intellectual movement that arose from the literal rubble of this decline. This paper characterizes civilization studies as an approach to knowledge that contrasts with specialization. In civilization studies, the promotion of the human spirit is foregrounded in terms of intellectual trends, and connection or synthesis is foregrounded as a methodology in contrast to hyperspecific analysis. Since a long time has passed since the formation of civilization studies, and the humanities have seen a notable decline in societal value during that time, it is necessary reestablish its ideals and methods for a new academic context. As part of this effort, this paper has attempted to establish the intellectual heritage of civilization studies from a historiographical perspective. It represents its own unique intellectual tradition alongside other fields. The historians discussed in this paper, who were not necessarily specialists—from the Annales School to Shimomura—have formed this heritage.

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Research Paper

The Use of Manga and Anime in Japanese Society from the Perspective of Revitalization Policies in Public Institutions

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Abstract

Japanese manga and anime, which can be considered one of the subcultures of Japan, are not limited to a part of the industry, but have spread to a wide range of fields such as TV dramas, theater, fashion, toys, and the tourism industry. This phenomenon can be called “manga and anime flooding,” and can be said to be a manifestation of the convergence culture pointed out by H. Jenkins. However, as pop culture, manga and anime are not only entertaining, but also contribute to social revitalization. As part of Cool Japan, the government is using manga and anime to promote inbound tourism and economic effects, and local governments are also using manga and anime in various ways to revitalize their regions. In this study, we classify and examine the usage patterns of manga and anime in public institutions such as the national and local governments in Japan. Naturally, it is true that manga and anime bring economic effects to regions. At the same time, manga and anime are often used in the hope of revitalizing local industries and raising people's awareness. In this study, we focus particularly on local museums related to “Detective Conan” and Shigeru Mizuki's “Yokai Road” in Tottori prefecture, and analyze their usage records. We will also look at how manga and anime are being used in other municipalities. Through this research, we will make clear that manga and anime are not simply pop culture entertainment, but are involved in fostering local social capital. Manga and anime themselves are a type of physical capital, but when they are shared by people and recognized as part of a local identity, they can become human capital. This research makes clear that when these capitals are fully utilized, they enrich a certain type of capital related to people's spirituality (here referred to as “mental capital” (or “spiritual capital)).

Keywords: Use of manga and anime, Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO), Visit Japan Campaign (VJC), Convergence culture, Revitalization of local area, Social capital

1. Introduction

“The world is full of manga!” Japanese manga and anime are not just a part of the entertainment industry; they have spread to a variety of fields and industries, including television dramas, theater, fashion, toys, and travel. As a form of popular culture, manga and anime have provided people with a particular type of entertainment. However, in the present-day information age, manga and anime no longer comprise simply “reading” or “viewing” material such as magazines and videos; they have penetrated and infiltrated society in multiple ways. The “convergence culture” observed by Jenkins can be considered a “manga and anime overflow.” In this context, manga and anime are not merely entertainment but also contribute to revitalizing society. In particular, the Japan government has utilized them to promote international tourism as part of the “Cool Japan” policy, and local governments have employed them in various ways to revitalize their regions.

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This study examines Japanese national and local governments' use of manga and anime. Although manga and anime economically influence local areas as events related to manga and anime, such as "pilgrimages to sacred sites," attract tourists. However, manga and anime are also used to revitalize local industries and raise people's awareness (Local pride, identity, etc.)¹. This study investigates the patterns of use in local areas, focusing on Tottori Prefecture's Detective Conan memorial hall and Yokai Road, and analyzes the records of this usage. It also explores the use of manga and anime in other local areas. In summary, manga and anime are not simply forms of entertainment; they have been used to foster local social capital. Indeed, manga and anime are a kind of "physical capital." However, when shared by people and recognized as part of a local identity, they can become "human capital." This study argues that when fully utilized, this type of capital also contributes to people's spirituality ("mental capital" or "spiritual capital").

2. Manga and anime as culture—the trend toward convergence culture

Manga and anime are originally forms of Japanese popular culture; however, it is also said that manga and anime are Japanese subculture. The term "subculture" refers to the culture of a minority group in a society as opposed to that of the majority group. In a 1960 paper, J. M. Yinger classified the subcultures of the time in one of three types²:

First classification : Cultural activities that are inherent to the culture of a social group and comprise its fundamental elements.

Second classification: Cultural activities classified according to specific elements such as the language, religion, and values of a specific group in society.

