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研究課題名(和文) Moratorium migration in contemporary post-growth Japan: Lifestyle volunteers between insecurity and fulfilment

研究課題名(英文) Moratorium migration in contemporary post-growth Japan: Lifestyle volunteers between insecurity and fulfillment

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研究成果の概要(和文)：日本全国におけるライフスタイル移住者のインタビューを行い、移住者のワークライフバランスの現状と課題が明らかになった。ライフ・クオリティーを上げるために移住した個人に聞き取り調査を行い、個人が移住後に直面しているネオリベラル・プレッシャーを明確にした。参与観察で移住者の地元のコミュニティにおける立場も明確になり、徳島県など歴史的に移住者が多い地域には移住者が溶け込みやすい現状が述べられた。移住者のインタビューの結果として、個人が新しい住む場所で長い時間にわたって働き、賃金の仕事とボランティアの仕事が明確ではありません。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This ethnography contributes to anthropological research into new forms of rural life by documenting the gap between migrants' aspirations and real lives. The study refines research into lifestyle migration and precarious modes of working and living by coining the term 'moratorium migration'.

研究成果の概要(英文)：Individual cases of lifestyle migration, i.e. relocation from urban to rural areas with the aim to achieve higher life quality, across Japan yielded important results with regard to migrants' aspirations and challenges. The interviews conducted in different regions of Japan (Tokushima Prefecture, Miyagi Prefecture, Iwate Prefecture, Niigata Prefecture, Shimane Prefecture, Hokkaido) illustrated the neoliberal pressures that migrants face in their efforts to achieve higher life quality and pursue personally meaningful work. Participant observation made evident that the integration of lifestyle volunteers varies considerably on local conditions. In areas like Tokushima Prefecture with a long tradition of migrant influx settlers seemed better integrated.

Interviews conducted across Japan showed that migrants often work long hours, with the line between paid work and volunteer work being unclear.

研究分野：Anthropology, Japanese studies

キーワード：Lifestyle migration precariousness volunteer rural revitalization work-life balance entrepreneurship post-growth

様式 C - 19、F - 19 - 1、Z - 19、CK - 19 (共通)

#### 1 . 研究開始当初の背景

Contemporary Japan tends to be presented in dichotomical terms with urban Japan attracting a permanent influx of youth whereas rural Japan is associated with depopulation, aging and lack of perspectives. Yet there are remote hamlets across Japan that attract young individuals. The original notion of ‘moratorium migration’ that I propose assumes that against the background of contemporary post-growth Japan with more diversifying lifestyles, individuals resort to relocation as a means to search for a fulfilling life whilst facing financial precariousness and ontological insecurity. I introduce ‘moratorium migration’ as a sub-category of ‘lifestyle migration’, i.e. the “spatial mobility of relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that are meaningful because, for various reasons, they offer potential of a better quality of life.” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009:2).

#### 2 . 研究の目的

This study breaks new scientific ground since it brings the two different strands of ethnographic focus together, i.e. mobility practices in the social sciences on the one hand and pro-bono work on the other, to explore the experiences and narratives of ‘lifestyle volunteers’, i.e. individuals who relocate to achieve a more fulfilling life while engaging as regular volunteers, thus showing both their ambitions and insecurities. By tracing the trajectories of individuals from urban areas who have relocated to rural regions, this study also questions the inherent assumption of a clear-cut divide between urban and rural Japan and illustrates the relevance of an ‘urban-rural continuum’ (Gkartzios 2013: 160) as an emerging lifestyle option. Empirical data testifies to the increasing hybridization of lifestyles in so-called rural Japan, with lifestyle migrants keeping many ‘urban’ routines after relocation.

#### 3 . 研究の方法

This research project was conceived as a follow-up project of a study that deals with urban-to-rural moves and quality of life in various areas of contemporary Japan. The author had previously conducted more than forty semi-structured interviews with migrants between 20 and 40 years of age in Niigata, Shimane, Fukuoka, Ibaragi, Miyagi and Iwate Prefectures. The aim of this project was to conduct follow-up interviews with migrants previously interviewed as well as conduct complementary interviews with other individuals to expand the depth and cogency of the study. In addition to more than sixty interviews, participant observation has been conducted at sites across Japan. Interviewees include individuals who have relocated, local municipal agency employees and residents as well as NGOs.

#### 4 . 研究成果

Participant observation and interviews across Japan indicate that hybridization of migrants’ lifestyles and practices has occurred. Despite migrants’ motives to achieve better work-life balance after relocation, their daily lives indicate more work and an unclear line between unpaid, paid work and leisure. Many trajectories also indicate considerable neoliberal pressures to achieve a livelihood and turn oneself into a success in rural areas and beyond. Uncertainty is not necessarily perceived as a demerit by all neophytes, but it emerges as a persistent feature in all narratives.

