

# 博士学位論文

A Socio-economic Analysis of I-turn Migration in Japan  
: Focusing on the Role of Social Networks

近畿大学大学院

農学研究科環境管理学専攻

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NETWORKS**

**MAJOR IN ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE  
KINDAI UNIVERSITY**

**OBIKWELU, FAITH EKENE**

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JAPAN: FOCUSING ON THE ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS**

THESIS BY

**OBIKWELU, FAITH EKENE**

AS PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE

OF

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE**

**KINDAI UNIVERSITY**

**NARA, JAPAN**

**MARCH 2019**

## **CERTIFICATION PAGE**

I certify that this research work, **A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF I-TURN MIGRATION IN JAPAN: FOCUSING ON THE ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS**, was carried out by OBIKWELU, Faith Ekene

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Prof. Tadasu TSURUTA  
Doctor of Agriculture,  
Faculty of Agriculture  
Kindai University, Nara, Japan

## **DEDICATION**

This research work is dedicated to all the *genkai shuuraku* or communities on the edge in Japan

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## ABSTRACTS

Recently in Japan, there are an increasing number of city born people migrating to rural areas. These migrants, mostly in their 30s or 40s, are commonly referred to as I-turn migrants or simply 'I-turners' in Japan. I-turn migration is a unique phenomenon, as most young people would rather choose a convenient city life over a boring and difficult rural lifestyle often characterised by limited job opportunities, little entertainment facilities, and full of odd traditional customs. In some countries, urban-to-rural movements of young people are often associated with economic difficulty in urban life, most notably unemployment. In contrast, I-turners in Japan may hold well-paid jobs before their migration, which they have to give up in order to fulfilling their desire to live in rural environment.

Researchers on migration across the globe have recognized that migrants' social networks at destination as well as migration supporting institutions can greatly reduce the risks and cost of migration. Migrant social networks are defined as recurrent sets of interpersonal ties that bind migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations that can be utilized to facilitate entry, adjustment, and employment at points of destination. This thesis, therefore, explores the roles social networks play in I-turn migration, along with changes in I-turners' socio-economic status after migration. This study focuses on three key areas. Firstly, the study analyses the roles played by I-turners' pre-migration social networks in their migratory decision and process. Secondly, the study explores the post-migration circumstances and activities of I-turners, highlighting the roles played by their post-migration networks in their adaptation to rural environment. Thirdly, the obstacles to I-turners' network formation in post-migration period will be analysed.

Data for this study was collected through a broad questionnaire survey, along with in-depth interviews with 11 key informants. The questionnaire survey involved 30 I-turn households made up of 47 individual I-turners. The questionnaire was divided into two sections, a section for individual I-turners and the other section for the entire household. The questionnaire covers such areas as the I-turners' demographic characteristics, migration motivations, migration history, changes in economic and social condition, nature of social relationship with local villagers and other migrants, their activities in the villages, challenges of rural life and benefits derived from their social networks with neighbours. To complement the questionnaire survey, 11 interviewees were asked to give their life and migration histories in greater detail. The research was carried out in some selected rural parts of Nara (four locations) and Kyoto Prefectures (three locations). Areas with a concentration of I-turners were deliberately selected for this study.

The major findings of the study are:

(1) The Role of Pre-migration Social Networks in I-turn Migration

I-turners pre-migration social networks include (1) interpersonal networks at destination (informal networks mostly with pioneer migrants), (2) migration-supporting institutions (formal networks such as local government and NGOs), and (3) social contacts at the place of origin (semi-formal networks often created by formal institutions). These formal and informal networks played complementary roles in the I-turners' migration process including the selection of the destination. Specifically, the formal networks functioned as a bridge linking

the potential migrants with existing semi-formal networks. The formal institutions organized a number of events to promote migration, which eventually served as a meeting point for the potential I-turners and pioneer migrants, who would later provide the potential I-turners with vital information as well as emotional support during their migration process. Besides the linking role of the formal institutions, they might reduce the I-turners' transactional cost of migration by offering job opportunities at destination. However, in many cases, I-turners' final decision and choice of destination was significantly influenced by their informal and semi-formal networks.

#### (2) I-turners' Motivation and Socio-economic Changes after Migration

I-turners' desire for quiet and relaxed lifestyle, the passion to be engaged in a sustainable agriculture, and the intention to bring up their children in rural environment are among their predominant reasons for moving to rural areas. After migration, the I-turn households had an unfavourable economic condition as compared to urban life. More than half (59.5%) of the I-turners had to put up with a decreased income and decreased savings (59.8%). However, such a negative effect of unfavourable economic condition was offset partly by a reduced expenditure in the rural area through (1) their social networks, (2) lower cost of living in the rural area, and (3) opportunity to produce their own food to achieve a partial food self-sufficiency. Notably, I-turners received various direct and indirect assistances from their friends and neighbours, who might offer them both material and moral support: foods, information, advice and assistance in farming and child upbringing. Thus, post migration social networks played active roles in the I-turners' adjustment and adaptation into rural environment.

#### (3) Positive Roles of Post-migration Social Networks in Rural Revitalizing Activities

I-turners made a considerable contribution in revitalizing pre-existing social functions through their active participation and leadership roles in village activities. For example, 16 or 34% of the I-turners have assumed an official position in either official village administration or other local groups. I-turners' active participation in communal works and village leadership is considered to have eventually increased their chance of acceptance by the original villagers, which is essential to realize their innovative ideas. I-turners also contributed greatly to reinvigorate rural communities through a number of voluntary activities. Analysis of some successful I-turners' initiatives on rural revitalization revealed that these activities were based on social networks between I-turners and local villagers including U-turners.

#### (4) Negative Aspects of Social Interaction between Villagers and New-arrivals

Many I-turners experienced negative aspects of village community, such as the closed nature of village leadership and resistance against their innovative proposal from uncooperative village members. Geographical characteristics of the I-turners' destination also played a certain role both in the behaviour of the I-turners and the host community members. For instance, I turners in villages close to urban areas were not so interested in village matters, unlike those I-turners in remote areas. It was also found that villages characterised by rich communal property were not so open to migrants. Such a situation limited the chance of network formation among I-turners themselves and between them and the locals.

In summary, the study highlighted positive roles of social networks in I-turn migration in rural areas in Kansai Region. It revealed that the I-turners' pre-migration and post migration social networks played crucial roles in their migratory process, and in their post migration adaptation

and integration into the host communities. It also uncovered that the presence of I-turners in the villages contributed greatly to the invigoration of the shrinking rural communities through a number of their voluntary revitalizing activities. The national and local governments, therefore, should employ rural development policies to encourage more I-turners to come and be settled in rural areas.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

I-turn migration phenomenon in Japan is gaining scholarly attention in recent times. I-turn migrants or simply 'I-turners' is a term used by Japan migration researchers to refer to a set of city born people who moved from the cities to reside in rural communities of Japan that are not his/her hometown, after spending some years working in the cities (Dzienis, 2011). On the other hand, when a rural-born individual return to his place of origin after living in cities for a number of years, he/she is referred to as a 'U-turner'. There is yet another term coined by Japanese migration researchers, 'J-turners,' which stands for city dwellers who relocate themselves to rural areas near their home villages (Dizienis, 2011; Wang, 1991).