Third classification : Anti-mainstream, anti-establishment cultural activities that oppose the cultural activities and values recognized in the social group.

Based on this classification, subcultures have been perceived as minorities and secondary aspects that accompany the mainstream.

However, more recently, subcultures have changed in appearance and meaning. In particular, manga and anime have formed subcultures that are a kind of popular culture, positioned as a cultural activity by a specific group. Today, manga and anime are disseminated worldwide as Japanese subcultures. In Japan, subculture refers to a culture that includes new forms of expression that are distinct from mainstream culture, such as literature and art. In this form, it is generally recognized as the abbreviation *sabukaru* (subculture), which is mainly used in the case of manga and anime. In other words, manga and anime have developed in collaboration with various fields and industries, creating a recognized culture as a type of identity; thus, they are considered subcultures.

¹ "One Piece! has been used in the reconstruction efforts following the earthquake in Kumamoto Prefecture. We discussed this example as below:

Pengsom, Manashisha, Utilizing Manga and Anime as a policy for "disaster recovery" and "ocal revitalization" in local governments - Focusing on the "ONE PIECE Kumamoto Revival Project", *Civilizations* (『文明』), No33, 2024, pp. 43-55 (in Japanese).

² Yinger, J. Milton, "Contraculture and Subculture," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (Oct., 1960), pp. 625-635; here refer to pp. 626-627.

Today's manga and anime can be two-dimensional (2D) or three-dimensional (3D) images. Images depicted on paper and screens are also used in stage plays and other media, thereby evolving from a 2D to a 3D world. Additionally, manga and anime fans have given rise to the so-called "otaku" culture, where they enjoy cosplaying in costumes modeled after characters. Manga and anime are also the basis for developments in merchandise (e.g., toys) and tourism, including pilgrimages to "sacred sites." The use of manga and anime by local governments, the subject of this article, is an extension of these developments, including cases of using manga and anime as symbols of the region.

Manga and anime have created various spaces that form types of cultural activities. Two major characteristics can be found in these spaces. First, this culture is disseminated and formed through collaborations between the original authors, anime producers, and collaborating businesses. Second, this culture is promoted by interactions among recipients who watch the works and events disseminated in this way. This scenario corresponds to Henry Jenkins's proposed "convergence culture." Jenkins defines convergence culture as a new culture created through media developments and shared through the internet, as multiple media forms, media producers, and consumers (senders and receivers) are intricately interconnected. He identifies the following elements as constituting the formation factors of this culture³:

- (1) the flow of content across multiple media platforms,
- (2) cooperation among multiple media industries, and
- (3) the migratory behavior of media audiences, who will go almost anywhere to search for the kind of entertainment experience they desire.

Per Jenkins' convergence culture, media consumers—ordinary amateurs who consume what the media produces—are shaped and reinforced by their consumption of content presented across media platforms⁴.

The "manga and anime overflow" mentioned at the beginning of this article refers to the expansion from what were originally forms of popular culture as entertainment into various fields and areas, leading to the formation of a new cultural collective. This has established a firm position for manga and anime in society as a convergence culture.

3. Development of manga and anime use in Japan—projects by national organizations

3.1. Establishment of the Japan National Tourism Organization and its activities

As Japanese manga and anime form a convergence culture, they have been utilized by national and local governments. In this section, we introduce their utilization in national policies.

In 2003, the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO), was established under the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT)⁵. In the same year, the "Visit Japan Campaign" (VJC) was

³ Jenkins, Henry, *Convergence Culture, where old and new media collide*, New York University, 2008, p.2.

⁴ Regarding Jenkins' convergence culture, Kurahashi explains it as "the distribution of content across multiple media platforms, a concept for analyzing the phenomenon in which cultural phenomena arise simultaneously across multimedia industries and consumers behave in a variety of ways in the process."

Kurahashi, Kohei, *Historical Revisionism and Subculture: Media Culture of Conservative Discourse in the 1990s*, Seikyusha, 2018. (in Japanese, 倉橋耕平『歴史修正主義とサブカルチャー—90年代保守言説のメディア文化』、青弓社、2018年) .

⁵ Government departments responsible for attracting international visitors were established around the middle of the 20th century, but in 2003, the JNTO was established as an Independent administrative institution under the jurisdiction of MLIT. In 2008, the Japan Tourism Agency was established as an external bureau of MLIT.

launched with the slogan “YOKOSO JAPAN” (Welcome to Japan), aiming to target international tourists, mainly through the MLIT. This initiative aimed at reaching 10 million international visitors to Japan by 2010⁶, with the plan of highlighting various aspects of Japanese culture and content.

