

# 日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究(第3巻)

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## 「日本とドイツに見る 異文化の受容と変容」

日本の若者が持つ  
農村地域の認識に  
ボランティア活動が与える  
影響について

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ドイツにおける  
宝塚受容の変遷  
—「カブキ」から  
サブカルチャー・  
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ソーシャルメディア  
(Instagram)における  
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自己表現に関する研究

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日本とドイツの若者の  
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## はじめに

ヤンマー株式会社を母体に2016年12月に設立された山岡記念財団は、ヤンマー創業者・山岡孫吉の日独文化交流への熱い思いを継承し、両国の幅広い文化交流を推進することを目的として、様々な活動を展開している。その一環として、同財団は次世代の日独文化交流に貢献する人材を育成することを目的に、2016年度から毎年1回、日独の若者文化・ライフスタイルをテーマにした若手研究者によるシンポジウムを開催してきた（2018年度からは、財団の研究助成を受けた若手研究者の成果発表の場を兼ねている。また、2022年度より日独から日欧に範囲を広げ、研究助成の募集を行っている）。

この『日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究』第3巻は、山岡記念財団主催の第7回若者文化シンポジウム「日本とドイツに見る異文化の受容と変容」（2023年3月8日）に登壇した4名の研究者による研究報告をまとめたものである。会場はゲーテ・インスティトゥート・ヴィラ鴨川で、オンラインを兼ねたハイブリッド開催となった。コロナ禍が一段落したこともあって、数年ぶりに多数の参加者が来場し、研究報告と総合討論に耳を傾けた。

第7回シンポジウムでは、まず4名の研究者による研究報告が行われた。日本の地方芸術祭におけるボランティア活動（ジールント氏）、ドイツにおける宝塚歌劇の受容（松本氏）、ソーシャルメディアにおける日本とドイツの若い女性の視覚的自己表現（ショウダ氏）、日本とドイツの若者のエスニック料理への関心（ヴィエン氏）と、個々の内容は多岐にわたったが、いずれもユニークな着眼と発想、周到な調査にもとづく内容で、異文化研究に新たな視点を提供するものであった。さらに後半の総合討論では、4名全員がパネリストとして登壇し、「異文化にまなざしを向けることの難しさや楽しさ」をテーマに活発な議論を展開した。フロアの参加者からも多くの質問や意見が寄せられ、討論は盛り上がりを見せた。

研究対象も出身国も異なる4名の研究者が率直な意見をぶつけ合う様子は、次世代を担う若手研究者への支援という、研究助成とシンポジウムの趣旨が十分に軌道に乗ったことを実感させ、日独はじめ日欧の文化交流を軸とした、今後のさらなる研究の発展を期待させるものであった。読者諸氏には、ぜひ若手研究者たちの自由な創意に満ちた研究成果を読み取っていただき、日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究への理解を深めていただければ幸いである。

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# 日本の若者が持つ農村地域の認識に ボランティア活動が与える影響について

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## The influence of volunteer activities on the perception of rural regions among young people in Japan

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### Abstract

Due to the popularity of rural revitalization through art festivals, young people from all over the world are increasingly motivated to visit Japanese rural regions as volunteers. The influence of volunteer activities on young people's perceptions of regions considered to be rural has yet to be further researched. Having talked to volunteers from the Echigo-Tsumari and Setouchi Art Triennale in 2022, I examine what kind of insights participants gain on site and discuss how volunteer work influences different perceptions of rural regions in Japan. The results offer important insights into young people's current thoughts on remote areas, as well as how the relationships between urban and rural spaces could be altered in the future.

### 1. Introduction

The popularity of art festivals in rural areas of Japan is still a recent phenomenon (Cai et al., 2020), being considered a new “age of the triennial” (Yoshimoto, 2014) since the 1950s. The focus of the festivals has since shifted from artist-centered projects in cities to socially engaged art in the countryside (Kobayashi, 2014), with the aim of involving local populations and revitalizing rural areas in a sustainable way. Against the backdrop of rapid economic, communal, and demographic change, the interest in art festivals is moreover considered to reflect central social issues in Japanese society today, particularly with younger generations starting to explore different lifestyles beyond metropolitan cities (Klien, 2009). However, Japan was one of the first countries to pursue the goal of socially engaged art that builds new relationships within communities, and has been linked to the goal of regional revitalization from the very beginning (Kobayashi, 2014).

In my personal experience as a volunteer and visitor of the Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennale in 2014, 2015 and 2018, I recognized that many participants were especially interested in the social impact of these new art projects. This led me to question the influence of volunteering on young people's perceptions of rural areas in Japan. To explore this, I conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews with participants at the Echigo-Tsumari Triennale (hereafter ETAT) and Setouchi Art Triennale (hereafter SAF) in 2022, asking them about their initial interest, motivation, and experiences during their volunteer activities.

This article starts by explaining the background of the uprising of art festivals in Japan, their connection to rural revitalization and the current state of volunteer work at the ETAT and SAF. Presenting my research method and its results, I discuss what observations and experiences were particularly impactful for my interviewees while reflecting on their perspectives on rural Japan today. Finally, I will reconsider the study's implications and lay out possible questions for future research.

## 2. Art Festivals and Volunteer Work in Japan

In view of the increasing urbanization in recent decades, problems such as aging, population decline, and economic stagnation of rural regions have become central topics of politicians and the media in Japan. To address these issues, new concepts and ideas have been developed to make life in the countryside more attractive and to revitalize the affected regions from the 1980s onward. Local governments and residents were also increasingly encouraged to actively participate in the planning and shaping of their living space. These new strategies focus not only on economic growth, but also on environmental protection and the revitalization of rural culture. Hence, regional arts projects and festivals have been on the rise in rural Japan and are considered a significant aspect of recent revitalization strategies (e.g., Klien, 2009; *ibid.*, 2010a; *ibid.*, 2010b; Yoshimoto, 2014; Takahashi, 2015).

The art events aim to provide a cultural boost, create new forms of social, cultural, and economic capital, promote rural lifestyles and environmental awareness, attract urban visitors, and provide a platform for local artists and craftsmen to display their work (Boven et al., 2017; Cai et al., 2020). One key factor of these festivals is the recruitment and mobilization of volunteers, who play a significant role in ensuring the events run smoothly, and fostering a sense of belonging, collaboration, and cooperation among the participants (e.g., *ibid.*; Klien, 2010b; Takahashi, 2015; Favell, 2015).

Two notable examples of these festivals are the SAF and ETAT, held every three years in the Seto Inland Sea and Niigata Prefecture respectively. Both festivals were established by art director Kitagawa Fram and feature a wide variety of contemporary art installations, with performances and workshops organized by Kitagawa's Art Front Gallery in Tokyo. Starting in 2000, the ETAT in particular has become one of the largest art festivals in Japan, attracting over half a million visitors each year. Both festivals are advertised as new forms of regional revitalization, with the aim of the installation of contemporary artworks and the resulting tourism being the development of infrastructure, restoration of the regions' historical and cultural legacy, and the establishment of a renewed regional "sense of identity" (Klien, 2010b: 519). Both vents also make use of volunteers, with ETAT calling its group *kohebi-tai* ("little snake squad") and SAF *koebi-tai* ("little shrimp squad"), each representing prominent animals found in their regions. Accordingly, the areas are famous for their beautiful natural sceneries, with ETAT displaying typical border zones between mountain foothills and arable flatland known as *satoyama* and SAF's islands consisting of equivalent coastal landscapes called *satoumi*. The regions themselves have historically been known for their agriculture-related industries, which include rice farming, sake brewing and fishing, all of which notoriously have greatly suffered and lost significance during the last couple of decades (Favell, 2015).

Recent case studies on SAF and ETAT show that exchanges between urban visitors and rural residents can evoke new interest in the regions and help to embark on a path of self-sufficiency and revitalization. However, most studies so far have focused on the perspectives of residents. Volunteer work at ETAT and SAF may also have long-lasting effects on the participants themselves, from gaining knowledge about remote areas in Japan to interacting with residents on site. This will be further explored in the following.

### 3. Method

For my research aim, I conducted qualitative semi-structured interviews. The interviewees were chosen based on two criteria: 1) participated in ETAT or SAF activities as a volunteer at the current time or earlier this year, and 2) younger than 30 years old. The interviews were conducted in four locations (Takamatsu, Naoshima, Osaka, and Tokyo) in order to maybe also capture differences in motivations for participating in the festivals. Takamatsu and Naoshima for instance mark the bigger and more popular destinations of the SAF, with tourist information spots where young volunteers could be more easily found than at the widespread locations with artworks displayed. I used snowball sampling and previous contacts to meet with interviewees at the tourist facilities or in cafés. The interviews were conducted in English, recorded, and partially transcribed for analysis. The language and grammar of the quotes were partially cleaned up, with the nuances kept as close to the original as possible. The length of the interviews varied from 10 to 25 minutes due to the limited availability of potential interviewees during weekdays.

### 4. Results

My questions centered on the interviewees' initial interest and motivations for participating as a volunteer, why they came to the festival, what kind of experiences and impressions they had in the beginning compared to now, and whether they intended to get involved as volunteers again. The interviewees' key statements and results with regard to the research aim are summarized in tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Interview Data - General information and background of the interviewees.

Name* (Place)	Age, Sex	Origin	Current occupation	Participating as a volunteer	Former experiences
Akane (Osaka)	23, F	Osaka, Japan	University Student (Economy), Tokyo	SAF	ETAT, volunteer and tourist
Charlotte (Naoshima)	22, F	Hong Kong	University Student (Event Management), Hong Kong	SAF	ETAT, tourist
Mihou (Takamatsu)	27, F	Hong Kong	Employee (Art Event Promotion), Hong Kong	SAF and ETAT	SAF, Northern Alps Festival (Omachi) and ETAT, volunteer and tourist
Edith (Tokyo)	22, F	Australia	University Exchange Student (Art Management), Tokyo	ETAT	None

\*All names have been changed to protect participant's privacy and identities. Abbreviations: F = Female.

Table 2: Interview Data - Motivations and perceptions of the interviewees.