One of the most notable characteristics of the I-turners is that they are often active, educated and innovative young people. A fundamental question arises as to why these young and active individuals would leave the city in favour of boring and difficult rural lifestyle, often characterised by limited job opportunities, little entertainment facilities, and full of traditional customs strange to urban dwellers. Urban-to-rural migration is often associated with economic hardship in urban areas (particularly unemployment) in other parts of the world, especially in developing countries. In contrast, most I-turners in Japan often abandon lucrative jobs in the cities in order to migrate to rural areas, fully acknowledging a considerable decrease in their income. As we shall see later, they have a variety of reasons for moving to rural areas; some are related to environmental factors such as the desire to be close to nature and live a sustainable life style, and others are connected to upbringing of their children. At the same time, many I-turn migrants also have an intention to contribute to revitalizing rapidly aging villages. Therefore, I-turn migration in Japan is not just a unique phenomenon worth studying but also important in terms of its positive effect as to revitalization of declining rural communities.

The path to I-turn migration, like every other kind of migration, is not always smooth. Potential I-turn migrants have to deal with diverse risks, transactional costs and the psychological effects related to migrating into a new place. Migration researchers across the globe have recognized that migrant's social networks, e.g. social contacts at the place of origin or destination as well as migration supporting institutions, can greatly reduce risks and the cost of migration. According to Spittel (1999), migrant social networks are defined as recurrent sets of interpersonal ties that bind migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations that can be drawn upon to facilitate entry, adjustment, and employment at points of destination. The central idea about migrant social network is that potential migrants may not have to face the same level of challenges as did the pioneer migrants, both in the migration process and after migration, if they are socially connected to the pioneer migrants and/ or other actors, e.g. former migrants, and migration supporting institutions or individuals. Migrant social networks not only help individual would-be migrants but also facilitate further migration, thereby making the migration process a self-perpetuating system (Massey et al. 1998).

Social networks analysis in migration have focused mainly on labour migrants, partly because migration has been viewed to be prompted by the desire of the underprivileged to upgrade themselves socially and economically. Hence, not so much attention has been paid on

the role of social networks in other types of migration. Agreeably, not every migrant pattern requires social networks for migration as with the case of asylum seekers, and the mechanisms underlying the theory of cumulative causation are less likely to come into play in the case of student or marriage migration (Masja van and Sonia, 2013). Still, social networks are not only useful for labour migrants but to other type of migrants as well, such as the I-turn type of migration, mostly prompted by reasons unrelated to socio-economic upgrade. In fact, I-turners encounter many hurdles in the process of relocating themselves to the rural areas (Lee and Sugiura, 2018), mainly associated with their unfamiliarity with the destination villages. Some of the challenges they face in their migratory decision process include the following; (1) Potential I-turners have a difficulty in choosing a suitable village to move into. In many cases, the would-be I-turners are not provided with sufficient information of potential host villages. (2) Potential I-turners are often uncertain about finding a good empty house to live in at destination. Due to the rapidly declining population, there are many abandoned houses in Japanese villages, which are usually not in a good condition. At the same time, owners of good empty houses are sometimes not willing to rent them out. (3) Some potential I-turners who quit their jobs to move to rural areas may desire to be employed after migration, but they are unsure of the possibility of employment. (4) Most potential I-turners who want to engage in farming after migration have little or no information about farming as well as how to get a farmland. (5) The potential I-turners have little or no knowledge at all on how to adjust themselves to the host community upon arrival.

Pre-migration and post-migration social networks are considered to facilitate I-turner's migration process in providing them with information on host villages, empty houses, available jobs, who the local key persons are, and how to accommodate themselves to village community.

## **1.2 Study Objectives**

Although migration researchers in Japan acknowledge the importance of social networks in I-turn migration, its nature and the roles these networks play both in I-turn migratory process and in post migration have not yet be empirically analysed. At the same time, economic condition of I-turners after migration has not been empirically analysed by existing literatures.

This thesis, therefore, aims to analyse the socioeconomic condition of I-turn migrants in Japan, by highlighting the roles social networks play in I-turners' migratory process, their accommodation process, and rural revitalization activities. Specifically, the study revolves around three key areas: firstly, the study analyses the roles played by the I-turners' social networks prior to migration, in their migratory decision and process. Secondly, the study explores I-turners' post migration circumstances, focusing on changes in their socio-economic condition between pre- and post-migration. It then examines the roles the I-turners' post migration networks play in their integration to host communities, by highlighting their participation in communal works and other revitalizing activities. Thirdly, various hindrances to I-turners' post-migration network formation will be discussed.

## **1.3 Framework of Analysis**



In this study, I-turn migrants' social networks are divided into two broad categories; (1) pre-migration social networks, and (2) post-migration social networks.

### **1.3.1 I-turn Migrants' Pre-migration Social Networks**

I-turn migrants' pre-migration social networks in this study constitute all of those individuals and institutions, to whom the I-turners are connected during their migratory process, and who play key roles in the facilitation of the migration of the I-turners. Their roles may also include preparing the potential I-turners for quick adaptation in the rural environment. In particular, some of the key roles expected for I-turners pre-migration social networks include:

- (1) Reducing the cost and risks associated with migrating to a new place by offering the potential migrants various material assistance and emotional support (Banerjee, 1983; Dekker and Engbersen, 2014; Awumbila et al; 2017; Poros, 2011; Portes, 1995; Spittel 1999).
- (2) Supplying information to the potential I-turners about general condition of intended destination. It may include job information, housing information, information on farmland, and other general information about various villages to move into (Rainer and Siedler, 2009). The role of networks/ institutions may also go beyond supplying information; they may help would-be I-turners in getting a job or a house to live in.
- (3) Influencing the potential I-turners' choice of destination, especially when the networks are located in that destination (Spittel, 1999).

With these key roles in mind, pre-migration networks may be divided into the following three categories.