The JNTO continues to operate with the goal of developing the national economy, revitalizing local areas, promoting international mutual understanding, and improving Japan’s brand power by attracting international tourists to Japan. However, in 2019, the spread of COVID-19 severely affected tourism globally and in Japan. Various plans were discussed to increase the number of tourists visiting Japan once the pandemic subsided, with manga and anime at the forefront of these discussions.

In 2006, the MLIT General Policy Bureau conducted the *Survey on Regional Revitalization through the Expansion of International Exchange Using Japanese Anime*⁷. The report was compiled in March 2007, revealing that Japanese manga and anime, launched within Japan and abroad, have received high praise internationally. For example, in 2003, *Spirited Away* won the Academy Award for Best Animated Feature. Additionally, with the spread of internet television during the COVID-19 pandemic, Japanese manga and anime have become widely distributed and “branded” as original content with a high reputation.

Notably, although Japanese manga and anime are highly regarded and recognized abroad, their awareness in Japan tends to be relatively low. In response, the JNTO is also promoting manga and anime in Japan to improve their use in tourism and other areas. This approach recognizes that anime and manga are one of the most familiar cultures not only to foreigners but also to Japanese people.

3.2. Visit Japan Campaign⁸

One of the JNTO’s initiatives, the VJC, centers on Japanese manga and anime, as international tourists are increasingly visiting Japan for reasons related to their enjoyment of manga and anime. The VJC initiative has been conceived and implemented since 2023, with its activity policies including the following:

- (1) creating a new tourism business model that utilizes manga and anime,
- (2) expanding international exchanges through manga and anime museums,
- (3) considering effective ways for promoting manga and anime to foreigners, and
- (4) discovering and nurturing new businesses centered on manga and anime.

These policies reflect efforts to expand international exchange by effectively using manga and anime to promote Japan as a tourism-based nation and revitalize local areas. For example, by promoting “pilgrimages to sacred sites⁹” as a part of Japanese culture around the world, these sites can become new tourist spots. Visits by foreigners not only generate economic benefits but also revitalize the local area. In particular, cooperation with local governments leads to town development and revitalization. In this way, the JNTO’s efforts to promote

⁶ The JNTO was established in 1964 as the Japanese Government Tourism Bureau, and is now officially an Independent administrative institution. This organization carries out a wide range of activities both domestically and internationally to encourage tourists from around the world to visit Japan.

Website of the Japan National Tourism Organization, URL: <https://www.jnto.go.jp/> (accessed by Nov. 30, 2024)

⁷ In Japanese, 「日本のアニメを活用した国際交流等の拡大による地域活性化調査」

URL: <https://www.mlit.go.jp/kokudokeikaku/souhatsu/h18seika/01anime/01anime.html> (accessed by Nov. 30, 2024)

⁸ Website of Visit Japan Campaign,

URL: <https://japanworldlink.jp/inbound-words/visit-japan-campaign/> (accessed Dec. 1, 2024)

⁹ Places associated with the main characters of manga or anime works, or places that are the setting for those works, are revered as “sacred sites,” and fans make pilgrimages to these places.

“sacred sites” related to manga and anime have increased awareness of the locations among manga and anime fans in Japan and overseas and raised the consciousness (identity) of residents in those locations. This way, people feel the appeal of manga and anime as well as that of the region.

The VJC aims to introduce Japanese history, culture, and customs, and has established the “Tokyo Model,” “Kyoto Model,” and “Model for touring the four districts of Takarazuka City, Kurashiki City, Sakaiminato City, and Hokuei Town” as ways of utilizing manga and anime. Additionally, the “Japan Anime Map¹⁰,” announced in 2011, focuses on manga and anime.

(1) Tokyo model¹¹

The Tokyo Model utilizes Akihabara (AKIBA) brand. In 2006, the Tokyo Anime Center was opened in Akihabara UDX¹². In response to a survey, 43% of respondents indicated an image of Akihabara as a “town of anime, manga, and pop culture.” This model focuses on pop culture and promotes the appeal of Akihabara.