Name	Initial interest	Initial impressions	Changes in perception	Return?
Akane	Interest in art and community; Learned about ETAT from a friend, got involved with activities and decided to travel to SAF after moving to Osaka.	<b>ETAT:</b> Remote, opportunity to talk about current and future problems in Japan. <b>SAF:</b> Roughly the same, but not as remote and isolated as ETAT.	Never thought of areas as rural, rather as an example or symptom of Japan's current challenges; Realized that revitalization of local communities must be more concrete for locals; Good for building communities but offer nothing definite.	Yes
Charlotte	Heard about SAF from a university program; Wanted to initially go to SAF (more popular), but due to scheduling difficulties because of COVID, went to ETAT as a tourist first.	<b>ETAT:</b> Considered as the "original" of Japan's art festivals; Very remote and vast, difficult to travel around. <b>SAF:</b> Easier to travel around, more exciting to discover artworks.	<b>ETAT:</b> Makes reality of demographic change etc. more visible; Experiences as a volunteer were way harsher; More variety and beauty than expected. <b>SAF:</b> Was surprised by the rich history of each island; Discovered many strange and special things.	Yes
Mihou	First went to SAF with a university program; Does not like to call areas "rural"; Had the initial image of Japan in general as very neat, tidy etc., but realized that no place fit into any stereotype.	<b>ETAT:</b> Most difficult place to go around, very vast; People initially were more reserved than at SAF; Landscape feels very real and wild. <b>SAF:</b> Feels more accessible; Local people eager to meet young volunteers.	Always encountered places through volunteering, does not want to comment on local people in general; Activities very tiring and exhausting; Is always looking forward to the opening of the Triennale, especially with the prospect of getting sleep; All festivals and places are special, mostly characterized by the people they met and the memories they now share.	Yes
Edith	Went skiing in Yuzawa and got recommended to attend winter events at ETAT, hence first volunteering in 2022; Read book about ETAT and wanted to learn more about the concept.	<b>ETAT:</b> Felt very typically rural; Vastly different from big cities, especially because of the beautiful landscape, buildings, and outdoor activities.	<b>ETAT:</b> Experience felt like a magical tour; Heard about problems like depopulation, seeing closed schools etc.; Idea of community art fascinating, but feels they need more time to get to know the place; Learned that motivation to change must come from the community rather than from outside.	Yes

#### **4.1 Initial impressions and growing connections to the region**

As I assumed, the volunteers I talked to were mostly art students and young professionals from urban areas, who were interested in gaining contacts with artists and organizing a large art festival. They were already aware of the social issues faced by rural areas in Japan, such as depopulation and economic stagnation, before their participation. During their stay, they were able to gain hands-on experiences that deepened their understanding of the specific challenges faced by each region, through interactions with local staff and helping with artworks located in abandoned buildings. As a result, some of the volunteers, such as Edith and Charlotte, felt more connected to the region and had a sense of accomplishment and belonging, suggesting that longer stays could further enhance this feeling:

“When we talked to the artists and locals, I learned a lot about the schools and houses that were abandoned because people moved away. I learned so much more about these regions and never before would have thought, ‘Wow, this is a region with a rich history’.” (Edith)

“It's an indirect way to learn more about each place, more than ‘Okay, this is a region that's aging fast.’ Through the artwork and volunteering, you get connected to what's happening. It becomes more emotional and more real.” (Charlotte)

In summary, while most of the interviewees initially wanted to gain experience in organizing art festivals, they also gained hands-on experiences that deepened their understanding of the specific challenges facing rural areas in Japan. As a result, they developed a desire to make positive contributions to the local communities and considered the ongoing well-being of the regions as an important factor for their involvement in volunteer activities.

#### **4.2 Revitalization vs. understanding of a region**

The interviewees began to consider their role and impact as volunteers and the goal of a successful revitalization. They believe that revitalization should 1) take its time, 2) measures should not be imposed, and 3) ideally, the desire to change should come from within the local community:

“It has to come from the people wanting change, that's the basic idea. But you must be very careful, the people who come have to really get to know the residents. Maybe they bring in an idea, but the locals are the ones who must get the show on the road.” (Edith)

Currently, the most common criticism of the ETAT and SAF among scholars is that both festivals have not yet been able to establish long-term autonomy among local people and prevent population decline in the areas. However, scholars such as Klien (2010a; *ibid.*, 2010b), Favell (2015) and Jesty (2021) emphasize the importance of considering each festival's impacts, goals, and the aim of socially engaged art in Japan. Contrary to Europe or America, art festivals in Japan, especially those initiated by Kitagawa Fram, reject the notion of making art useful or practical. The festivals therefore prioritize sustainability and stability over economic success and seek to develop new relationships on site. Mihou also concludes that the festivals' economic benefits should not be the primary concern, but rather the development of relationships among people involved:

“If you don't take enough time, you're not helping at all, you're actually just turning the place into a city you imagine [...]. When the volunteers come back every year, the locals



recognize us as a team, even if they don't remember individual faces. It becomes easier, but it takes time.” (Mihou)

### 4.3 Changes in perceptions of “rural vs. urban”

Depending on their access and source that caught their interest in participating as a volunteer, three out of four interviewees had preconceived notions about the rural areas before volunteering. However, they gradually came to realize that each region had its unique characteristics. One of the interviewees, Akane, felt that volunteering at the ETAT was like a vacation:

“I was born in Osaka and grew up in Tokyo, so I was stressed all the time. Because the big cities, especially Tokyo, are so crowded, and there are too many people. But when I went to Echigo-Tsumari, I felt very relaxed, especially because of the *satoyama* and the people there. Both Echigo-Tsumari and Setouchi feel like home to me now, I feel relaxed when I go there.” (Akane)

While Akane happily seizes the opportunity to get away from big city centers by volunteering at the art festivals, all interviewees nevertheless realized that each region did not match the common images of rural areas in Japan popularized by tourism or media coverage. They found neither a romantically idealized homeland in the countryside nor an isolated ghost town on site. Mihou is especially aware of the stereotypical rural vs. urban dichotomy and expressed her skepticism accordingly:

“Rural' or '*inaka*' still kind of suggests that something is not that advanced or slow, right? And urban areas are often considered more developed and so on. There's always this comparison between the two. To me, each region has its own history, and so they're just different, right? We tend to measure the value of a place by its economic importance, and it doesn't make sense to me. I think that kind of thinking is very short-sighted.” (Mihou)

Akane is also critical of the current situation in Japan where the focus is primarily on large metropolitan areas such as Tokyo and Osaka, and she wishes that more attention could be given to smaller regions in terms of job opportunities and education. She believes that a more balanced approach is necessary to ensure a sustainable future for these areas:

“The problem is the centralization in Tokyo. For example, we could move more university campuses to the countryside, while keeping the standard of education the same, which is a huge problem right now.” (Akane)

Though Charlotte has her reservations about classifying things as “urban or rural” as well, she nonetheless pointed out differences she made out during her stays at SAF and ETAT:

“Okay, I think it's very rural in the sense that you don't have much entertainment here, on the islands themselves, and around Echigo-Tsumari even less. I mean, of course you can live here, and there are shopping streets and so on. But compared to the activities you can do in a city, it's quite different and rural, I would say.” (Charlotte)

The lack of recreational activities for young people in the Setouchi islands and the Echigo-Tsumari region leads to Charlotte expressing her reservations about living in these places. Additionally, some interviewees mentioned that the challenging living conditions and lack of free time during volunteer

activities were the biggest barriers to considering longer stays or even permanent residence in the festivals' locations.

#### 4.4 The ups and downs of volunteer activities

The festivals' volunteer groups, *koebi-tai* and *kohebi-tai*, consist mostly of students and committed residents who follow a conventional Japanese corporate style hierarchy with orders coming from the top. Though volunteers play an important mediating role between locals, artists, and the organization teams, Art Front Gallery in Tokyo controls artist selection, placement, and dispatch of volunteer groups, while the NPO communicates with residents and assigns volunteer tasks daily. The festivals' organization with schedules, preparations, and tasks is therefore considered "very strict" ("*kibishii*") among volunteers, but viewed as a necessary evil to get things done:

"Well, it's meaningful, there are many chances to communicate with everyone. But also, it's harsh, I have to say, harsher than I ever thought, incredibly harsh." (Charlotte)

"Yeah, I think it's totally exhausting, but also really nice here. Yeah, it makes you want to come back. Even though it's exhausting." (Edith)

When asked what she was looking most forward to each time she participated as a volunteer at the festivals, Mihou immediately blurted out:

"Sleep! [...] Because it is just so exhausting. But honestly, in the past, once the festival opened, I just went to sleep immediately and couldn't get up until the next morning." (Mihou)

A local organizer I interviewed at ETAT in 2015 accordingly expressed her concerns for young volunteers, who still tend to do most of the hard physical and mental work in preparation for the festivals. Her major fear was the risk of exploitation, with young people soon getting sick of coming to the regions if the strict style of management continued. While the festivals have been hailed as models for community revitalization and tourism, there are still remaining questions about whether top-down initiatives can achieve bottom-up, sustainable development in the long run (Klien, 2010a; *ibid.*, 2010b; Qu and Funck, 2021). Within the framework of a heavy-handed management, studies about the realities on site have reported many misunderstandings, a lack of involvement by unhappy locals, and a generally very strict, almost hierarchical organization of the ETAT (Favell, 2015; Jesty, 2021). Despite the criticisms, the participants interviewed in 2022 still expressed excitement about the tasks and meeting people from different backgrounds:

"You can just do so many strange and special things. One day I just cut bamboo all day, another I cleaned up a forest. All of that must be done at some point so that both the locals and the visitors can enjoy the festival. So, it's okay, it pays off in the end." (Charlotte)

"The most fun for me is when we are on location with the artists and talk to them about their projects. That's fantastic. Working with people who come to the rice fields, working with the artists, and talking to them, that's just awesome." (Edith)

All four interviewees hence expressed their excitement about their volunteer work at the festivals, despite the harsh conditions. Focusing on the positive impacts of participation, all of them expressed

wanting to volunteer again in the future. Due to the sense of purpose and belonging they gained, they happily recalled pleasant encounters they had on site:

“I remember we were in Echigo-Tsumari, very close to a village, and the residents wanted to show us that they had the best apples. [...] Someone would always come by and bring us whole boxes of apples. And then I met one of the older ladies again, and we immediately started talking about apples, for longer than I care to admit. It was delightful!” (Mihou)

The promise of personal fulfillment, skill development, and networking with like-minded individuals make up for possible risks of high time commitment and exhaustion due to hard physical labor. The main accomplishment of the art festivals according to Akane is therefore the establishment of new social connections, especially between participants from urban and rural areas, that could last for the long run:

“Both triennales promote a new relationship between local and city residents, and also artists and students, especially foreign students. [...] They all come here and experience the culture and the life of the local community, so it's very healthy for the future. [...] The most important thing is this new relationship.” (Akane)

## **5. Conclusion**

The article explored the impact of volunteering at art festivals on young participants' knowledge and perceptions of rural areas in Japan. The results of the study show that volunteering can have a positive impact on young people's views of rural areas, helping them to see these areas as unique and not just as idealized, backward, or hopeless. The most common sentiment expressed by the interviewees was a new appreciation of each place's uniqueness and a growth in critical thinking towards urban vs. rural stereotypes. Working together on art projects and interacting with local residents not only changed their image of rural areas but also gave them a new sense of purpose and social connections.

In the context of the current popularity of art festivals in Japan and the country's forecast to lose around 40% of its population by 2100, Jesty (2021) suggests that revitalization to the extent of returning to economic growth may not even be feasible. Since villages and regions nowadays are constantly dying, and are even encouraged to do so due to their lack of contributions to the market, revitalization in Japan, as shown in the study, nowadays mainly aims for social and communal sustainability, with the goal to collectively survive (ibid.). The art festivals can therefore, as Favell suggests, be seen as an “ongoing experiment in relational and community art” (Favell, 2015: 166), with the potential to create new social relations and public spaces.

In conclusion, volunteer work at the ETAT and SAF can have a positive impact on both individuals and local communities in the long run. However, the strict organization and physical exertion of volunteers can be a potential hindrance to meaningful exchange and connections. To address this issue, it is important to take the repeated criticisms of researchers and participants seriously and, as I suggest, focus on strengthening exchange between participants through other platforms that promote ongoing projects and skill development. This can help minimize burnout risks and improve social connections, leading to a better understanding of different lifestyles among all participants.

Still, it is crucial to note that this study is based on a small sample of only female participants, and more diversity in gender and location is necessary for future research. A deeper analysis of volunteer work among different ages and resident groups would also be valuable. Assessing the long-term development and relevance of volunteer work in urban-rural relationships is important, especially as the borders between the two continue to blur.

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# ドイツにおける宝塚受容の変遷

－ 「カブキ」 からサブカルチャー・クィアカルチャーへ－

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## Changes in the Reception of Takarazuka in Germany

: From "Kabuki" to Subculture and Queer Culture

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### Abstract

The Takarazuka Revue (hereinafter called “Takarazuka”) toured Germany twice during its 110-year history.

At the time of the 1938 performance, Takarazuka was recognised as Kabuki in Germany, but this was not due to any misunderstanding on the German side, but because Takarazuka's founder, Kobayashi Ichizo, was trying to perfect Takarazuka as an improved Kabuki with Western music, and also performed Japanese dance and Kabuki with Western music in Germany.