1. Formal social networks-Migration supporting institutions (Government bodies, NPOs)
2. Semi-formal social networks- Potential I-turners' acquaintances who are knowledgeable about rural areas, connected through a formal meeting often organised by formal key actors
3. Informal social networks- Potential I-turners' friends (e.g. pioneer migrants)

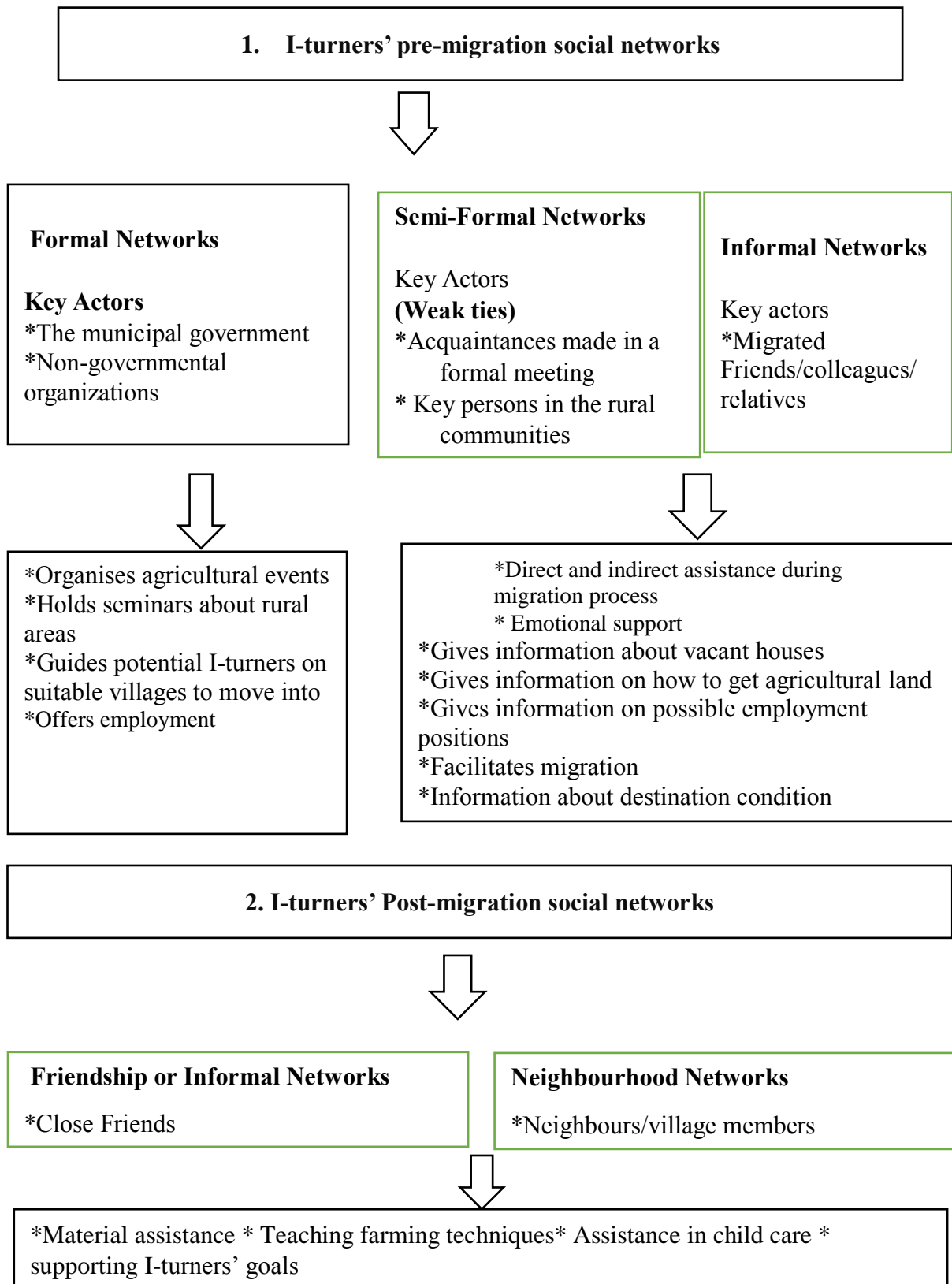
### **1.3.2 I-turners' Post-migration Social Networks**

Even after migration, I-turners are still linked to their family members, friends or institutions at the point of origin. This study, however, examines the roles played by their networks at the point of destination, in analysing the process of I-turners' adaptation to their host communities. The roles played by their networks outside the host community, if any, is outside the scope of this study. I-turners' social networks in post migration include their friends, cooperative local residents and anyone in the same community who support them materially, emotionally as well as supply them vital information or tools required for their full adaptation and integration into the host community. Generally, I-turners' networks in the host community after migration can be broadly divided into two categories, depending on the nature of ties expected to exist in the network.

1. Friendship networks or Informal networks - close friends, which can be fellow I-turners or original village members.
2. Neighbourhood networks- other I-turners and other village members.

The I-turners friendship or informal networks in post migration may include their already existing friends in the village prior to their migration and/or those friends they made by

belonging to one social group or the other. Neighbourhood networks emanate from their social interactions with the people within the community. A closer relationship is expected to exist between the I-turners and their friendship network compared to their neighbourhood network.



**Figure 1-1: I-turn Migrants Social Networks Chart**

## 1.4 Research Methodology

### 1.4.1 Research Areas

The research was conducted in rural parts and sub-urban areas of Nara and Kyoto Prefectures of Japan. Areas with a high concentration of I-turners were selected for this study. There are increasing clusters of I-turners in these locations, and some of these areas are known for active participation of I-turners in rural revitalization activities.

In Kyoto Prefecture, the following areas were surveyed:

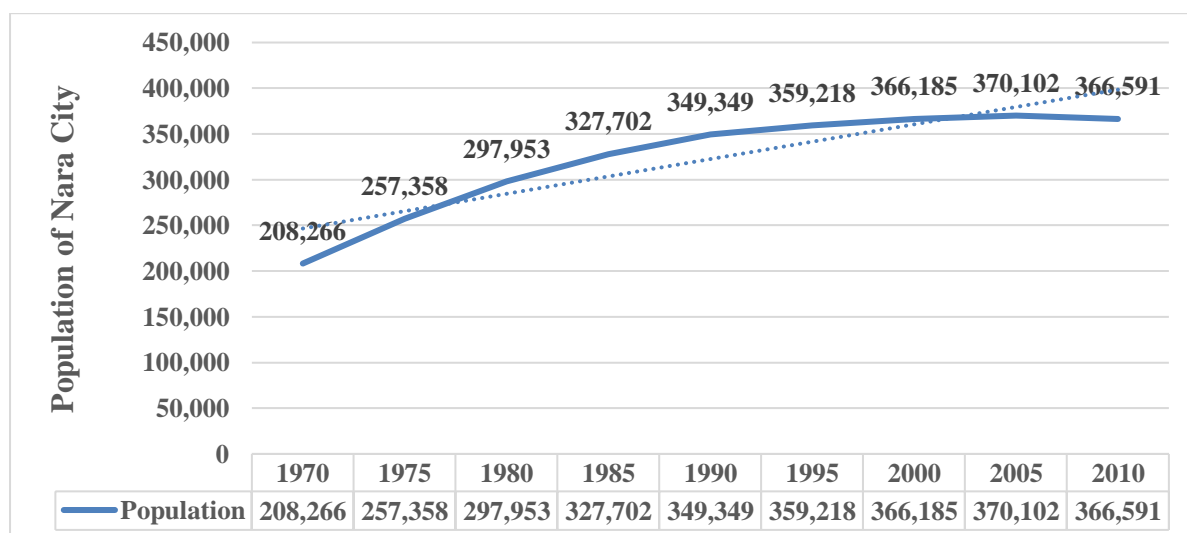
- (i) Rural parts of Maizuru in the northern part of the prefecture,
- (ii) and rural parts of Ayabe City, which is located between Kyoto and Maizuru Cities.