(2) Kyoto model

Kyoto, the ancient capital of Japan, is recognized as the origin of Japanese culture and art. This project aims to introduce this ancient city to the world as the origin and history of manga. The main goal is to encourage foreigners to visit and experience Kyoto as the origin of Japanese culture. In terms of manga and anime, the Kyoto International Manga Museum¹³ opened in 2006. This museum houses modern magazines, historical materials, and popular contemporary works, allowing visitors to fully enjoy the history of Japanese manga. This model aims to enable visitors to experience traditional Japanese techniques while becoming familiar with manga culture.

(3) Model for four districts: Takarazuka City, Kurashiki City, Sakaiminato City, and Hokuei Town¹⁴

While the above models include manga among the region’s attractions, the “model for four districts” is set up as a VJC with manga and anime as the main foci. Each district is related to a famous manga artist and their work: Takarazuka City (Osamu Tezuka), Kurashiki City (Yumiko Igarashi), Sakaiminato City (Shigeru Mizuki), and Hokuei Town (Gosho Aoyama). Each district has a memorial museum or art museum dedicated to their manga artist, and manga and anime are also highlights of the region. The latter two districts will be covered in more detail in the next section.

VJC has established a travel route that covers these four areas, including the Sanyo and Sanin regions, over a period of three to seven days (see Figure 1¹⁵). JR has also participated, establishing and promoting the “JR Sanyo-San’in Area Pass (7 days).” Unlike major cities, the Sanyo and Sanin regions have not been areas of interest to international tourists; nevertheless, the VJC’s plans, especially those involving manga and anime, have significantly contributed to the revitalization of these areas.

¹⁰ The “Japan Anime Map” was a project launched by the JNTO in 2011 to increase the number of international visitors and revitalize the area by introducing the settings of anime works scattered throughout Japan. Details are omitted in this article (see Website below).

URL: <https://nlab.itmedia.co.jp/nl/articles/1106/24/news076.html> (accessed by Nov. 30, 2024)

¹¹ Regarding Tokyo Model as well as Kyoto model, see website below,

URL: https://www.mlit.go.jp/kokudokeikaku/souhatsu/h18seika/01anime/01_syuu_08kantou2.pdf (accessed by Dec. 1, 2024)

¹² The Tokyo Anime Center moved to Shinjuku and become “Tokyo Anime Center in DNP Plaza,” but in 2021, it moved again to Shibuya and be renamed “Tokyo Anime Center in DNP PLAZA SHIBUYA.”

¹³ The Kyoto International Manga Museum is jointly operated by the city of Kyoto and Kyoto Seika University.

¹⁴ For a model of these four districts, I referred to the following website,

URL: https://www.mlit.go.jp/kokudokeikaku/souhatsu/h18seika/01anime/01_syuu_12chuugoku2.pdf (accessed by Dec.1, 2024).

¹⁵ Website of Japan Endless Discovery (in Thailand)

URL: <https://www.jnto.or.th/model-route/self-travel-5-to-7-days/sanyo-sanin-area/>



Fig. 1. The route that covers the four districts of Takarazuka City, Kurashiki City, Sakaiminato City, and Hokuetsu Town

4. Use of manga and anime in local governments—the case of Tottori Prefecture

4.1. Patterns of use

Many local governments have implemented policies involving manga and anime, which serve to revitalize the region by attracting tourists and foster people's consciousness of their local identity.

Upon analyzing the purpose and objectives of local governments' usage of manga and anime, the following patterns emerge:

Pattern A: Creating a regional identity.

The region where a manga author was born or grew up, or the region where the work is set or the background, establishes the manga author or the work as a symbol of the region. In some cases, a memorial museum is built. This fosters a sense of community, hometown love, and pride among the people of the region.

Pattern B: Sacred Sites

Places related to manga and anime become sacred sites for fans. The works and events related to them and the local area's appeal are linked to manga and anime, enhancing their nature as sacred sites.

Pattern C: Economic revitalization, along with cooperation with commerce

Incorporating manga and anime as tourist spots in a region leads to commercial benefits by revitalizing the production and sales of local products and souvenirs and food and beverage businesses. For example, special trains and stamp rallies bring commercial benefits to local areas.

Pattern D: Revitalization of local industries.

This is related to Pattern C. Local industries can be revitalized by collaborating with manga and anime on specialty, limited-edition souvenir packages and local cuisine. Moreover, establishing specific events related to manga and anime can create new industries.

Patterns B and C aim to provide measurable commercial effects for local governments, such as increasing the number of visitors. These patterns are the most common way that local governments use manga and anime. Meanwhile, Pattern A aims to foster local identity by characterizing the area, rather than revitalizing the town through economic activities. Finally, Pattern D aims to revitalize local industries by collaborations between local governments and manga and anime, particularly by to create new industries through local governments taking the lead in establishing manga- and anime-related events.