The German interest in Takarazuka's strict system and stoicism during the 2000 performances was also an image that Takarazuka was spontaneously transmitting in order to differentiate itself in contemporary society.

Nowadays, Takarazuka is also received in Germany from the direction of subculture and queer culture. For the mass-culture-oriented, heterosexual supremacist Takarazuka, this is a 'deviation', but Takarazuka's reception as a subculture and queer culture is also taking place in Japan and other Asian countries, and there is no divergence from them.

Takarazuka reception in Germany has always been strongly influenced by official Takarazuka transmissions and correlated with the Japanese fandom movement.

### 1. はじめに

1913年の設立、1914年の初公演以来、宝塚歌劇（以下、宝塚と略す）は110年近い歴史を有するが、その歴史は近代日本の様々な文化芸術同様、海外文化、とりわけ欧米の影響を受けながら自己アイデンティティを構築していく歴史であった。一例を述べれば、宝塚は現在英語名称をTakarazuka Revue Companyとしており、レビュー劇団を自認しているが、そのレビューも1927年にパリに留学した座付作家（演出家・振付家）の岸田辰彌が「土産」として持ち帰り、岸田の弟子筋に当たる座付作家で同じくパリに留学した白井鐵造が大成したものである。また、現在の宝塚は実態としてミュージカル劇団としての性格が強くなっているものの、そのミュージカルも1930年代から40年代にかけて形式としてのミュージカルが大成したアメリカを中心とする「欧米諸国」から輸入したものである。

草創期以降、宝塚が参考とし、影響を受けてきたのは前述の通り、多くは欧米からであり、ドイツも例外ではなかった。戦前期に旧制高校や大学を中心とする多くの学生に愛された、ドイツの劇作家マイヤー・フェルスターに書かれた戯曲『アルト・ハイデルベルク』は日本初演から8年後の1920年には早くも宝塚で上演され<sup>1</sup>、同作を担当した座付作家堀正旗は1928年から29年にかけてベルリンに留学、マックス・ラインハルトの下で演出を学び、帰国後はドイツの新月主義の劇構造を用いた作品や同地の先端の演出技法、またドイツ語圏のオペレッタなどの音楽劇を宝塚に持ち込んだ。また、現在宝塚で最も愛されている愛唱歌の一つである「すみれの花咲く頃」は白井鐵造がレビュー『パリゼット』で披露したものだが、元々はベルリンで上演されたレビューで用いられた、ドイツ人作曲家フランツ・デーレによって作曲された「Wenn der weiße Flieder wieder blüht」という楽曲である。近年においてはオーストリア・ウィーンで制作されたミュージカルを複数日本に紹介するなど、宝塚とドイツ語圏との関係は今に至るまで浅からぬものである。

このように、ドイツを含めた欧米と宝塚との関係は一方通行的で、宝塚は欧米の文化を貪欲に摂取し続けた。その一方で、宝塚は自身の存在を国際的に発信するために複数回海外公演を行っているが、その最初の公演地はドイツである<sup>2</sup>。また、2000年にもベルリンで公演を行うなど、ドイツとの縁は決して浅くない。本論では、二度のドイツでの公演を中心に、一見一方的に欧米の文化を受容してきたかに見える宝塚とドイツとの関係を、ドイツにおける宝塚受容という観点から双方向の交流を明らかにしたい。

## 2. 草創期宝塚とドイツとの関係—ドイツにおける新聞報道から

宝塚少女歌劇団は1914年に大阪郊外の兵庫県宝塚で初公演を行った。箕面有馬電気軌道（阪急電鉄の前身）の沿線集客の手段として誕生した当初の知名度は決して高いものではなく、全国的に知られるようになるのも、1917年に東京での初公演を行って以降と云ってよいだろう。当然ながら海外での知名度は皆無と云ってよい状況で、ドイツでも同様であった。本章では、1938年の独伊公演以前のドイツの新聞報道から、わずかに見られる宝塚に関する記事を紹介したい。

宝塚の名前がドイツの新聞に現れるのは、確認できる限り、1927年7月28日のケルンの新聞『Kölnische Zeitung』の記事が初出である<sup>3</sup>。同記事は同年に大阪毎日新聞、東京日日新聞主催、鉄道省の後援の下選定された「新日本八景」について紹介するもので、その途中に「巨大都市大阪の市民の為の見世物小屋として作られた、宝塚のルナパークの少女歌劇」と日本の「過度な近代性」の事例として名前が出ている。この記事における宝塚は日本のモダニティの象徴であり、後に出てくるような「歌舞伎」に代表されるような「伝統性」

とは性格の異なるものであった。

同年12月10日の『Berliner Börsen-Zeitung』にも宝塚の名前が現れる<sup>4</sup>。同記事は最近出版された音楽関連の書籍を紹介したもので、宝塚管弦楽団で活動していたオーストリア人作曲家・指揮者のヨーゼフ・ラスカの著書『Die Musik Japans』について紹介されている。同著は「ヨーロッパでは知られていない極東の文化人の音楽活動を紹介している」とあり、宝塚とは直接関係はないものの、ラスカは同時代の日本の近代文化を紹介しており、ラスカが関西における西洋音楽紹介の中心的役割を果たしていたことを考えると、その近代性が彼の活動していた宝塚と結び付けられることは言うまでもないであろう。

最初期におけるドイツでの宝塚に関する報道は、日本における「西洋的」な近代文化として紹介されたものであった。実際、宝塚は鉄道などのテクノロジーや新聞等のメディアとも深く関わっており、更には西洋音楽の流入や演劇改良の流れに位置付けられるもので、近代日本のモダニティの一つの象徴と言っても良い存在であった。この1927年にはパリより帰国した岸田辰彌が「帰朝土産」として『モン・パリ ～吾が巴里よ!～』を上演しており、宝塚は本格的なレビュー時代を迎える。当時のドイツにおける宝塚に関する報道はそのモダニティを中心に報じられるという、宝塚の本質に適ったものであった。

### 3. 1938年の宝塚ドイツ公演とその反応

1938年から翌39年にかけて、宝塚少女歌劇は初の海外公演をドイツとイタリア、ポーランドで行った。宝塚はそれ以前から海外公演に関心を示しており、創設者の小林一三も1928年にアメリカの興行プロデューサー、レイ・カムストックと接触するなど、海外での公演は念願であった。時期と渡航先からわかるように、この海外公演は「日独伊親善芸術使節団」という極めて政治的な意向の強いもので、外務省の外郭団体の国際文化振興会（KBS）の支援を受けたものであった。

まずは同公演の概要を見ていきたい。同公演は団長天津乙女を中心とした総勢30名が出演、日舞の名手であった天津が団長であったことから推測できるように、すべての演目が日本舞踊、舞踊劇などから構成された「日本物」であった。1938年10月2日に日本郵船の欧州航路定期船靖国丸で神戸を出港した宝塚一行は、上海、シンガポールを経て、11月2日にナポリに到着している。その後、11月4日にベルリンに到着し、11月20日より公演を開始、独伊各都市とポーランドのワルシャワで公演を行い、翌年1月26日にミュンヘンで千秋楽を迎え、1月29日に日本郵船の貨客船伏見丸でナポリを出港、往路同様シンガポールと上海を経て3月4日に神戸に帰国している。

では、公演に対するドイツ側の評価を見ていきたい。Deutsches Zeitungsportalでは公演期間



に73件の宝塚関連の記事が見つかった。それらは公演後の劇評よりも宣伝的な事前の公演案内が多く、実際の公演の評価というよりは如何に宣伝されたかがわかる資料と言えよう。これらの記事の注目すべき点は、宝塚がどのような団体であるか紹介する際に揺らぎがあることである。記事によっては「バレエ」とするものもあれば、「歌舞伎」としているものもあり、また「バレエ」と「歌舞伎」を併記するもの、レビュー劇団としての性格を紹介するもの等、多岐にわたる。中でも「歌舞伎」と表記した記事は73件中45件含まれており、歌舞伎として認識する者が少なくなかったことを物語っている。なお、この傾向は新聞記事に留まるものではなかった。ベルリン南西部、リヒテンベルクに所在する国立公文書館にはナチ期のドイツの公文書が多く残されており、その中には宝塚のドイツ公演関連資料を含めた日本演劇に関する資料群が存在する。宝塚関連の資料は国民啓蒙・宣伝省への報告やその下部組織である帝国演劇院への報告などがほとんどだが、それらにおいてもやはり宝塚に対しては「歌舞伎」という表記が行われているものが少なくない。ドイツ側の宝塚への認識は国家レベルにおいても「歌舞伎」だったのである。

では、宝塚を「歌舞伎」とする認識はどこから出たのであろうか。宝塚の創設者である小林一三は宝塚の機関誌『歌劇』に掲載された「独伊芸術使節として渡欧するに際して」という記事で以下のように語る。

宝塚少女歌劇は、女ばかりの団体であり、歌劇として、西洋のオペラに比較する時は、到底問題にならないレベルの低いものであることは今更言う迄もない話であります。然しながら、世界にほこるべき我国の芝居、即ち、歌舞伎劇のもっている、内容と其精神とを充分に發揮し、而かも洋楽を利用して、外国人の趣味に一致せしむる手段によって、我国固有の演劇舞踊を理解せしめ、賞味せしめ得ることは、日本に於て唯一つ我が宝塚少女歌劇あるのみと信じて居るのであります。<sup>5</sup>

小林は宝塚について「レベルの低いもの」とする一方で、洋楽を利用することで歌舞伎を外国向けに上演できるのは宝塚少女歌劇のみと豪語する。先述の通り、独伊公演で選ばれた演目は西洋音楽を用いた「日本物」ばかりであった。

小林が宝塚について語る際に歌舞伎に言及するのはこれが初めてではない。小林は宝塚少女歌劇を発展させることで「家庭本位」の大衆向けの演劇、「国民劇」を創設しようと目論んでおり、その方法は歌舞伎の近代化であった。近代日本における演劇改良は主として歌舞伎の改良という方向で行われたが、宝塚もその例に漏れず、小林は歌舞伎の音楽劇としての性格を高く評価しつつも、花柳文化の影響を受けていること、三味線や浄瑠璃といった日本音楽が近代においては馴染みのあるものではなくなりつつあることから、学校

教育や軍隊において用いられ、大衆にとってなじみのあるものとなりつつあった西洋音楽を導入することで歌舞伎の近代化による国民劇の創設を考えていたのである。以下に小林の歌舞伎改良に対する言及を引用する。

一口に日本の芝居と云えば其種類はいろいろありますけれど、国民劇として、自他共に許すものは、日本国民の人情風俗に立脚して表現せられたる劇、民衆の思想に共通するところの劇、即ち俗に言う旧芝居、歌舞伎劇より外にありますまい（中略）西洋音楽を加味した歌舞伎劇の改良されたものは、私の所謂日本の歌劇であります。私は先ず第一に日本の歌劇を創設する階梯として歌舞伎劇を歌劇化することによって調和するや否やを試みました、拙劣なる西洋音楽、幼稚なる技芸、そうして貧弱なる団体を以て、旧劇の改良即ち歌舞伎劇の歌劇化を断行した結果、既に三四年來数十種旧劇の改作を上演しました、そうして今や『お夏狂乱』の大芝居が、何等の不自然なしに青年士女の渴仰を得て居るのを実見して、旧劇の改良の不可能でないということを確信する次第であります。<sup>6</sup>