In Nara Prefecture, the following areas were surveyed:

- (i) Nara city suburban areas- Former Tsuge village, former Tsukigase village and Uda village
- (ii) and remote mountainous district areas.-Such as Yoshino village

### 1.4.2 Description of Research Areas in Nara Prefecture

The city of Nara lies in the north end of Nara Prefecture, bordering itself to Kyoto Prefecture in its north side. As a result of the latest merger, effective April 1, 2005, that combined the villages of Tsuge and Tsukigase with the city of Nara, the city now borders Mie Prefecture directly to its east. The total area of Nara City is 276.8 square kilometres.



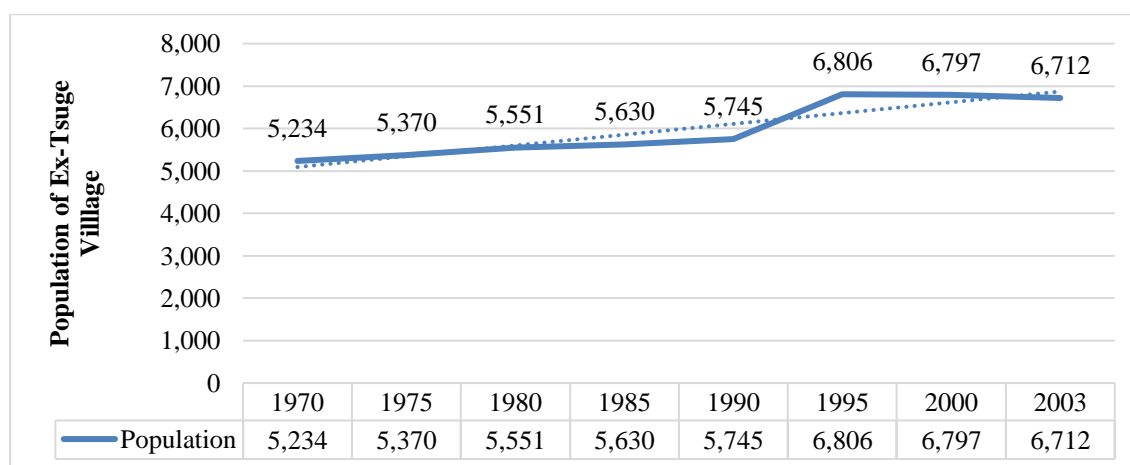
**Figure 1-2: Population of Nara City (1970-2010)** (Source: Japanese Bureau of Statistics )

The population of Nara City increased by 161,836 (or 77.7%) between 1970 and 2005. Then it slightly decreased by 3,511 in 2010 from its 2005 figure. Generally, the population of Nara

City has been on a constant increase from 1970 to 2005, recording highest (370,102) in the year 2005.

### ***Former Tsuge Village***

Tsuge was a village formerly located in Yamabe District, Nara Prefecture. As of 2003, the village had an estimated population of 6,712 and a density of 152.93 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. The total area was 43.89 km<sup>2</sup>. On April 1, 2005, Tsuge was merged into the expanded city of Nara. The population in-flow of Ex-Tsuge village has been on the increase over the years. This could be explained by its nearness to Nara City, thereby making it an attractive area for urban returnees. Though it experienced a little decline in recent years (It slightly decreased by 9 between the year 1995 and 2000 and by 85 between the year 2000 and 2003), it has never declined to its 1970's and 1980's figures. The population of Ex-Tsuge village can be said to be almost stable between the year 1995 and 2003.



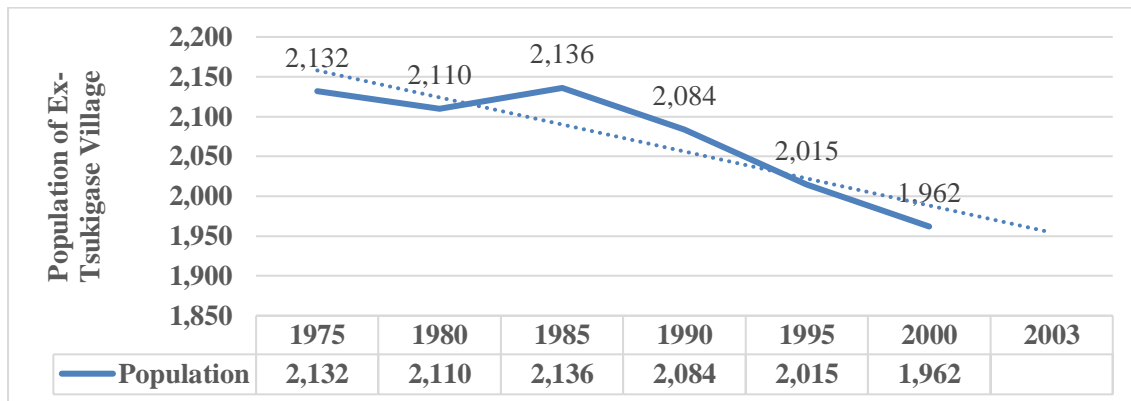
**Figure 1-3: Population Trend of Former Tsuge Village** (Source: Japanese Bureau of Statistics)

### ***Former-Tsukigase Village***

Tsukigase was a village formerly located in Soekami District, Nara Prefecture. As of 2003, the village had an estimated population of 1,913 and a density of 89.6 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. The total area was 21.4 km<sup>2</sup>. On April 1, 2005, Tsukigase, along with the village of Tsuge (from Yamabe District), was merged into the expanded city of Nara. The population of Former Tsukigase village has been on a slight decline over the years.

It recorded 2,142 in 1970, 1,962 in 2000 and 1,913 in 2003. It decreased only by 229 in 2003 from its figure in 1970.