4.2. Case study—“Conan’s Hometown” and “Yokai Road” (in Tottori Prefecture)

Of the patterns shown above, we focus on Pattern A and examine two case studies below.

(1) “Detective Conan” and the Goshō Aoyama Memorial Museum (Hokuei Town, Tottori Prefecture)

The town of Hokuei in Tottori Prefecture has adopted the catchphrase “The town where you can meet Detective Conan.” Hokuei was established in 2005 by merging the towns of Daiei and Hojo. As the hometown of Goshō Aoyama, the author of the nationally popular manga and anime series *Detective Conan*, the town has adopted Conan as its symbol. Even before the merger, Daiei Town’s Chamber of Commerce had considered the “Conan’s Hometown” concept since 1997. In 2003, Daiei Town was listed as one of the “four districts centered on manga and anime” of the VJC project; thus, when the two towns merged, Detective Conan was selected as the centerpiece of the town. The installation of a Conan statue and the Goshō Aoyama exhibition had already begun before the merger; after the merger, the “Goshō Aoyama Hometown Memorial Museum” was established in 2007, and it continues to operate today.

As a town in Tottori Prefecture in the Sanin region, the conditions for attracting tourists seemed quite challenging. Therefore, developing the town around Detective Conan was a one-sided strategy with the aim of realizing economic benefits. In 2013, JR Yura Station was given the nickname “Conan Station,” and in 2025 the airport will be nicknamed “Tottori Sand Dunes Conan Airport,” identifying the entire town as being associated with Conan. Moreover, in 2012, the International Manga Expo and the International Manga Summit were held in the town, significantly increasing its recognition in the manga and anime world.

Even more notable than the economic impact is that Hokuei Town has entrusted Conan with the critical role of being the town’s symbol and forming the identity of its residents. The town is involved in managing and operating the Aoyama Goshō Memorial Museum. According to documents from the Hokuei Town Council, the museum will be a facility that will be loved by local residents and become a symbol of Hokuei Town. There is great desire to position Conan as a *raison d’être*, a source of local pride that residents love, with the museum positioned as a facility that will be incorporated into the daily lives of residents.

The “Conan” concept, which was initially adopted as a development project by the pre-Hokuei Town local government, is considered as a typical example of town development in conjunction with the JNTO’s VJC activities.

(2) Mizuki Shigeru Memorial Museum and “Yokai Road” (Sakaiminato City, Tottori Prefecture)

Another example of the use of manga and anime in Tottori Prefecture is the Mizuki Shigeru Memorial Museum and Yokai Road in Sakaiminato City. Sakaiminato City, located in the westernmost part of Tottori Prefecture, is a port town in the Sanin region. A small regional city, it has been in noticeable decline. To revitalize the town and restore the vitality of its shopping district, the “Sakaiminato City Green and Cultural Urban Development Project” was conceived. The works of manga author Mizuki Shigeru, who grew up in the town, were given attention as part of the project.

Shigeru Mizuki (1922–2015) was born in Osaka, but spent his childhood in Sakaiminato, his father’s hometown. Mizuki is known for works such as *Gegege no Kitaro* (originally known as *Kitarō of the Graveyard*), which was adapted into an anime and aired many times, making it popular nationwide, and *Akumakun* (demon-kun). In particular, the former work features various *yokai*, a type of spiritual creature (monster) known as folklore legends across Japan, and is known for spreading the existence of *yokai*. Shigeru Mizuki was a researcher of yokai nationally renowned. Due in part to the popularity of *Gegege no Kitaro*, Sakaiminato City has become known as the “town of fish and Kitaro.”

As part of a revitalization project to combat the city’s decline, Sakaiminato City developed the “Yokai Road Project” in 1993, which involved installing statues of creatures from Shigeru Mizuki’s works along the shopping street. The number of monster statues began at 23, increased to 82 in 1996, 139 in 2010, and finally, to 178 in 2018. Shigeru Mizuki himself supported the project financially during his lifetime. Furthermore, the Mizuno Shigeru Memorial Museum was opened in 2005, displaying exhibits related to Shigeru Mizuki’s life and works.