This study has explored numerous cases of individual entrepreneurship in rural areas. In many cases, entrepreneurs face grueling work hours and emotional pressures and sacrifice leisure and time with the family for work. Hope to achieve a better life in the future persuades newcomers to compromise their mental and physical well-being for the sake of potential success. Empirical data suggests that settlers find themselves drawn between inherently contradictory forces: They aspire to more diverse and innovative lifestyles and modes of working on the one hand, but perpetuate lingering values and ingrained societal behavioral patterns of postwar Japan. This is where the concept of moratorium migration comes in, mobility that serves as a strategic mechanism that individuals resort to in order to hedge their bets, gain time, seek assurance, inspiration and courage to do (or further postpone doing) what they ultimately feel makes sense to them. One could argue that moratorium migration serves as an instrument to enforce individual agency, i.e. efforts towards greater self-determination, in circumstances where individuals find themselves exposed to a multitude of pressures and constraints. In other words, moratorium migration straddles the uneasy grey zone between personal fantasies of the ‘good life’ (that often derive from externally imposed discourses about the need to feel ‘happy’ and the harsh neo-liberal reality of individual responsabilization as ‘enterprising subjects’ (Rose 1992:

142) and precarious flexible labor conditions. Not surprisingly, the lifestyle migrants depicted in this study tend to engage in self-exploitative practices. Many are on the cusp of finding the good life and have yet to realize it.

#### 5 . 主な発表論文等

[雑誌論文](計 3 件)

Susanne Klien, “Young urban migrants in the Japanese countryside between self-realization and slow life? The quest for ‘small-scale happiness’ and alternative lifestyles in post-growth Japan”, chapter in Hiroko Takeda and Mark Williams (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Japan*, 2019 (in print). ISBN-10: 1138668613, ISBN-13: 978-1138668614. ( 査読なし )

Susanne Klien, “Entrepreneurial selves, governmentality and lifestyle migrants in rural Japan”, *Asian Anthropology*, Vol. 18, 2019 (forthcoming). ( 査読有 )  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2019.1572946>

Susanne Klien, “Living and Working for the Moment: Motivations, aspirations and experiences of disaster volunteers in Tohoku” in Wolfram Manzenreiter and Barbara Holthus (eds.), *Happiness and the Good Life in Japan*. Japan Anthropological Workshop Series, London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 164-182. ISBN-10: 0367177994, ISBN-13: 978-0367177997. ( 査読なし )

[学会発表](計 9 件)

Nov. 2018 Susanne Klien, Annual Meeting, American Association of Anthropology (AAA), San Jose, California, USA, “The young, the stupid and the outsiders’: Rural revitalization volunteers, heterotopia and survival in post-growth Japan” (presentation and panel organizer)

Sept. 2018 Susanne Klien, World Social Science Forum (WSSF) 2018, Fukuoka, Japan, “Urban migrants in the Japanese countryside: Creative depopulation, alternative lifestyles, precarity and moratorium migration in post-growth Japan” (panel organized by Hein Mallee, RIHN Kyoto)

Sept. 2018 Susanne Klien, University of Melbourne, Australia, International Conference on New Frontiers in Japanese Studies, “Life could not be better since I left Japan!’ Transnational mobility of Japanese to Europe and the Post-Fordist Quest for Subjective Well-being outside Japan” (invited)

Sept. 2018 Susanne Klien, British Association of Japanese Studies (BAJS), University of Sheffield, “Moratorium migration? Urbanite settlers in rural Japan between hope, self-exploitation and emotional withdrawal” (panel organized by Fernando Ortiz-Moya, The University of Nottingham Ningbo China)

March 2018 Susanne Klien, Oxford Brookes University, UK, “Urban migrants in the Japanese countryside: Creative depopulation, alternative lifestyles and moratorium migration in post-growth Japan”, Europe Japan Research Centre (invited)

Sept. 2017 Susanne Klien, European Association of Japanese Studies Meeting, Lisbon, “Serendipity, small-scale happiness and scarce commitment: Perpetually mobile Japanese professionals between satisfaction and precariousness” (individual paper), organizer of panel “Mobility, alternative lifestyles and search for belonging in post-growth Japan”

May 2017 Susanne Klien, Sophia University, Tokyo, “Young urban migrants in the Japanese countryside between hope and precarity: Post-growth forms of living and working,

creative depopulation and living for the moment”, Institute of Comparative Culture Lecture Series 2017 (invited)

Nov. 2016 Susanne Klien, “Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures (SISJAC) talk, Norwich, UK, “Of Professional Unemployed, Global Citizens and Broken Bodies: Narratives and Experiences of Mobile Japanese Youth”, workshop “Young Generations in Japan and Europe: Crisis, Mobility and Creativity” organized by Prof. Adrian Favell, University of Leeds (invited)

April 2016 Susanne Klien, Annual Meeting of Association of Asian Studies (AAS), Seattle, “Reinventing Ishinomaki, Reinventing Japan? Evolving Creative Networks, Alternative Lifestyles and the Search for Quality in Life in Post-Growth Japan”, Organizer of Panel “Between Organized Life Courses, Slow Life and Innovation? Achieving Sustainability in Contemporary Japan”

〔図書〕(計 1 件)

2020 Susanne Klien, *Urban migrants in rural Japan: Post-growth ontologies between agency and anomie in a post-growth society*, Albany, New York: State University of New York Press (SUNY), monograph, 398 pages (査読有) ISBN13: 978-1-4384-7805-0

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〔その他〕

ホームページ等

## 6 . 研究組織

### (1)研究分担者

所属研究機関名：部局名

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