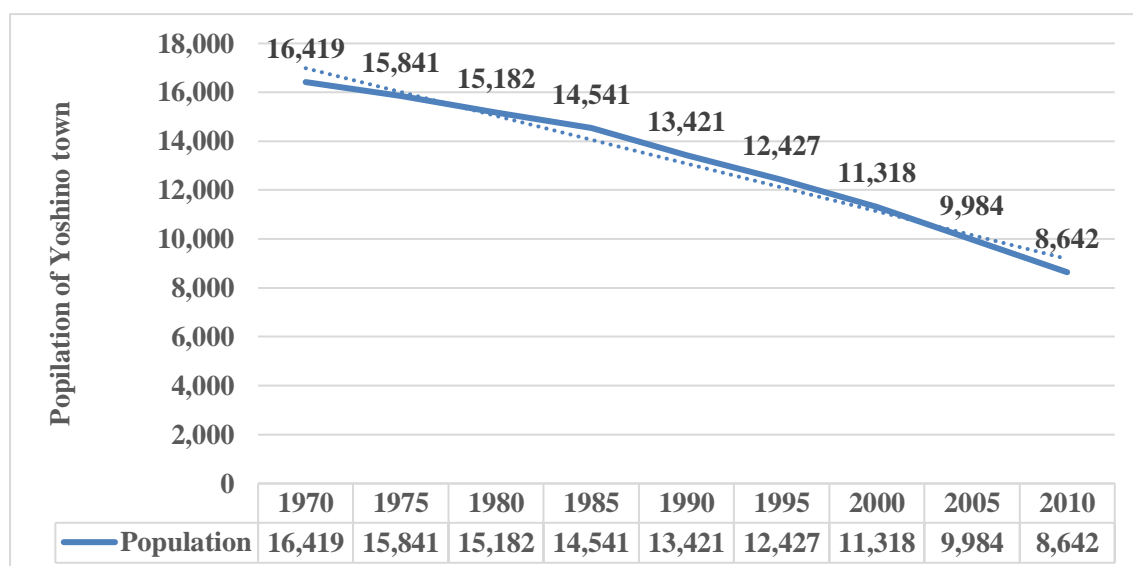
Currently, the population of Ex-Tsukigase village is about 1,700 and there are about 10 to 15 ‘I–turners’ currently living in the village (interview with Mr. Okanuma, key informant from Ex-Tsukigase village).



**Figure 1-4: Population Trend of Former Tsukigase Village** (Source: Japanese Bureau of Statistics)

### Yoshino Town

Yoshino is a town located in Yoshino District, Nara Prefecture. As of September 1, 2007, the town had an estimated population of 9,397 and a density of 97.9 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. The total area was 95.7 km<sup>2</sup>



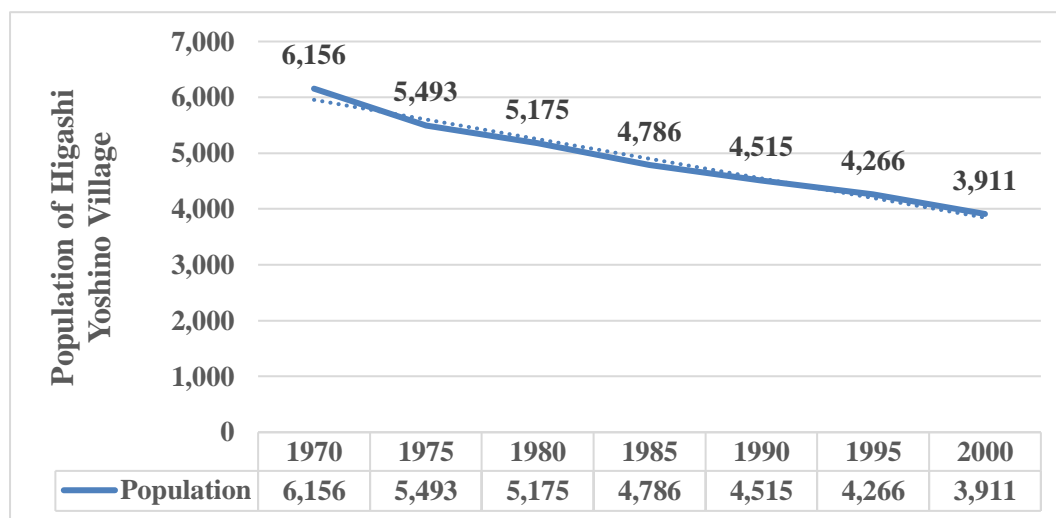
**Figure 1-5: Population trend of Yoshino Town** (Source: Japanese Bureau of Statistics)

The population of Yoshino town recorded 16,419 in the year 1970 and 8,642 in the year 2010. The population almost decreased by half in 2010 from its figure in 1970. Generally, the population of Yoshino town has been decreasing over the years

### Higashi Yoshino Village

Higashi Yoshino is a village located in Yoshino District, Nara Prefecture. As of October 1, 2007, the village had an estimated population of 2,426 and a density of 18.4 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. The total area was 131.6km<sup>2</sup>. The population of Higashi Yoshino decreased by 36% in 2000 from its figure in 1970. Generally, population of Higashi Yoshino has been on a constant decrease over the years.

As seen above, while population of suburban areas (Tsuge and Tsukigase) has been relatively stable in the last forty years, that in remote areas in Yoshino District considerably declined.



**Figure 1-6: Population trend of Higashi Yoshino Village** (Source: Japanese Bureau of Statistics)

### Uda

Uda is a city located in north eastern Nara Prefecture, Japan. The modern city of Uda was established on January 1, 2006, the towns of Haibara, Ōuda and Utano, and the village of Murō was merged to create the city of Uda. As of December 29, 2005, the city had an estimate population of 38,648 and a population density of 155.35 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. As of April 1, 2015, the city has an estimated population of 31,274 and 13,128 households. The population density is 145.64 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, and the total area is 247.62 km<sup>2</sup>. As of 2005, Ōuda had an estimated population of 8,647 and a density of 182.27 persons per km<sup>2</sup> while Utano had an

estimated population of 4,746 and a density of 170.84 persons per km<sup>2</sup> with a total area of 27.78 km<sup>2</sup>.

### 1.4.3 Description of Research Areas in Kyoto Prefecture

#### Ayabe

Ayabe is a city located in Kyoto Prefecture. The city was founded on August 1, 1950. In 2008, the city has an estimated population of 36,814 and a population density of 110 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. In 2015, the city has an estimated population of 33,821 and a population density of 97.5 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. The total area is 347.1 km<sup>2</sup>. Ayabe is situated in the mountains of Central North of Kyoto Prefecture.

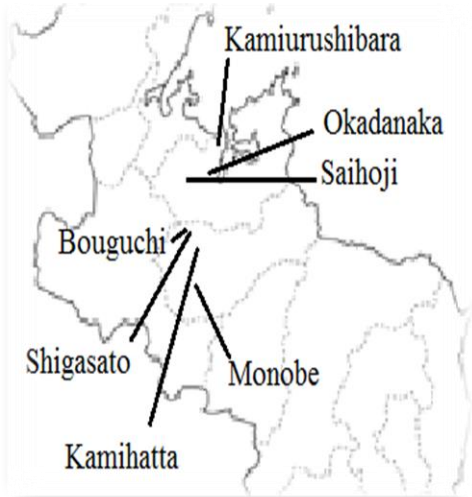
#### Maizuru

Maizuru is a city located in the North of Kyoto Prefecture, on an inlet of the Sea of Japan. The city was founded on May 27, 1943. As of 2008, the city has an estimated population of 89,626 and a population density of 264 persons per km<sup>2</sup>.