The Yokai Road is an 800 m stretch from Sakaiminato Station to the Mizuki Shigeru Memorial Museum, where statues (objects) of the seemingly bizarre yet humorous yokai that appear in the work are installed. These have played a part in revitalizing the town, including the shopping district; however, the policy is not just aimed at economic revitalization. The goal is also to make Mizuki Shigeru and Kitaro symbols throughout the city, by renaming the post office “Mizuki Road Post Office,” using Kitaro and other characters on the post office’s scenic stamps, and even using Kitaro on official documents. This illustrates how Mizuki Shigeru and Kitaro have been positioned as the identity of Sakaiminato City.

(3) Utilizing manga and anime as a strategy of Tottori Prefecture

Tottori Prefecture has promoted Conan (Hokuei Town) and Kitaro (Sakaiminato City) as symbols of local areas within and outside the prefecture, fostering the identity of each region. At the same time, these policies have contributed significantly to attracting visitors from outside the prefecture, including international tourists. For example, in Japan, the General Incorporated Association Anime Japan has held a manga and anime event called Anime Japan, introducing regions related to manga and anime (Figure 2¹⁶). At Anime Japan 2024, Tottori Prefecture distributed flyers promoting Conan and Kitaro.



Fig. 2. Promotion of manga and anime from across Japan at Anime Japan

Table 1 shows the results of a 2024 survey on “Tottori Prefecture’s Popular Inbound Tourist Destinations” conducted by Visit Japan Lab¹⁷. The top 10 in this list includes the Aoyama Gosho Hometown Memorial

¹⁶ Anime Japan introduces various regions of Japan that are related to manga and anime.

URL: <https://animeanime.jp/article/img/2022/03/27/68444/483541.html> (accessed by Dec. 1, 2024)

¹⁷ This Table was remade by author from the ranking shown in the Website of Visit Japan Lab,

URL: https://honichi.com/news/2024/09/10/202409_inboundranking_tottori/

Museum, Conan's House, and Mizuki Shigeru's Yokai Road. This trend continues every year, showing that the use of manga and anime has contributed significantly to revitalizing Tottori Prefecture.

Ranking	Name of popular spot	Popular points	Number of foreign reviews
1	Tottori Sand Dunes	474	101
2	Sand Museum	216	46
3	Gosho Aoyama Manga Factory (Gosho Aoyama Memorial Museum)	158	36
4	Mizuki Shigeru Yokai Road	100	23
5	Conan's House Beika Shopping Street	81	18
6	Hakuto Shrine	69	17
7	Daisen Makiba Milk no Sato (Stock farm & Milk factory)	61	13
8	Tottori Nijisseiki Pear Museum	56	13
9	Eshima Bridge	52	13
10	Tottori Hanakairo-Flower Park	44	9

Table 1. Ranking of popular inbound tourist destinations (Tottori Prefecture)

Tottori Prefecture also holds overseas events to promote the prefecture. At these events, Conan and Kitaro have been the prefecture's main promotional characters as tourist attractions. The "Visit Japan FIT Fair" organized by the JNTO was held in Bangkok, Thailand, on January 24, 2025. Tottori Prefecture participated in this project and set up a tourism booth for the prefecture. The pamphlet distributed at the event introduced Yokai Road, Mizuki Shigeru Memorial Museum, and Aoyama Gosho Hometown Memorial Museum under the heading "Experience Japanese Culture" (Fig. 3). These museums are being positioned as a way to attract international tourists, and is a typical example of a local government actively using manga and anime.



Fig. 3 A Tottori Prefecture pamphlet distributed at an event held in Bangkok, Thailand

4.3. Other examples: Examples of local industrial revitalization

Among the four patterns used by local governments mentioned above, Pattern D aims to revitalize local industries through government collaborations with manga and anime. Below, we introduce the examples of Tokushima and Saitama.

(1) “Machi★Asobi” in Tokushima

In Tokushima Prefecture, the manga and anime event “Machi★Asobi”¹⁸ is held in various locations in the prefecture. This is an entertainment event run jointly by Tokushima Prefecture and UFOTABLE, the production studio of the hugely popular anime *Demon Slayer: Kimetsu no Yaiba*, and is one of the largest general events in Western Japan, attracting many manga enthusiasts. The first event was held in 2009, and it is held twice a year, in spring and autumn. The number of visitors continues to increase annually, with over 1 million visitors attending the 21st event in 2018.