以上は小林が松竹の経営者、白井松次郎に対して出した公開書簡からの引用である。小林が歌舞伎こそ国民劇の性格を有しており、宝塚をその歌舞伎に西洋音楽を加味したと捉えていたのは間違いない。なお、1936年に小林は「外国進出の準備」<sup>7</sup>と称して自作の歌舞伎レビュー『恋に破れたるサムライ』を宝塚で上演しており、2年後に実現する独伊公演でも「洋楽を用いた歌舞伎」を上演したことと一貫性があったと言えよう。

1938年に行われた独伊公演に際しては、ドイツ側から宝塚は「歌舞伎」として見られていた。しかし、それは誤解ではなく、西洋音楽を用いることで改良された歌舞伎劇という小林一三が掲げる宝塚の目標に適合したものであった。宝塚側が上演する内容も「歌舞伎」と受け取られ得るものであり、ドイツ側の評価はむしろ宝塚側が打ち出すイメージを素直に受け取った結果と考えられる。

#### 4. 2000年ベルリン公演とその反応

2000年6月、宝塚歌劇はベルリンでの公演を行った。1939年より61年ぶりのドイツでの公演である。同公演でコーディネーターとドイツ語指導を担当した高島勲氏によれば、同公演は当時理事長であった小林公平<sup>8</sup>の肝いりだったとのことで、戦後フランスやイギリスでは宝塚の公演を行っていたにもかかわらずドイツでは一度も公演を行っていなかったことから企画されたとのことである。また、高島氏によれば同公演の会場は当初から在大阪神戸ドイツ総領事館領事のクラウス・フィーツェ氏よりベルリンのフリードリヒ・シュタット・

パラストを提案されていたようで、その理由も歌舞伎的な間口の広い宝塚のような劇場はドイツには存在せず、レビュー劇団ならレビュー劇場の方が公演しやすいからというもので、ドイツ側でも宝塚の性格を熟知した上での提案だったと考えられる。<sup>9</sup>

2000年ベルリン公演は、6月24日より7月7日まで、先述の通りフリードリヒ・シュタット・パラストで上演された。同劇場はレビュー劇場で、1938年の独伊公演の際にベルリン公演が行われた国民劇場の後継劇場である。当時トップスターに就任前だった専科所属のスター紫吹淳を主演として、各組からの選抜メンバーによる。総勢51名のうち、後にトップスターに就任したのは紫吹を含め10名、トップ娘役に就任したのは4名と、当時の宝塚にとっての新進スターを多くそろえており、公演への意気込みがうかがえる。上演内容は一部が酒井澄夫作の日本物ショー『宝塚 雪・月・花』、二部が岡田敬二作のレビュー『サンライズ・タカラヅカ』で<sup>10</sup>、日本物ショーは西洋音楽で日本舞踊を踊るという、1938年の独伊公演同様の宝塚の伝統的な手法を継承したものであった。

では、このベルリン公演はドイツ側からどのような評価を受けたのか。当時の現地新聞記事から見ていきたい。公演が始まる直前の6月23日に『Tagesspiegel』に掲載された「Takarazuka: Das japanische Revuetheater gastiert im Friedrichstadtpalast - Alle Rollen werden von Frauen gespielt」<sup>11</sup>では舞台稽古の様子を伝えながら、日本物ショー『宝塚 雪・月・花』の「紅葉狩」の場について「ディズニーのような舞台装置やアンドリュー・ロイド・ウェバーのような日本語楽曲による宝塚式にアレンジされた古典」と紹介しており、日本の古典と欧米の舞台文化の融合という宝塚の日本物の特性を捉えている。また、主演の紫吹についても紹介しており、宝塚のモットーである「清く正しく美しく」のうち、舞台でも「清く」を守っていること、入団する前に学校制度の下で学んでいたこと、未婚であることなどを強調し、また、スターであっても「生徒」と呼ばれることなども紹介している。加えて、宝塚のファンの多くが女性であること、男役と実際の男性は別物であることもプロデューサーの井潟英司の言葉を引用して明らかにしている。公演初日直後、6月26日に掲載された『Die Welt』の「Geisha-Pop Japans Takarazuka-Revue im Friedrichstadtpalast」<sup>12</sup>では、「芸者」という時代錯誤的な表現を用いている一方で、宝塚が日本の能や歌舞伎、文楽等の日本の伝統芸能の系譜を継ぎつつ、パリのレビューやブロードウェイのミュージカル等の欧米の娯楽文化の強い影響下にあることを指摘しており、やはり宝塚の東西文化の融合という性格については適切な評価をしていると言えよう。また、この記事でも宝塚の制度に関心を向けられており、宝塚の出演者が学校制度の下で歌唱、舞踊、演劇の教育を受けていることを紹介し、また未婚であることが在籍する条件であることもやはり紹介している。ベルリン公演前後は、舞台の内容のみならず、宝塚の制度の特異性やファンダムの

性格もドイツ側の関心を惹いていたと言えよう。

宝塚の制度的厳格さや学校制度の特異性、男装した女性が女性ファンを惹きつけることはベルリン公演以前から着目されていた。1986年11月『Zeit』に掲載された「Takarazuka:Hollywood auf japanisch Wo Kitsch zur Kunst wird und Frauen Männerrollen spielen」<sup>13</sup>は客席のほとんどが女性、特に主婦と学生であることを指摘している。また、小林が鉄道の終着点に温泉リゾートを建設し、その集客のために少女歌劇を創設したという歴史的経緯を踏まえながら、学校制度がやはり「修道院」のように厳格であると評し、スターとして現役のうちは結婚できないことを峰の言葉から示唆している。

この時期のドイツにおける宝塚イメージに「未婚」が付きまとうのは、やはり遊女、芸者との関連性であろう。先述の通り、『Die Welt』の記事では見出しにはっきりと「Geisha」と表記しており、『Tagesspiegel』でも「紅葉狩」の場の姫や侍女を芸者と混同している。未婚の女性のみによって上演される日本の芸能に芸者のイメージが付きまとい、注目された面もあったのではないだろうか。1957年のマーロン・ブランド主演によるアメリカ映画『サヨナラ』では、宝塚ではなく大阪松竹歌劇団（現OSK日本歌劇団）をモデルにした松林歌劇団のスター・ハナオギと米軍兵士との恋が描かれるが、そこでも未婚女性による歌劇団の存在が結婚の障壁となる。未婚女性による歌劇団の特殊性は欧米においては芸者や遊郭と近似しているものと扱われ、2000年前後のドイツにおいても例外ではなかったと考えられる。

一方、学校制度や劇団組織の厳格性については歌劇団自身が打ち出していたイメージとも関係していると考えられる。宝塚に関する著作も多い川崎賢子は『宝塚 変容を続ける「日本モダニズム」』において、宝塚の制度が厳格化したのは1970年前後であることを指摘した上で以下のように述べている。

大阪万国博覧会の前後の歌劇団の変化は、早朝の掃除をはじめ、規則やしほりをよりきびしくする方向、序列化された集団であることをより強調する方向をとっている。戦後生まれの若者の力が台頭する時代、宝塚の生徒たちは、外の若者たちとはちがう、より規律正しく礼儀正しくストイックな集団として、差異化されたのである。<sup>14</sup>

この時期のドイツの新聞記事に見られた厳格な学校宝塚というイメージは、宝塚自身が打ち出していたイメージとも適ったものであり、その点では1938年の独伊公演における「歌舞伎」イメージとも共通するものであった。しかし、宝塚のシステムの厳しさは現代社会において他とは差別化するための所産であり、遊郭や芸者と同様に見なすのは誤解であったと言えよう。

## 5. サブカルチャー・クィアカルチャーとしての宝塚受容

最後に、2000年ベルリン公演以降のドイツでの宝塚受容について検討する。ベルリン公演以降、宝塚はヨーロッパでの公演を行っておらず、2002年の中国公演、2005年の韓国公演、2013年、15年、18年の三度にわたる台湾公演と海外公演の軸足をアジアに移しており、ヨーロッパにおいては遠い存在になっていることは否定できない。一方で、21世紀に入ってからインターネットの発展は動画サイトやSNSなどで海外の舞台芸術を身近に観られる環境を生み出している。InstagramやTwitterなどのSNSにはドイツ語話者の宝塚ファンも少数ではあるが存在することが確認できている。公演が行われている環境よりは正確な情報が入りづらい中で、宝塚がどのように受容されているか見ていきたい。

まず、前提として現在の宝塚が「ハイカルチャー」でも「サブカルチャー」でも「マスカルチャー」を目指したものであることを述べたい。先述の通り、宝塚は小林一三が家族本位の大衆劇たる「国民劇」を目指したものであったため、万人受けする「マスカルチャー」指向であることは間違いない。しかし、その一方で「マスカルチャー」であるがゆえに流行のコンテンツを上演内容に加えることもある。宝塚では2.5次元ミュージカルが台頭する以前から漫画作品の舞台化を行っており、1924年には樺島勝一の『正ちゃんの冒険』を舞台化<sup>15</sup>、池田理代子の『ベルサイユのばら』を含め、直近2023年の灰原薬『応天の門』に至るまで、様々な漫画・アニメ作品を原作として舞台化している。その為、コスプレ等のサブカルチャーの文脈からの宝塚へのアプローチも国内外問わず存在する。例えば、近隣の中国の動画サイト「bilibili」では「宝塚 cos」をキーワードとして検索すると、中国人ファンによるコスプレ動画が複数見受けられ、海外においても宝塚コスプレが存在していることがわかっている。

宝塚コスプレの文化は近隣国だけではなく、ドイツにも存在した。その事例の一つが2005年から2010年頃までドイツで活動していた「ロマンス革命」である。2010年4月3日の『朝日新聞』「タカラヅカに夢中」<sup>16</sup>によれば、マンハイム近郊のフランケンタールを中心に活動を行っていたようで、武内直子の『美少女戦士セーラームーン』のファンだった韓国系ドイツ人女性が宝塚のDVDを視聴し、男役の声に魅せられて創設したとのことである。ロマンス革命のYoutubeチャンネル<sup>17</sup>は現在でも視聴可能で、多くの公演動画が残されている。同チャンネルに残されている動画によれば、ロマンス革命の公演活動はAnimagiC、AniMaCoなどのドイツにおける日本アニメ関連イベントを中心に行われており、サブカルチャーの文脈での受容が行われていることがわかる。ただし、上演内容はウィーン・ミュージカル『エリザベート』の宝塚版を日本語上演したり、宝塚のショーの一部を抜粋しての上演であったりと、漫画・アニメ原作作品のコスプレとは一線を画していると言ってよい。

宝塚が一種のサブカルチャーとして受容されるのはマスカルチャー指向の宝塚にとっては自身の発信しようとするイメージからの「逸脱」といってもよい。サブカルチャー的受容と並んで「逸脱」と言えるのが、クィアカルチャー方面からの受容である。宝塚は異性装演劇で演者は全員女性であるが、舞台上で上演される内容は異性愛至上主義的で、また女性が男役として男性を演じるがゆえにステレオタイプのジェンダー表象に忠実になりがちで、既存のジェンダー規範を固定化する。その点では非常に保守的な性格を有するものであるが、異性装、女性同士によって演じられるラヴ・ロマンス、男役同士の「友情」の誇張、過剰な装飾の衣装などの特性から、ジェンダー規範を揺るがすものとして「逸脱」した形で受容されることがあり、そのことは東園子が『宝塚・やおい、愛の読み替え』において論じている。国外においてもクィアカルチャーの方面から受容されることもあり、ドイツにおいても2000年のベルリン公演に際し、ドイツのレズビアン女性向け雑誌『Lespress – das andere Frauenmagazin』が「Frauen sind doch die besseren Männer」<sup>18</sup>と題して宝塚を紹介する記事を掲載している。記事の中では男役の男装について、そしてそれを受容するファン層について言及しており、男役は実際の男性とは全く別個の性質を有するものであることを指摘した上で、男役は日本のジェンダーヒエラルキーの厳格さの下抑圧された異性愛者の主婦たちによって消費されると結論付けられる。この記事はクィアカルチャー側から関心を向けられた事例であるが、宝塚の異性愛的性格については的確な評価を下していると言えよう。