Figure 1-7: Map of Research Areas in Kyoto Prefecture

**Location of Maizuru and Ayabe Cities**



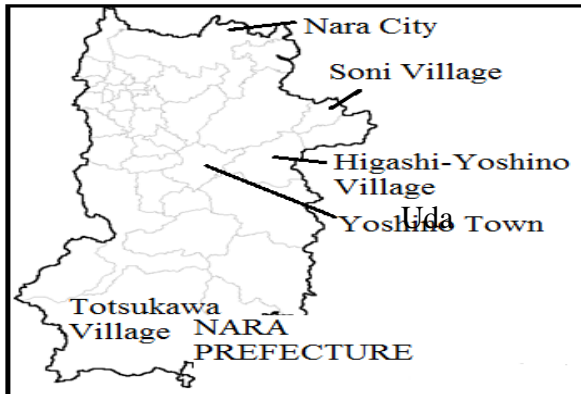
**Residential Areas of I-turners from Maizuru and Ayabe**



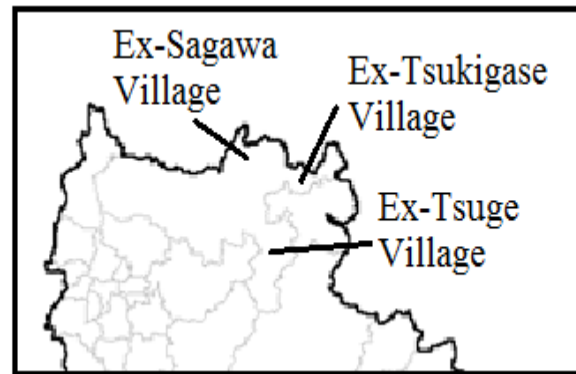
**Figure 1-8: Map of Research Areas in Nara Prefecture**



Location of I-turners in Nara Prefecture



Residential Areas of I-turners from Nara City



#### 1.4.4 Description of Research Areas from I-turners' viewpoint

I-turners descriptions of research areas are viewed important in this study because it will reveal their perceptions of these areas; particularly revealing the attractions that the villages hold for them. In addition, since the I-turners are expected to revitalize these areas, it is important to directly obtain from them what they perceive as the current challenges facing the rural areas. The descriptions of each area/village below is based on the opinions of the I-turners. Generally, the I-turners view their residential area as attractive. However, depopulation is a common challenge faced by all the areas surveyed.

##### 1.4.4.1 Kyoto Prefecture

###### (1) Shigasato

Shigasato area has about 1,300 people. Shigasato is a close community and the relationship among the residents is very tight. The community gives a rich feeling of happiness and satisfaction due to its richness in nature. Shigasato is a convenient environment for childcare. The atmosphere of the area teaches what human relation and natural environment is all about. The residents are active, talented, interesting and optimistic. It is a community that should be made as a model, as emphasized by an I-turner. However, Shigasato faces a number of challenges among which is *kasō* (depopulation). There is an uncontrollable rate of declining number of children in the community. This makes maintenance of class size very difficult especially in the primary school (Primary school is viewed very important in the community because it fosters a sense of unity among the attendants even after graduation), and hence the continuous merging of classes. Despite these challenges, the community holds attraction for I-turners.

###### (2) Saihoji

Saihoji area has 50 households, which consist of 130 – 140 people (between 2.6 and 2.8 persons per household). There are 7 households of I-turners (excluding old and retired I-

turners) and about 4 households of U-turners. Average age of people of Saihoji was 65 years ago, but, at the time of the study, the average age had declined to less than 40. Saihoji is described as an area rich in nature. However, there are a lot of empty houses in Saihoji, which are also not in a good condition. A group in charge of village revitalization went in search of empty houses and found 30 – 40 empty houses in Okadanaka, a sub unit in Saihoji Village, but only 3 of these empty houses were in a good condition.

### **(3) Monobe Village**

Monobe is a relatively big settlement, made up of 13 sub-divisions. It appears attractive to live in because it is very close to the city and being a commercial area, shopping is easy, as many people own a shop. It has easy access to hospital and the community has a primary school. Monobe has two council members, so there may be a political conflict but generally solidarity and trust is quite strong according to historical background. According to an I-turner, one of the basic amenities currently needed in the village is an adequate channel to disseminate information about the village to the outside community.

## **1.4.4. 2 Nara Prefecture**

### **(4) Former Tsukigase Village**

Former Tsukigase *mura* is attractive to I-turners because it is rich in nature and holds interesting events (fire fly festival, spring party once in a year, musical concert, barbeque, etc.). In addition, the locals are not so resistant to outsiders. However, the village is rapidly depopulating and there is an increasing number of ageing population. Many schools have been closed down and there are very few pupils and students in Tsukigase today.

### **(5) Former Tsuge Village**

An I-turner described former Tsuge village as having a “proper level of inconvenience”, explaining that the village is not too inconvenient, and there are no much temptations unlike urban areas. Former Tsuge is described as a healthy and suitable environment for child upbringing. The village is also open to outsiders.

## **1.5 Data Collection and Analysis**

The data for analysis in this study were collected between August and October 2015. A well articulated questionnaire capturing the core subjects of the research were distributed to the respondents. Due to difficulty in locating the houses of the I-turners, the key persons among I-turners’ community were approached first, who in turn distributed the structured questionnaires to other I-turn migrants in their neighbourhood. 47 questionnaires were eventually returned by mail from 30 households (14 from Nara and 16 from Kyoto). The questionnaire was divided into two sections: one for the entire household and the other for individuals. Some open-ended questions were included, in order to elicit each I-turners’ personal opinion. Data were analysed on an aggregated basis, combining data from all the research areas together without classifying

The following description of the villages is based on the author’s interview with; Miss.T (Monobe village); Mr. K and Mr. A (Shigasato); Mr. F and Mrs. H (Saihoji); Mr. O (former Tsukigase village); Mr. KO, Miss. N and Mr. Y (former Tsuge village)
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them into different geographical categories, because of the imbalance in the number of samples taken from each area.

To validate the result of the questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews were carried out with 9 key informants (Table 1-1); 5 from Kyoto and 4 from Nara. A follow up interview was carried out on two key informants (I-turners) in Uda Town, Nara Prefecture, in June 2018.

**Table 1-1 Personal Information on Key Informants**

<b>Area</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Village/ Area</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>
<b>Ayabe</b>	T.	Monobe	female	32
	K.	Shigasato	male	35
	A.		male	43
<b>Maizuru</b>	F.	Saihoji	male	42
	H.	Saihoji	female	43
	O.	Former Tsukigase	male	48
<b>Nara</b>	KO.	Former Tsuge	male	30
	N.	Former Tsuge	female	45
	Y.	Former-Tsuge	male	43
	A.	Uda (Ōuda)	male	47
	M.	Uda (Utano)	female	36

The key informants selected in this study include the influential persons among I-turners' community as well as the entire neighbourhood. Most of them are I-turners active in communal activities. Therefore, they are expected to be knowledgeable about I-turners' circumstances as well as the characteristics of the local residents.