“Machi★Asobi” is held in the form of various anime collaboration events, such as a collaboration project between UFOTABLE Studio’s anime works and Tokushima Awa Odori and a stamp rally related to *Demon Slayer: Kimetsu no Yaiba* within Tokushima Prefecture. Additionally, these events included cafes and cinemas, sales of limited-edition products, and cosplay competitions. Furthermore, the “Under the Bridge Museum” has been established on a bridge over the Shinmachi River, where giant banners of anime works are displayed, and in autumn, the “Tokushima Gourmet Hunt” is held, where restaurants can collaborate with animes.

This event is not a private event; it has been held in collaboration with the local government as a way to revitalize the local area. To hold the event, the “Anime Festival Executive Committee” was organized within the Tourism Policy Division of the Tokushima Prefectural Government, illustrating how anime studios and local governments are working together to hold an event featuring a variety of anime works. In particular, “Machi★Asobi,” the Non-Profit Organization (NPO), established in 2012, has been held and managed with subsidies from the prefecture¹⁹. Since the spring event was canceled in 2024, discussions have been underway to make the event even larger in 2025.

(2) “Lucky★Star” in Saitama

Another example of manga and anime contributing to revitalizing a local town is “Lucky★Star” in Kuki City, Saitama Prefecture. The town was revitalized through the visits of many fans to the locations where the work is set; therefore, it is considered one of the first “sacred site” pilgrimages.

The Ministry of International Affairs has issued a report on this process²⁰. The manga series “Lucky★Star” by Kagami Yoshimizu, which began airing in April 2007, is based on Washinomiya Shrine in Kuki, Saitama Prefecture, which led to many fans visiting the shrine. Although not originally a tourist spot, the shrine began to hold unique activities specifically related to the work as many people began to visit. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry planned to sell merchandise related to the work as souvenirs for those who visited Washinomiya, a rural area. This resulted in the first merchandise sold at the sacred site, “votive plaque-shaped straps,” and the first event held at the sacred site. The number of visitors has continued to increase, with 470,000 people visiting each year from 2011 to 2014.

This was one of the first projects in Japan in which a local region and a production company collaborated,

¹⁸ Here, “machi” and “asobi” signify a “town” and “to play,” respectively.

¹⁹ The NPO Machi★Asobi is awarded a subsidy of 30 million yen to promote the creation of lively local communities.

²⁰ Ministry of International Affairs, *Glocal Diplomacy Network* (July 26, 2024)

at a time when the term “sacred site pilgrimage” was uncommon. At the time, “otaku” still had a negative image. However, through the local response, fans of the series came to recognize the area as a town that accepts anime and a town that is understanding and friendly to otakus. Therefore, “Lucky★Star” was effectively “born from interactions between fans and local residents.”

As for events, during the festival at Washinomiya Shrine, a rare sight occurs: a “Lucky Star” mikoshi²¹ is carried along (combined) with a traditional mikoshi. This symbolizes how deeply the event has become integrated into the local community. A stamp rally is also held, where participants are taken to the various shops. In response, the local government has proactively supported events related to “Lucky★Star.” On April 1, 2008, the main character’s family was registered as residents at a fictitious address in the town, and special resident cards were issued. In 2020, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the town’s merger with Kuki City, marriage registration forms featuring an illustration of the main character were distributed.

The case of “Lucky★Star” in Saitama Prefecture is an example of a local area responding to the visits of fans of manga and anime works. With the participation of the local Chamber of Commerce and eventually the local government, the event became a part of the local community. Currently, many voices opine that those who were originally fans of the series “Lucky★Star” have now become fans of the local area. In that sense, this case can be considered a typical example of using manga and anime for “town revitalization” centered on the local area.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the use of manga and anime, focusing on initiatives led by national and local governments. In particular, the national government, led by the JNTO, is promoting initiatives using manga and anime to increase inbound tourism from international visits. In terms of regional revitalization, the aim of these initiatives is to publicize and spread Japanese culture as well as generate economic benefits through commercial revitalization.

This paper examines four patterns of manga and anime use in local governments. By leveraging manga and anime, local governments have ensured regional revitalization primarily through economic effects (Pattern B and Pattern C). Simultaneously, by establishing memorial museums and holding manga- and anime-related events, these practices have fostered the building of a regional identity (Pattern A) and led to industrial revitalization (Pattern D). In that respect, the use of manga and anime has contributed to fostering social capital in local areas. Currently, manga and anime form a convergence culture based on a multilayered platform. Manga and anime can jump out of the page and screen and take on multiple forms. For this reason, they generate sympathy among local people in various ways, playing a significant role in enhancing solidarity among local residents in disaster recovery and town revitalization.