また、先にも述べたSNS等での宝塚コスプレでもクィアカルチャーとの近さが見受けられる。ドイツ限定ではないものの、欧米の宝塚ファンのInstagramのアカウントにはボーイズラブ・ガールズラブ的な表象をコスプレに持ち込む写真も見られ、また欧米の宝塚ファンのTwitterアカウントの中には中国のBLロマンス時代劇の『陳情令』のファンを標榜するアカウントも見られる。クィアカルチャー的な文脈やフェミニズム的な文脈を通して宝塚に既存のジェンダー規範の「逸脱」を見る者は国内外を問わずファンダムに見られるのである。

これまでのドイツ側の受容事例、つまり1938年の「歌舞伎」としての受容や、2000年前後に見られた軍隊式のストイックな学校制度といったイメージは、宝塚側が発信する自身のイメージに則ったものであったが、サブカルチャー方面からの受容やクィアカルチャー方面からの受容は、宝塚が本来打ち出そうとする自身のイメージからは逸脱するものである。とりわけ異性愛至上主義的な宝塚においては、クィアカルチャー方面からの受容は本来の性質とは異なるものである。宝塚に対するクィアカルチャー的認識は誤解を伴うものでもあるが、日本のファンダム、そして比較的文化的近さのある中華圏では舞台上、そして舞台以外での男役同士の関係性の深読み等から、宝塚の異性愛的なイメージからの逸脱も行われており、それらと似たものと認識することもできよう。

## 6. 結論

ドイツにおける宝塚受容の、草創期から現代に至るまでの変遷を辿った。最初期は日本における先端の近代文化として捉えられていたが、1938年のドイツ公演に際しては「歌舞伎」に転じる。更に2000年のベルリン公演前後には厳格な学校制度や性的な規制などの宝塚のイメージが浮上する。これらの宝塚受容は、細かい点では芸者と混同するなどの誤解もあったものの、大きな流れで見ると日本側、そして宝塚側が打ち出そうとするイメージと大きく乖離するものではなかったのである。例えば、1938年のドイツ公演時の「歌舞伎」イメージは歌舞伎と西洋音楽を組み合わせることで国民劇として大成させたい小林一三の思惑など、宝塚側の意向を反映したものであったし、2000年のベルリン公演前後に見られる厳格な宝塚のイメージも、宝塚が現代社会と差異化するために自ら打ち出していたイメージであった。また、宝塚の本来の姿とは逸脱したサブカルチャーとして、そしてクィアカルチャーとしての受容も、日本やアジア圏のファンダムでも広く行われており、やはりそれらと大きく乖離するものではなかった。ドイツにおける宝塚受容は、言語を筆頭とする様々な障壁があるにもかかわらず、草創期から現代に至るまで、そしてメディアなどの公式的なものからファンダムの私的なものに至るまで、日本側の動きと連動したものであったのである。

<sup>1</sup> 宝塚歌劇団『宝塚歌劇100年史 虹の橋 渡りつづけて 舞台編』、阪急コミュニケーションズ、2014年、p.42

<sup>2</sup> 1938年の日独伊親善公演では往路の経由地の上海やシンガポールでも公演を行っており、そちらを最初と見することもできる。

<sup>3</sup> “Die acht Gesichter des neuen Japans”, *Kölnische Zeitung*, 1927.7.28

<sup>4</sup> “Was ist „neue“”, *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, 1927.12.10

<sup>5</sup> 小林一三「独伊芸術使節として渡欧するに際して」『歌劇』223号、歌劇発行所、1938年10月、p.44

<sup>6</sup> 小林一三「大劇場概論」『日本歌劇概論』、宝塚少女歌劇団出版部、1923年、pp.41-45

<sup>7</sup> 東京宝塚劇場月組公演広告、『読売新聞』、1937年1月23日

<sup>8</sup> 小林一三の三男、米三の養子。なお、米三は1938年独伊公演に際し、使節団に随行して渡独している。

<sup>9</sup> 高島氏には2023年3月13日にZOOMでインタビューを行った。

<sup>10</sup> <https://archive.kageki.hankyu.co.jp/revue/berlin/index.html> (2023年3月31日最終閲覧)

<sup>11</sup> Sebastian Schneller, “Takarazuka: Das japanische Revuetheater gastiert im Friedrichstadtpalast - Alle Rollen werden von Frauen gespielt”, *Tagesspiegel*, 2000.6.23 (<https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/takarazuka-das-japanische-revuetheater-gastiert-im-friedrichstadtpalast-alle-rollen-werden-von-frauen-gespielt-689275.html>、2023年3月31日最終閲覧)

<sup>12</sup> Reinhard Wengierek, “Geisha-Pop Japans Takarazuka-Revue im Friedrichstadtpalast”, *Die Welt*, 2000.6.26 (<https://www.welt.de/print-welt/article519943/Geisha-Pop.html>、2023年3月31日最終閲覧)

<sup>13</sup> Hermann Vinke, “Hollywood auf japanisch Wo Kitsch zur Kunst wird und Frauen Männerrollen spielen”, *Zeit*, 1986.4.11 (<https://www.zeit.de/1986/16/hollywood-auf-japanisch>、2023年3月31日最終閲覧)

<sup>14</sup> 川崎賢子『宝塚 変容を続ける「日本モダニズム」』、岩波書店、2022年、p.365

<sup>15</sup> 宝塚歌劇団『宝塚歌劇100年史 虹の橋 渡りつづけて 舞台編』、阪急コミュニケーションズ、2014年、p.51

<sup>16</sup> 「ちきゅう遊山 タカラヅカに夢中」『朝日新聞』、2010年4月3日

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/@romancekakumei> (2023年3月31日最終閲覧)

<sup>18</sup> Anne-K. Jung, Frauen sind doch die besseren Männer, *Lespress – das andere Frauenmagazin*, 2000.7 (<http://www.lespress.de/072000/texte072000/takarazuka072000.html>、2023年3月31日最終閲覧)

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# ソーシャルメディア (Instagram) における 日本とドイツの若い女性の自己表現に関する研究

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## A comparison on young Japanese and German women's self-presentations on social media

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### Abstract

Social media behavior is affected by cultural factors. In this research, we studied the self-presentation of young Japanese and German female tennis players using content analysis. We analyzed 1680 Instagram photos from 113 Japanese and 55 German tennis players. We found that cultural factors such as collectivism and individualism affect German and Japanese tennis players' self-presentation in social media. Japanese young women are less likely to introduce personal posts, feel more need to show their athletic competence and exhibit more feminine behavior. On the other hand, young German women highlight their uniqueness, pose alone more, and share more relaxed content on their social media accounts. These findings contribute to a better understanding of how women present themselves on social media.

### 1. Introduction and research questions

Women are represented sexually and stereotyped in traditional media. However, with the emergence of new media, such as social media, women are given the opportunity to choose how they are represented, which resulted in scholarly research on self-presentation in social media. While there are abundant studies in the research field, research is needed to compare the self-presentation tactics of young Japanese and German female tennis players. Likewise, most previous research focuses only on analyzing celebrities but not "ordinary" women. Therefore, in this study, we analyze the self-presentation of professional tennis players (celebrities) and non-professional tennis players (ordinary women). To reveal and reimagine young Japanese and German women's uses of social media such as Instagram, we formulate the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the complexities of everyday self-presentation practices of young Japanese and German women on Instagram?

RQ2: How different are the self-presentations of young Japanese and German women, and what is considered photographable and Instagrammable aesthetic?

## 2. Theoretical framework

According to the self-presentation theory (Goffman 1959), people act as actors on a stage to present their "ideal" selves to others. Behaviors are classified as either "frontstage" or "backstage." In social media research, frontstage behavior is active or direct activities such as promotion, information on upcoming events or matches, showing winning shots, and fan interaction through comments. On the other hand, backstage behavior is more passive and relaxed such as showing interactions with fellow athletes, friends, and family and posting behind-the-scenes content (Frederick, Pegoraro, and Burch 2017). Furthermore, social media behavior is also influenced by cultural factors such as collectivism and individualism. Japan is considered a collectivist culture, while Germany is an individualistic culture. Previous research showed that in a collectivist culture, people tend to self-efface or be modest as default behavior, less likely to introduce personal preferences and expectations and engage in a higher level of protective self-presentation (Sandal et al. 2014). In contrast, in an individualistic culture, people tend to self-enhance, display their individualistic nature, highlight their self-uniqueness, and have more significant public self-consciousness (Yamagishi et al. 2012). Using the self-presentation theory and cultural factors such as individualism and collectivism, we compare the self-presentation of young Japanese and German women.

## 3. Materials and Methods

We searched for Japanese and German tennis players' Instagram accounts using a name search for professional tennis players and a keyword search for non-professional tennis players. Accounts of professional tennis players were identified using a name search on Instagram. We used the list of professional tennis players on [www.tennisexplorer.com](http://www.tennisexplorer.com) to conduct the name search. After searching, checking, and verifying each account, we collected 63 accounts of Japanese and 40 accounts of German professional tennis players. For non-professional accounts, we used the keywords #テニス女子 (tennis girl) and #Liebe Tennis to search accounts. This process resulted in 50 Japanese and 15 German non-professional tennis players' accounts.

*[Table 1. Summary of variables used in coding]*

To analyze the self-presentation of young women on Instagram, we used a content analytic method and developed a codebook drawing on Goffman's self-presentation theory (1959) and previous literature (Bodaghi and Oliveira 2022; Emmons and Mocarski 2014; Geurin-Eagleman and Burch 2016; Santarossa et al. 2019). A total of 13 variables were coded for each of the Instagram photos: 1- the date the photo was taken, 2-photo type, 3-prop, 4-focus, and 5-brand visibility. Additional eight variables were coded in photos where the athlete appeared: 6-number of people in the photo, 7-gaze, 8-clothing, 9-proximity, 10-facial expression, 11-motion, 12-touch, and 13-type of shot. The summary of the variables and options is described in Table 1.

Two coders coded 25% of the sample (n=420). Intercoder reliability using Cohen's Kappa (Landis and Koch 1977; Riff 2014) resulted in a range of "moderate" (0.41-0.60) to "almost perfect" (0.81-1.00) on all 13 variables. Afterward, we divided the photos evenly, and each coder coded independently.

#### **4. Results and Discussions**

Japanese and German tennis players had a similar average number of followers, following, and posts (see Table 2). The findings reveal several interesting points that we will discuss in this section. The summary of the content analysis findings on variables can also be found in Appendix 1.

Content analysis reveals that female tennis players appear in most of their photos (83.21%). Props (61.67%) and brand or logos (61.43%) were not commonly used or found in the photos. In addition, female tennis players showed feminine behavior, as 71.46% of the photos showed them touching objects or other people.

We found that Japanese women exhibit more frontstage behavior while German women exhibit more backstage behavior. Japanese women are less likely to introduce personal posts and have more posts categorized as sports photos. In contrast, German women are the opposite as they share more personal and relaxed content.

*[Table 2. Descriptive statistics]*

Japanese women share more posts to show their athletic competence, evidenced by more photos showing their tennis uniform (58.26%) compared to German women (35.92%). German women have more relaxed content and often have passive non-sport motion (57.96%). Regarding cultural factors, we found that individualism and collectivism affected self-presentation. For instance, results show that German women post more photos where they are alone (75.71%), showing their individualism. In contrast, Japanese women have more photos where they are with other people (22.47%), exhibiting their collectivist nature.