## **1.6 Demographic Characteristics of I-turners**

According to the result of questionnaire survey, demographic characteristics of 47 sample I-turners (23 males and 24 females) are as follows. The I-turners' ages range between 21 and 40. 18 (38%) are university graduates, which may imply that a leading and innovative role in rural development can be expected from these well-educated I-turners. The migrants originated from 17 prefectures across Japan, with almost 70% of them hailing from Kansai Region. Most I-turn households (80%) have lived in their villages of residence between the period of 1 and 11 years, while 20% have lived there for more than 12 years. The I-turners are engaged in a wide range of occupations. Two major occupations are farming and private businesses including running a soba restaurant. Majority of them (34 or 72.3%) worked within the rural community where they lived, while 8 (17 %) indicated that they worked outside of the community. Among the 30 I-turn households surveyed, 11 (36.7%) are one-person households, while more than half (19 households or 63.3%) have a family size between 2 and 5 members. 12 or 40% of the households have 20 children (in total) below the age of 15 (Table 1-2). From our in-depth interviews with I-turners, it is clear that the very presence of children and youth offers an encouragement to the rural residents who are mostly elderly.

**Table 1-2: I-turn Household's Composition**

Family Size	Freq.	Household with(out) children Below 15 years	
		Freq.	Number of Children
One	11 (36.67 %)	18	0
Two	6 (20 %)	7	1
Three	5 (16.67%)	2	2
Four	5 (16.67%)	3	3
Five	3 (10 %)	30	20
Total	30 (100%)		

## 1.7 Structure of Thesis

This thesis is made up of seven chapters. Chapter one gives a background of I-turn migration in Japan, defines I-turners' pre-migration and post migration social networks and then explains the research methodology employed in the study. Chapter two reviews the trends of internal migration in Japan and gives an overview of the role of social networks in migration. Chapter three presents an empirical evidence of the roles of I-turners' pre-migration social networks in their migration possibility. Chapter four explores the socio-economic circumstances of I-turners after migration and the roles of the I-turners' post migration social networks in their economic and social adjustment in the village. Chapter five gives a detailed insight on the challenges I-turners face in the host community and analyses how social networks can curtail these challenges. In chapter six, the contributions of I-turners in revitalizing rural communities are assessed, with special reference to the importance of social networks in the successful implementation of I-turners' goals and initiatives in the rural communities. Finally, chapter seven provides conclusions based on the result of the foregoing analysis.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Counter-urbanisation in Japan**

Rural-to-urban migration is identified as the traditional migration pattern all over the world. However, beginning in the 1970s, the opposite trend emerged in internal migration in most developed countries. This is marked by the movement of people from urban to rural areas as opposed to the regular movement of people from rural to urban areas. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘migration turnaround’, ‘turn around’ or the ‘rural renaissance’ in the USA and as ‘counter urbanization’ in Europe. Counter-urbanization is not just the movement of people from urban to rural areas, but also have changed the population balance between the rural and urban areas, in that the dominant trend of concentration and centralisation in the urban centres have been gradually replaced by de-concentration and de-centralisation (Geyer, 2015). Although population is still concentrated in urban centres in developed countries including Japan, urban-to-rural migration continues to happen for diverse reasons.

During the era of high economic growth in Japan, around 1950s and 1960s, there was a massive exodus of young people from rural areas to the urban centres for further education and employment. The dominant cities where population concentrated were Tokyo metropolitan area, Nagoya and Osaka areas. The massive out-migration of Japan's rural population into the cities created severe problems associated with congestion within the highly industrialized and urbanized areas, while in many of the outlying rural areas critical problems related to under-population arose (Kakiuchi et al, 1979). An oil crisis, which occurred in 1973, resulted in a migration turnaround in Japan, that is the movement of people back to the rural areas, mostly ‘U-turn’ cases (the movement of city dwellers back to the rural areas where they originated). There were also few cases of ‘I-turn’ (city dwellers who relocate themselves to rural areas which are not their hometowns) and ‘J-turn’ (city dwellers who relocate themselves to rural areas near their hometowns). During the bubble economy, around the late 1980s to the early 1990s, there was once more an influx of people into the Tokyo metropolitan area. At the end of the bubble economy, many young people left Tokyo metropolitan area and moved back to the rural areas. However, in the 2000s, the migration flow was redirected to the Tokyo metropolitan area again (Nishino 2007; Dizienis, 2011; Wang, 2012; Sigurðsson, 2017; Feldhoff, 2013).

Out-migration of mostly young population from the rural areas to the Tokyo metropolitan area and other major cities have had an adverse effect on the rural communities of Japan, as we will examine below.

#### **2.2 Present Condition of Rural Areas in Japan**

##### **2.2.1 Ageing and Declining Population**

Recently, Japan as a whole is facing a rapidly ageing and declining population. Depopulation is often associated with war and natural disasters, decreased birth rate and out migration after a collapse of major industry (Assmann, 2015). Twenty-three per cent of Japan’s

total population were 65 years or older in 2010, and this share is estimated to hit a world record of more than 40 per cent in 2050. In addition, there is an expected population loss of approximately 25 million people by the year 2050 (Feldhoff, 2013). This is partly induced by decreased birth rate and equal and increased opportunities for education and employment between men and women, which is considered to be the major reason for late and less frequent marriage. Equal education and employment opportunities liberated women from traditional gender norms and led to an increase in the postponement of marriage and childbirth, contributing to the dramatic post war fertility decline (Tanaka et al., 2011). Ageing and declining population are even more severe in rural areas of Japan, especially in the hilly and mountainous districts. In the age of population decline, which started in 2005, the populations of all prefectures are estimated to decrease until the middle of the 21st century at rates larger in municipalities located in peripheral Japan (Ishikawa, 2008).

Prefecture-by-prefecture population changes from 2005 to 2010 indicate accelerated depopulation in predominantly rural prefectures. Population drops are particularly large in Akita, Aomori and Kochi Prefectures. Rural population in general is further estimated to decline to 81% of the 2005 level (with the aged population rate rising from 22% to 35%), while population in the three metropolitan regions (Tokyo region-Saitama, Chiba, Tokyo and Kanagawa Prefectures-, the Nagoya region -Gifu, Aichi and Mie Prefectures-, and the Osaka region -Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo and Nara Prefectures) is estimated to probably fall to 92% in 2035 as compared to their 2005 level, with the aged population rate rising from 18% to 32% (MAFF, 2010).