Figure 5 illustrates a structure examining the use of manga and anime in local governments from the perspective of social capital. Here, “physical capital” refers to manga and anime works, the setting for the event in which they are used, and the event, whereas “human capital” refers to the original authors and producers of

²¹ A “mikoshi” is a portable shrine, a type of vehicle that carries a god during festivals. “From Zero to Legend: The Pioneer of Regional Revitalization through Anime Pilgrimages: Washinomiya, Kuki City, and the Initiatives of Lucky Star” (in Japanese 「ゼロからレジェンドへ。アニメ聖地巡礼で地域振興の先駆者「久喜市鷲宮」と「らき☆すた」の取り組み」).

URL: https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/local/page24_002273.html (accessed by Jan. 15, 2025)

the manga and anime, as well as the ideas, abilities, qualities, knowledge, and skills of the staff who implement the event. Crucial here is the formation of awareness among local people about manga and anime. While physical and human capital increase social capital, fostering the spirituality of the local people—the awareness of sharing the acceptance of the works—is also essential. This awareness is included in “human capital”; meanwhile, “mental capital” (or “spiritual capital”) is also considered an important indicator of the spiritual fulfillment of the recipients.

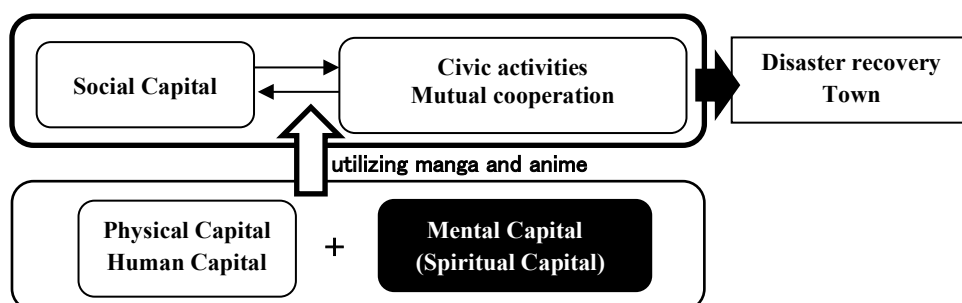


Fig. 5. Cultivating “social capital” through the use of manga and anime

In conclusion, the use of manga and anime in local areas requires sufficient physical and human capital to ensure that this achieves the goals. Meanwhile, the satisfaction that people derive from accepting the policies (enriching their mental capital) enables the government to continue using manga and anime to revitalize the region. The case studies introduced in this paper exemplify uniting an entire region through the manga and anime.

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Editor's Note

I am proud to present issue 35 of Civilizations, an International Journal of the Institute of Civilization Research. In 2024, the Institute hosted the memorable international symposium, "Dialogue between Civilizations," in a face-to-face format for the first time following its suspension due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the opening remarks of this symposium, the Institute's director, Professor Shogo Tanaka, stated that it is important for participants to conduct face-to-face discussions during symposiums that consider dialogs between civilizations. Dialogue works best when its participants can exchange opinions directly and eye-to-eye, and this symposium marked a revival of that practice. This symposium was held on a specific theme limited to a certain region, "Modernization and Regional Diversity in France," and we were able to invite researcher Yan Lespoux from France to the event. This issue features a special report on the symposium along with three new papers covering diverse topics such as civilization studies, tourism, subculture, and social capital. I am pleased that the fundamental purpose of this journal to consider civilization from a transdisciplinary academic field has, therefore, been maintained.

The study of civilization is based on observing human thought and activity. Humans have organized groups using language as a communication tool while confronting nature. Society and culture are born from this process, and humans live their lives within these groups. In other words, these groups encapsulate the basis of civilization. If we consider such groups our "environment," we can consider what Claude Bernard (1813–1878) called the "internal environment" (milieu intérieur) that has sustained human existence. Meanwhile, if we consider that the environment only exists because of human awareness, it can also be seen in Jakob von Uexküll's (1864–1944) "Umwelt." Humans think and act within their group-based environments, and their behaviors lead to changes in those groups. Sometimes their behaviors even have an impact outside those groups. Following Hattori's preface, this may be one of the "small fluctuations" referred to by Ilya Prigogine (1917–2003). Whether those fluctuations have a positive or negative impact on the outside world may differ between those who have influence and those who do not. This is part of why dialogue between groups—indeed, dialogue between civilizations—is meaningful. It may be what we need as we traverse these chaotic times.

(Yoichi Hirano)

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