#### **5. Conclusions**

This research is an essential first step to understanding the self-presentation behavior of young Japanese and German women and the control and opportunities that social media allows them to break away from stereotypical media representations. The results show that although some stereotypical expectations remain, young women have improved their self-presentation tactics online, showing more control and empowerment over how they want to be seen. Cultural factors such as individualism and collectivism also affect how young women present themselves on social media. These findings contribute to the research literature on understanding women's self-presentation on social media.

## Declaration of interest

The authors report that there are no competing interests to declare.

## Data availability

The data underlying this article will be shared on reasonable request to the corresponding author.

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**Table 1. Summary of variables used in coding**

Category	Analysis options	Cohen's Kappa
Photo type	Personal / Sports / Sponsored, others	0.72
Focus	Athlete/ Family or friend(s)/ Scenery / others	0.52
Prop	Yes / No	0.71
Is the brand or logo visible?	Yes / No	0.63
Is the athlete in the photo?	Yes / No	0.89
Number of people	Solo/ Pair / Group	0.95
Is the athlete looking at the camera?	Yes / No	0.83
Clothing	Uniform / Casual, others	0.84
Proximity	Tight / Medium / Wide	0.73
Type of shot	Headshot/ Half-body / Full-body/ Selfie	0.81
Facial expression	Happy/ Intense/ Others	0.83
Motion	Active sport / Active non-sport/ Passive sport / Passive non-sport	0.76
Touch	Yes/ No	0.74

**Table 2. Descriptive statistics**

Mean number of	Japan	Germany	All
Followers	28,656	25,727	27,697
Following	456	746	550
Number of posts	344	254	315

## Appendix 1. Results of the content analysis

Variable	ALL (n)	ALL (%)	Germany (n)	Germany (%)	Japan (n)	Japan (%)	X2	p value
<b>Photo type</b>								
Sports	754	47.44	192	34.91	562	49.73	49.02	< 0.001
Personal	797	44.88	328	59.64	469	41.5		
Sponsored, Others	129	7.68	30	5.45	99	8.76		
<b>Athlete in photo</b>								
Yes	1398	83.21	490	89.09	908	80.35	20.22	< 0.001
No	282	16.79	60	10.91	222	19.65		
<b>Clothing</b>								
Uniform	705	50.43	176	35.92	529	58.26	77.4	<
Casual	639	45.71	277	56.53	362	39.87		0.001
Others	54	3.86	37	7.55	17	1.87		
<b>Motion</b>								
Passive non-sport	630	45.06	284	57.96	346	38.11	60.82	<
Passive sport	428	30.62	95	19.39	333	36.67		0.001
Active sport	311	22.25	99	20.20	212	23.35		
Active non-sport	29	2.07	12	2.45	17	1.87		
<b>Prop</b>								
No	1036	61.67	379	68.91	657	58.14	18.14	< 0.001
Yes	664	38.33	171	31.09	473	41.86		
<b>Brand visibility</b>								
No	1032	61.43	395	71.82	637	56.37	37.25	< 0.001
Yes	648	38.57	155	28.18	493	43.63		
<b>Number of people</b>								
Solo	948	67.81	371	75.71	577	63.55	22.31	< 0.001
Pair	283	20.24	79	16.12	204	22.47		
Group	167	11.95	40	8.16	127	13.99		
<b>Touch</b>								
Yes	999	71.46	320	65.31	679	74.78	14.00	<
No	399	28.54	170	34.69	229	25.22		0.001
<b>Focus</b>								
Athlete	1124	66.90	401	72.91	723	63.98	13.90	p =
Family / Friends	230	13.69	62	11.27	170	15.04		0.003

Other	179	10.65	60	4.91	152	13.45		
Scenery	147	8.75	27	11.27	85	7.52		
<b>Facial expression</b>								
Happy	951	68.03	315	64.29	636	70.04	5.84	p =
Others	212	15.16	78	15.92	134	14.76		0.054
Intense	235	16.81	97	19.80	138	15.20		
<b>Proximity</b>								
Wide	645	46.14	240	48.98	405	44.60	9.89	p =
Medium	462	33.05	136	27.76	326	35.90		0.007
Tight	291	20.82	114	23.27	177	19.49		
<b>Type of shot</b>								
Full body	899	64.31	323	65.92	576	63.44	13.58	p =
Half-body	338	24.18	96	19.59	242	26.65		0.003
Selfie	117	8.37	49	10.00	68	7.49		
Headshot	44	3.15	22	4.49	22	2.42		
<b>Looking at camera</b>								
Yes	811	58.01	260	53.06	551	60.68	7.59	p =
No	587	41.99	230	46.94	357	39.32		0.006

# 日本とドイツの若者のエスニック料理に対する好奇心: ベトナム料理を例に

デイン ティ トウック ヴィエン

京都大学大学院農学研究科生物資源経済学専攻

## The openness of Japanese and German young people to ethnic foods: The case of Vietnamese cuisine

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### Abstract

The introduction of distinctive foods by immigrants and other minority communities can enrich national gastronomy in various ways and contribute to the social interaction and inclusion in the host. Using Vietnamese ethnic food as a medium for multiculturalism, the research explores the determinants of acceptance by the host-country young generation for Vietnamese cuisine, and how this may facilitate not only culinary multiculturalism but also deepen social interaction between migrants and host societies. Empirical data was derived from public surveys conducted between 2021-2022 on the perception of young individuals from Japan and Germany with the participation of 340 participants (257 Japanese and 83 German) aged between 18-40 years. Moreover, two artifact-focused group discussions were conducted in June and October 2022, which were centered on the youth interaction with fresh spring rolls. The preliminary findings highlight specific distinguishing characteristics of Vietnamese cuisine such as healthiness, as perceived by young people. The results suggest that individual attributes and exposure to foreign cultures play a role in shaping attitudes towards ethnic food and the principles guiding the preparation of Vietnamese cuisine in international kitchens.

### 1. Introduction

Heritage food or ethnic cuisine can be defined as the culinary traditions linked to a particular cultural or ethnic group, as opposed to the dominant culture. This type of food often incorporates unique ingredients with unusual flavors and aromas, or employs distinct cooking methods to prepare familiar ingredients (Choe & Cho, 2011; Guzek et al., 2021; Olabi et al., 2009). There is a focus on the preservation of culinary heritage among different ethnic groups, including indigenous populations, ethnic minorities, and transnational immigrants. Furthermore, research has explored how the dominant society responds to such preservation efforts in diverse ways. In some cases, customers from the dominant society may incorporate these foods into mainstream culinary culture, either in authentic or hybrid forms, which can contribute to the success of cosmopolitan societies.



For instance, American Chinese food caters to not only Chinese immigrants overseas but also local residents and global tourists with an Oriental curiosity; and later contributes to the transformation of America into a nation of multinational diners (Barbas, 2003; Frost & Laing, 2016). Nonetheless, ethnic foods might be used as a means of radical and class discrimination showing a hostile attitude against “Others” - those with low social status and creating a cultural boundary between people and culture (Barbas, 2003; Sutherland, 2007). In other words, the perception of public customers toward immigrant food can be an important marker of social interaction and inclusion between the minority and mainstream society.

Various external and internal factors could influence individual openness to ethnic foods. Previous studies highlighted external determinants like the country’s place and cultural conservation can affect the acceptance of other food cultures (Choe & Cho, 2011; Guzek et al., 2021; Szakály et al., 2021). Based on the popular Food Neophobia Scale by Pliner and Hobden (1992), a similar pattern has been reported that Asian people, Chinese, and Korean, are more neophobic to non-traditional food than Western customers (Choe & Cho, 2011; Olabi et al., 2009). The papers contended that culinary unfamiliarity in terms of ingredients, flavors, and principles of cooking and eating between the dominant and minority cultures is the main challenge. For instance, Western customers often show their reluctance in trying raw fish (sushi), fermented soybeans (natto), and non-traditional shiitake and azuki bean dishes (Farrer, 2015; Guzek et al., 2021). At the same time, the personality of the customers plays a leading role in accelerating their acceptance and willingness to try novel food. Adventurous and open-minded individuals can be more willing to try and explore novel foods, flavors, and aromas than neophobic people (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007; Szakály et al., 2021). Furthermore, socio-demographic factors, especially gender, age, and generational gap are reported as significant antecedents of a person’s acceptance to trying new food (Guzek et al., 2021; Okumus et al., 2021; Szakály et al., 2021).

Comparing Vietnamese food in Japan and Germany offers a promising approach to understand the openness to ethnic food in different contexts. While Germany is often viewed as an immigrant country that actively welcomes people from different backgrounds and cultures to live and work there permanently, Japan is seen as a more ethnically homogenous country (Liu-Farrer, 2020; Sutherland, 2007). Also, Japan is closer to Vietnam country and food culture, such as eating rice with chopsticks and using fish in multiple ways. In terms of migration, Vietnamese people have come to the two countries in different stages and schemes. Closely tied to Germany’s political and social progression, including the East-West German dichotomy, Vietnamese immigrants migrated to Germany in various forms of boat people after the 1975 Vietnam War, contracted guest workers under the socialist agreement in the late 1980s, and even a more diverse group following German reunification. Over time, these Vietnamese immigrants became well-integrated into German society, leading to a "Vietnamese miracle" phenomenon among subsequent generations (Hillmann, 2005; Sutherland, 2007). Vietnamese restaurants were established as a vital way for migrants’ financial sources and resettlement in Germany, and are positioned within a vague pan-Asian group dominated by Chinese and Japanese key players (Farrer, 2015; Stock & Schmitz, 2019). In contrast, Vietnamese people in Japan have become a topic in only the last decade debate when the number of temporary

migrants, coming as technical trainees and international students, rose (Liu-Farrer, 2020). Meanwhile, a recent “Vietnam boom” or heightened interest among Japanese tourists outbound to Vietnam (The Japan National Tourism Organization), was cut short due to the Covid-19 pandemic, but ultimately led to a sharp growth of the Vietnamese population and food providers in Japan as Japanese customers gradually started seek out local outlets for Vietnamese cuisine.

Using Vietnamese ethnic food as a medium for food multiculturalism, the study aims to explore how the Japanese and German young generations perceive, accept and domesticate Vietnamese food in their daily eating. Also, it attempts to identify the factors and agencies influencing the acceptance and modification of ethnic food in the two different reception settings. The young generation is selected as targeted subjects because of their acknowledge and active engagement in social movements like Slow food, vegetarianism, and sustainable eating lifestyle (Rossi & Rivetti, 2023). The study attempts to answer three main questions:

- (1) What is the contemporary openness to Vietnamese food among Japanese and German young people?
- (2) Which key factors influence the youth’s openness to Vietnamese ethnic food?
- (3) How does the younger generation modify and reproduce Vietnamese food in their kitchens?

## **2. Method**

The study draws on two main data sources, consisting of questionnaire surveys on youth perception and two focus group discussions (FGD). For the quantitative surveys, the targeted respondents of the study are current residents of the host society Japan and Germany at the survey time, aged between 18-40 years old, and interested in food and/or cultural exchange. The recruitment was based on a convenient sampling selection for both in-person and online surveys with a pre-survey consent statement for all participants. The surveys were distributed through several university lectures and events on Vietnamese culture and international cultural exchange at two main hosts: Kyoto University in 2021-2022 and Göttingen University between July-September 2022. To gain deeper insight into the survey results, particularly concerning the dynamics of younger generation’s food acceptance and modification, two artifact-FGDs on fresh spring rolls were carried out in June and October 2022 in Kyoto.

The questionnaire utilized a variety of question formats, including open-ended inquiries about the names of foods and preconceived notions about Vietnamese cuisine. Additionally, it included 5-point Likert scale questions regarding participants' receptiveness to trying and familiarity with foreign and Vietnamese foods and cultures. The study also incorporated multiple-choice questions to determine how participants became acquainted with Vietnamese cuisine and the challenges they faced when attempting to prepare ethnic dishes at home. In parallel with the questionnaire, the analysis consisted of three stages. Firstly, a text analysis was conducted on the responses to the open-ended questions in English, German, and Japanese. Secondly, multiple Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) were performed to create variables related to exposure to foreign cultures, Vietnamese culture, and

receptiveness to Vietnamese cuisine. Finally, regression tests were carried out to examine the relationship between openness to trying Vietnamese food and the aforementioned variables. After cleaning the database on the participant's age and survey completion, 340 responses are qualified for follow-up analysis, including 257 Japanese and 83 German participants (Table 1). The sample size was comprised of 60% female and a significant percentage being students. Notably, German participants reported a higher incidence of travel and residency outside their home regions compared to Japanese participants, with experiences primarily in Europe and Japan, respectively. As a result, the sample can be a good representation of young people in Japan and Germany.

<Table 1. Questionnaire respondents' socio-demographic characteristics>

The FGDs centered on fresh spring rolls (生春巻き) and consisted of 6-8 Japanese participants for each session recruited via the Kyoto University network. The program started with a virtual game where participants could select preferred roll ingredients and dipping sauce for creating their ideal fresh spring rolls. After that, the participants engaged in a practical exercise of making Vietnamese-style fresh spring rolls and participated in a following group discussion on the similarity and differences between Vietnamese and Japanese fresh rolls or other similar foods. Upon the event's conclusion, each participant received ¥1000 to make their homemade fresh spring rolls either individually or in teams, and were requested to submit photos of the creations, along with reflection on their decision-making and rolling processes. A language interpreter was recruited to aid in facilitating the discussion in Japanese and translate the events' materials and discussion transcripts into English. Regarding the participants' demographic, the first event held in June gathered more experienced participants with an average age of 26.8, comprising of graduate students and the University alumni who currently work as company employees, non-profit organization staff and freelancers (Table 2). At the same time, the October event was aimed at a more domestic group, consisting of undergraduate students or those who have never traveled abroad. Out of the total 14 participants, 10 of them have sent back their reflection on homemade fresh spring: four participants collaborated with either another participant or friends/housemates to make the rolls.

<Table 2. Participants in FGDs>

### **3. Key results**

#### **3.1. Questionnaire surveys**

As shown in Figure 1, Pho and spring rolls are the most popular dishes recognized by the respondents. German young customers tend to generalize the dishes into broader food categories such as noodle or rice dishes. Many German participants provided very general descriptions of Vietnamese food, such as "a bowl of rice noodles, vegetables, and meat" or one-plate dishes featured by a portion of rice and stir-fried vegetable with meat on the same plate. Also, some respondents conflate Vietnamese food with Thai and other Southeast Asian foods like Mi-Goren and Tomyum among Japanese youth, while German young people spuriously included other Asian dishes into Vietnamese cuisine, such as Japanese sushi, udon, and ramen or Chinese bao bun and roasted duck.

<Figure 1. Names of Vietnamese food>

Figure 2 displays the outcomes of text analysis demonstrating various impressions of Vietnamese food. Overall, the respondents seem to regard Vietnamese food as flavorful, healthy and filled with fresh vegetables and herbs. Japanese young people can describe more complex sweet-spicy and sour flavors, and identify stereotyped exotic ingredients such as fish sauce and coriander. In contrast, the German participants used more general terms to describe the food as flavorful, diverse, and fresh. Nonetheless, German respondents displayed a strong interest in the health aspects of the food and valued the availability of vegetable-based and vegetarian options.

<Figure 2. Impression on Vietnamese food>

Additionally, Figure 3 presents a summary of EFA results within the analytical framework regarding the second research question. For instance, the variable of exposure to foreign cultures is generated from five distinct variables, including contact with individuals with a migrant background, international travel or residency, and a willingness to try new ethnic food. The model is aimed to explore the impact of socio-demographic variables, exposure to Vietnamese individuals, and exposure to foreign culture on the respondents' openness to Vietnamese cuisine. The framework distinguished between contact with foreign cultures and Vietnamese culture to detect whether the acceptance of ethnic food is a result of interacting with people of the specific country where the food comes from or stems from a culinary cosmopolitan perspective. The EFA outcomes are used as inputs in subsequent analyses, such as OLS regression.

<Figure 3. Analytical framework with the EFA factor loading>

Table 3 displays the findings of OLS regression tests of Openness to Vietnamese food. Column (1) examines the impact of interacting with Vietnamese people, in addition to socio-demographic factors, while Column (2) incorporates exposure to foreign culture in the regression analysis. Notably, the nationality factor is controlled in all the tests. The results reveal that contact with ethnic people significantly affects the openness to ethnic food in both cases. However, when exposure to foreign culture is considered, its influence becomes the most critical factor in food acceptance, while the impact of the country of origin becomes insignificant. This implies that an individual's personality and life experiences are more powerful determinants of their openness to ethnic food than the mainstream society.

<Table 3. OLS Regression of Openness to Vietnamese food on Vietnamese and foreign exposure>

### **3.2. Focus group discussions**

In addition to the quantitative results, the paper provides some insights into the perception and adjustment of ethnic food among young people through FGDs. Table 4 illustrates the top ingredients chosen by participants in the virtual game section of the two exhibitions, which are categorized into vegetables, meat, and noodles for the fresh spring rolls, as well as the corresponding dipping sauce. According to the findings, Japanese young participants consider that the ideal fresh spring rolls contain 1-2 types of salad vegetables, 1-2 pieces of sliced meat or fish with optional noodles,

wrapped in rice paper and dipped with generic commercial sauces like sweet-chili sauce or peanut sauce. Compared to the variations commonly found in Vietnam, the participants reproduced their stylized image of spring rolls by replacing freshly boiled pork and shrimp with various processed seafood and meat ingredients that are seasoned with strong flavors while tropical aromatic herbs other than the well-known coriander were absent. Additionally, among the two events, the first-group participants were more concerned about achieving a good balance between meat and vegetables, while the younger group placed more emphasis on meat, fish, and animal-derived products.

<Table 4. Top ingredients of virtual fresh spring rolls, by components>

Following the virtual game and practical activity of making Vietnamese-style fresh spring rolls, the group discussion commenced by eliciting the participants' impressions of fresh spring rolls before and after the hands-on exhibition. The Japanese participants initially conveyed their preconceived imagination of Vietnamese or ethnic cuisines as having unpleasant flavors and strong smells that do not align with Japanese palates, hindering Japanese people from trying such ethnic foods. However, after trying the Vietnamese fresh spring rolls, the participants were surprised to discover that the rolls were not as pungent or difficult to eat as they had previously heard and thought. In fact, a few participants found the flavorful dipping sauce made from fish sauce, lemon juice, garlic, and chili pepper to be stimulating.

*“The fish sauce and coriander are not hard to eat as I thought before. Many people told that. But it is even stimulating.”* (Female, 20, 2022/10/20)

*“Such a great combination of tastes: The light taste of the fresh roll matches well with the flavorful dipping sauce made of aromatic fish sauce and refreshing lemon juice.”* (Male, 2x, 2022/10/20)

Furthermore, the participants engaged in a discussion regarding the similarities and differences between Vietnamese fresh spring rolls with Japanese hand-rolled sushi, known as *temaki-zushi* in Japan (手巻き寿司). The participants noted that both Vietnamese spring rolls and Japanese sushi are hand-rolled and freshly consumed right after rolling, but Japanese sushi uses seaweed as wrapping material, is filled with vinegared rice and raw fish, and rolled in a triangle shape that all the insides are visible and dipped with soy sauce. On the other hand, Vietnamese fresh spring rolls use moisturized rice paper and are filled with more diverse range of aromatic herbs, vegetables, and boiled shrimp or pork and are dipped in a flavorful fish sauce. Despite the differences, both dishes share the same characteristics of being light, freshly made and eaten at the dining table, and often eaten socially with family or friends.

*“It was my first time to get together and eat with other people in the shared house through this fresh spring roll party. I also want to remake it with my family members when I come back to my parent's house.”* (Female, 28, participated in June 2022 event, Feedback on homemade practice)

The Japanese young participants encountered various difficulties during their on-site and at-home practice of making fresh spring rolls. These challenges included missing essential ingredients like rice paper, fish sauce, and coriander when shopping at conventional Japanese supermarkets, difficulties in portioning the ingredients, and in rolling the ingredients in a long shape in the moist stretchy rice paper. However, with a few rounds of practice, they were able to overcome these challenges and derive immense satisfaction from making beautifully crafted rolls. For homemade practice, they even went on to create innovative fresh rolls: sashimi rolls filled with raw fish or dessert rolls filled with a few kinds of fruits such as persimmon and grapefruit and dipped in honey.

#### **4. Discussions**

At the time of writing, the author is still in the process of analyzing and interpreting the results, so a few initial discussions are presented in this paper. The results regarding the determinants of food openness reveal that young people from multicultural societies tend to be more open to trying non-traditional food compared to those from more homogeneous cultures, as found in German and Japanese perception surveys. Another contextual factor is culinary familiarity with the ethnic cuisine, and unlike previous studies, this study finds that similarity does not necessarily guarantee a willingness for young customers to accept ethnic food. Despite having a closer proximity to the country and Vietnamese food culture, Japanese respondents are even more skeptical about experiencing less-familiar Asian cuisine. Furthermore, personality, particularly exposure to foreign cultures and people is overall more important than experience with a specific country in shaping the openness to new food. The survey country is only significant when exclusively considering contact with ethnic people, but insignificant when the individual's foreign exposure is included.

Furthermore, FGDs and follow-up reflection can draw out some key rules of Vietnamese food and highlight modifications in the Japanese context based on personal preference. The essential principles of fresh spring rolls include using rice paper, combining ingredients with contrasting textures and flavors, (e.g., crunchy carrots, cucumber, soft-boiled shrimp and rice noodles), maintaining a well-balanced ratio of vegetables to meat and creating an environment for socializing and collaboration. Through food reflections, young people can accommodate Vietnamese food rules by complying or breaking and sometimes surpassing them. Deliberately, they prioritize aesthetics by creating neatly rolled rolls and flavor/mouthfeel contrasting of less aromatic vegetables with strongly seasoned ingredients. Participants also work within resource limits and substitute with affordable and readily available ingredients such as using perilla instead of coriander, cabbage to lettuce, or pre-made, processed rather than fresh ingredients.

#### **5. Conclusion**

To summarize, the young generations of Japan and Germany perceive Vietnamese cuisine as healthy, vegetable-rich, and flavorful; it can be tailored to individual palates, such as being vegetarian or using local ingredients. In terms of determinants of their willingness to try new ethnic food, German youth tend to categorize food using more general food groups and expressions due to the

dissimilarities of food culture, but are generally more receptive to non-traditional foods compared to their Japanese counterparts. Nevertheless, personality traits, particularly exposure to foreign cultures and people, are significant determinants of openness to ethnic food when controlling for nationality and country of origin. Finally, young people can modify and recreate ethnic dishes within the constraints of their local food circumstances, while maintaining essential elements of Vietnamese cuisine, as evidenced by the case of Vietnamese fresh spring rolls.

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## Tables and Figures

Table 1. Questionnaire respondents' socio-demographic characteristics

	Germany (n=83)	Japan (n=257)	Combined (n=340)
Age (Mean ± Std.)	24.51 ±4.38	22.49 ±5.43	22.98 ±5.26
Gender			
Male	32.5%	42.4%	39.5%
Female	69.9%	57.6%	85.5%
Occupation			
Formal/Salary employment	12.0%	16.7%	15.4%
Student	88.0%	82.1%	82.6%
Retired and housewife		0.8%	0.6%
Self-employed worker		0.4%	0.3%
Nationality		n=203	n=286
Japanese	1.2%	96.6%	68.9%
German	83.1%		24.1%
Other	18.1%	3.4%	7.7%
Rate of abroad living	40%	3%	12%
Abroad travel		n=115	n=201
Never	21.7%	30.4%	26.4%
1 time	13.3%	21.7%	17.9%
2-3 times	18.1%	20.0%	18.9%
More than 3 times	47.0%	27.8%	36.8%

Source: Youth perception survey, 2021-2022

Table 2. Participants in FGDs

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Occupation	Major	Event Time
A	Female	26	Doctoral student	Education	23/6/2022
B	Female	30	Doctoral student	Letter	23/6/2022
C	Female	28	NGO employee	Global Environmental Studies	23/6/2022
D	Female	27	Graduate student	Asia-Africa Area Studies	23/6/2022
E	Male	2x	Having a gap year	Letter	23/6/2022
F	Female	25	Master student	Agriculture	23/6/2022
G	Male	25	Company employee	Letter	23/6/2022
H	Male	28	Doctoral student	Agriculture/History	23/6/2022
I	Male	19	Undergraduate student	Medicine	20/10/2022
K	Female	19	Undergraduate student	Medicine	20/10/2022
L	Male	2x	Master student	Agriculture	20/10/2022
M	Male	19	Undergraduate student	Integrated Human Studies	20/10/2022
N	Female	20	Undergraduate student	Economics	20/10/2022
O	Female	21	Undergraduate student	Economics	20/10/2022

Table 3. OLS Regressions of Openness to Vietnamese food on Vietnamese and foreign exposure

	Openness to Vietnamese food	
	(1)	(2)
Exposure to Vietnamese people	0.429*** (0.056)	0.305*** (0.071)
Exposure to foreign culture		0.346*** (0.074)
Age	0.023* (0.012)	-0.004 (0.019)
Female	0.282*** (0.103)	0.269** (0.103)
Occupation	0.088 (0.164)	0.002 (0.210)
Country	0.996*** (0.310)	0.047 (0.109)
Nationality dummies	YES	YES
R squared	0.45	0.59
N	187	150

Notes: Robust standard errors are in parentheses. \*\*\*p < .01, \*\*p < .05, \*p < .1.

Table 4. Top ingredients of virtual spring rolls, by components

	1st event (28 rolls)	2nd event (27 rolls)	Combined (55 rolls)
Vegetables	Lettuce (8), Mizuna (6), Coriander (5), Carrot (5), Tomato (4), Onion (4)	Lettuce (11), Avocado (4), Cucumber (3), Coriander (3)	Lettuce (19), Carrot (9), Coriander (8), Onion (7), Mizuna (6), Cucumber (6)
Meat	Smoked salmon (7), Boiled shrimp (6), Boiled pork (4)	Smoked salmon (6), Beef (6), Salmon caviar (5), Cheese (3), Boiled pork (3), Boiled shrimp (3), Sashimi (3)	Smoked salmon (13), Boiled shrimp (9), Boiled pork (7), Beef (6), Salmon caviar (5), Cheese (5), Bacon (4)
Noodles	Rice noodles (4), Glass noodles (3)	Glass noodles (3)	Glass noodles (6), Rice noodles (5)
Dipping sauce	Sweet chili sauce (15), Peanut sauce (15), Oyster sauce (15)	Sweet chili sauce (10), Peanut sauce (10), Oyster sauce (10)	Sweet chili sauce (25), Peanut sauce (25), Oyster sauce (25)

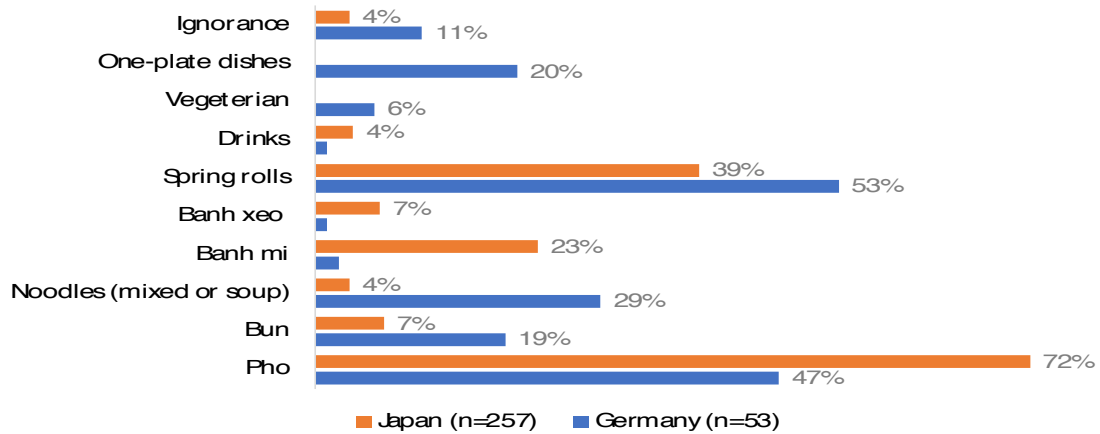


Figure 1. Names of Vietnamese food

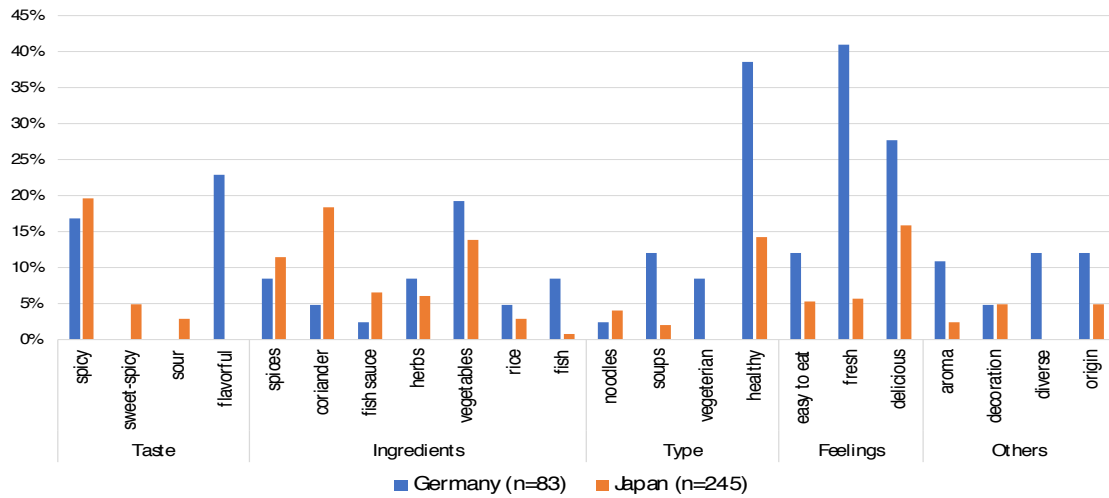
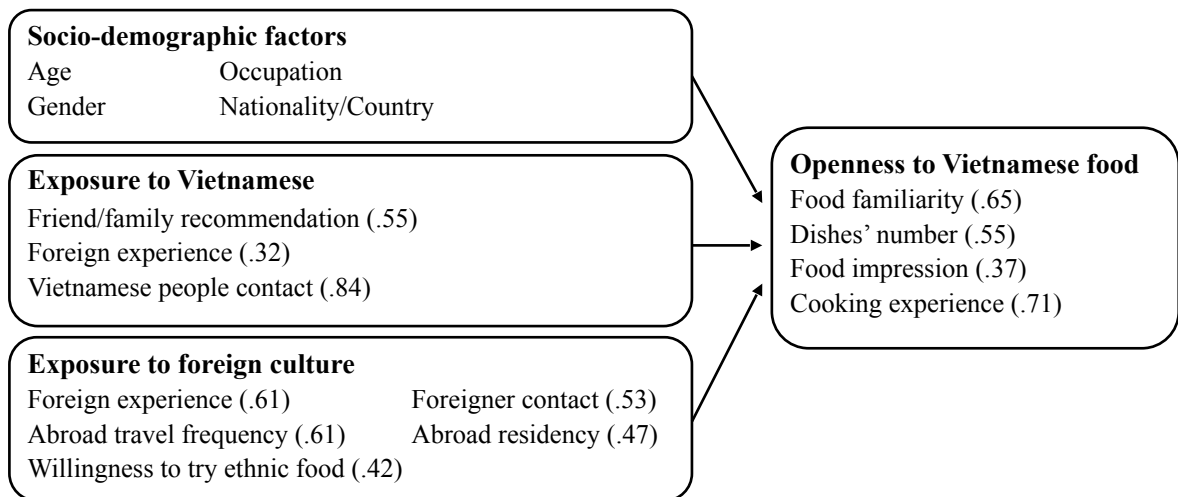


Figure 2. Impression on Vietnamese food



Notes: Maximum likelihood, Retained factor=1. Factors with a loading score smaller than 0.3 are excluded.

Figure 3. Analytical framework with the EFA factor loading

## 編集後記

本論文集は、山岡記念財団主催の「第7回若者文化シンポジウム 日本とドイツに見る異文化の受容と変容」（2023年3月8日開催）に基づくものである。論文集としては第3巻となり、本巻からタイトルを『日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究』に変更し、日独に留まらず、日本と欧州に範囲を広げた。

このシンポジウムは、財団による「日本と欧州（ドイツ語圏）の若者文化・ライフスタイルの研究」への研究助成を受けた若手研究者たちの成果発表の場として、毎年1回年度末に開催されている。その趣旨が示すとおり、日本とドイツ語圏との若者文化・ライフスタイルにおける文化交流ということがシンポジウム全体の中心的な軸であるが、個々の研究報告の具体的な内容は、年々多様性と広がりを増しているように感じる。2017年にこのシンポジウムがスタートした当初は、マンガ・アニメ・ゲームに代表されるサブカルチャーをテーマとした研究が比較的多くみられたが、近年では必ずしもそれらにとどまらず、今号に収録された論文に見られるように、日本の地方芸術祭におけるボランティア活動、ドイツにおける宝塚歌劇の受容、ソーシャルメディアにおける日本とドイツの若い女性の視覚的自己表現、日本とドイツの若者のエスニック料理への関心といった、多様な文化領域・文化現象をテーマとした自由な創意に満ちた研究が展開されている。

シンポジウムでは、各研究者の報告（一人あたり30分）の後、全員がパネリストとして登壇する全体ディスカッション（45分）をおこなうが、これだけ研究テーマが多様化してくると、（それ自体はもちろん喜ばしいことなのだが）モデレーターとしてはそこでの共通テーマの設定には少々苦心することも事実である。が、今回は「研究者として、異文化にまなざしを向けることの難しさや楽しさ」をテーマとすることで、研究領域の相違を超えて、研究者としての苦心や喜びについて自由に語り合っただけができた。今回の登壇者の方々は、日本とドイツに留まらない多様な文化的バックグラウンドを持つ方々であったが、そのようなバックグラウンドの多様性が、研究者として異文化にまなざしを向けるときのインスピレーションや発想の豊かさをもたらしていることが確認できたようにも思われた。そうした意味で、異文化交流をテーマとする研究発表の場であることに加えて、研究者たち自身の異文化交流の場としてもこのシンポジウムが機能するということは、新たな発見であった。

この研究助成・シンポジウムが今後ますます継続・発展していくことを期待しつつ、今回の4名をはじめとして、シンポジウムに参画された多くの若手研究者の方々、そして常務理事の雪野弘泰さんをはじめ、研究活動を着実にサポートしていただいている山岡記念財団の皆様に謝意を表し、本報告書を閉じることとしたい。

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