Rural villages with a severe population decline is described by social scientists as *genkai shuuraku*, or 'communities on the edge'. *Genkai Shuuraku* in a more specific term refers to rural communities that have reached the limits of their manageability due to dramatic depopulation, and where people aged 65 years or older make up more than half the total population. Most *genkai shuuraki* communities often located on the hilly and mountainous areas (Feldhoff, 2013). Depopulation of rural communities has led to further problems such as abandonment of agricultural land and reduction of agricultural production, loss of community functions, reduction in employment opportunities and virtually no economic activity between residents. Such kind of communities have lost attractions for migrants in recent times and there is possibility of most of the affected communities going to extinction in the near future (Matanle, 2013; Wider, 2018).

### **2.2.2 Efforts towards Rural Revitalization**

Japan's rural problem has become a national burden. Government bodies, researchers and other individuals have suggested diverse ways on how to solve rural problems. For instance, Yamauchi (2015) is of the opinion that creating job in rural areas, creating linkages between communities, promoting interactions between rural and urban areas may be one of the solutions to problems facing rural areas of Japan. According to Okanouchi (2014), a mayor of mountainous village in Japan (Nakagawa-mura, Kami-Ina-gun, Nagano Prefecture) recommended more radical idea of universal, unconditional and lifelong monthly cash transfer in rural Japan -Basic Income Guarantee (BIG)- as a solution to the depopulation of rural Japan and the best way to revitalize rural community with young people. On the other hand, rural tourism related activities is one of the measures initiated by Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) to curb the challenges in rural areas such as depopulation and increasing aging rural communities. Rural tourism can come in form of exchanges between urban and rural regions. Patterns of exchanges between urban and rural regions range widely from short

stays for green tourism (stays for recreation in rural areas) to living in both urban and rural regions, and permanent settlement in rural areas (MAFF,2010). There are also diverse actions taken both by the government and the local community with the intention of revitalizing shrinking rural communities of Japan.

### **(1) Government Based Actions**

There are many policies put in place to invigorate rapidly depopulating communities. Feldhoff (2013) reviewed diverse laws established to invigorate communities at the verge of extinction. Starting from the mid-1960s, there have been diverse development laws aimed towards improving the socio-economic status of rapidly depopulating villages, as result of persistent demand by local authorities. Specifically, in 1965, there was Mountain Village Promotion Act (*Sanson shinko ho*) targeting hilly and mountainous areas. The Mountain Village Promotion Act, alongside other Acts before it, was evaluated as not successful because the projects were developed and implemented in a top-down manner, ‘from the outside in’ the communities, ignoring the abilities and insights of local residents. They were generally under-financed and did not directly address the community-specific problems associated with the deteriorating social and demographic conditions, which were a consequence of the out-migration from the affected areas. However, in 1970 another act was enacted, with a title ‘Emergency Act for the Improvement of Depopulated Areas’ (*Kaso chiiki taisaku kinkyū sochi hō*). It was acknowledged as the first legislation that addressed directly the problems of depopulation on a national scale. Ever since then, a succession of laws, as listed below, has provided a greater amount of financial assistance to depopulating or shrinking regions (*kaso chiiki*).

- 1970–1979: Emergency Act for the Improvement of Depopulated Areas (*Kaso chiiki taisaku kinkyū sochi hō*).
- 1980–1989: Depopulated Areas Special Promotion Law (*Kaso chiiki shinkō tokubetsu sochi hō*).
- 1990–1999: Depopulated Areas Special Revitalization Law (*Kaso chiiki kasseika tokubetsu hō*).
- 2000–2009: Special Law Promoting Independence in Depopulated Areas (*Kaso chiiki jiritsu sokushin tokubetsu sochi hō*).
- 2010–2015: Revised Special Law Promoting Independence in Depopulated Areas (*Kaisei kaso chiiki jiritsu sokushin tokubetsu sochi hō*).

In June 2012, the government enacted another 5-year renewal of the *kaso* law, which will last until 31 March 2021, in order to secure support for the recovery of areas devastated by the 11 March 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and the subsequent tsunami.

However, Feldhoff argues in his study that shrinking communities should abandon the expectation of externally induced local revitalization and concentrate on asset-based community development. Community ownership of assets is termed as a creative and innovative means to facilitate local engagement, foster attachment for rural areas and thereby strengthen the resilience of rural communities and their independence from central government control.

In 2000, the government established the Direct Payment Scheme to Farmers in Hilly and Mountainous (*Chūsankanchiiki tō chokusetsu shiharai seido*) as a part of addressing the problems of these regions suffering from depopulation because of unfavourable economic conditions and abandonment of agriculture. The direct payment was expected to serve as an incentive to continue farming activities in such economically backward areas. The recipient of the payment is bound to continue farming activities for more than 5 years and to engage in activities that bring positive development in rural areas, such as maintaining the rural landscape, preventing soil erosion, preserving water resources and bio-diversity, supporting environmentally friendly farming activities, promoting recreational activities and supporting rural communities (Sakuyama, 2006; Feldhoff, 2013).

## **(2) Local Communities/Councils Based Actions**

Several efforts have been made in some regions by local residents, farmers, local councils or industry-government collaboration organizations to invigorate local communities as reported by MAFF (2010, p. 45).

### **(i) Urahoro Town, Hokkaido Prefecture**

In order to make children to become confident and proud of their communities, the Urahoro Style Promotion Council implements lessons at elementary and junior high schools where children experience rural lives and make town-building proposals. Their proposals are implemented with help provided by adults.

### **(ii) Shima City, Mie Prefecture**

The Shima Isobue Kai association has created the Kirari (twinkling) Recipe for Shima local dishes in cooperation with divers and fishermen. It has also developed “Shinju Tekone Sushi” using pearl shell scallops, and original dishes using sea lettuce in a bid to invigorate the regional economy.

### **(iii) Gokase Town, Miyazaki Prefecture**

The Yuhinosato Zukuri promotion council has implemented local development programs taking advantage of local landscapes for exchanges with urban residents. It implements tours and events for urban residents, accepts educational tours from abroad and manages the Yuhinosato Bussankan shop for selling local specialty products.

The areas we selected for this study, currently, may not be said to fall within the *genkai shūroku* communities, which are said to have reached their limit but there is an observed depopulation trend as well as its associated consequences. The present *genkai shūroku* communities started as mere *kasō* communities. Hence, revitalization of these areas is a necessity to prevent further emergence of *genkai shūroku* communities. Drawing migrants into rural communities is one of the ways rural communities can be invigorated, as postulated by some researchers.

## **2.2.3 Effects of Urban to Rural Migration**

Urban-rural migration may bring about negative effects in the socio-economic condition of a



destination, especially when the migrants have a considerably higher economic status. Such negative outcomes may include increase in house pricing in the migrant's destinations beyond the reach of people on local salaries (Löffler et al; 2006). Population increase in the rural area arising from urban-rural migration may bring about negative effect on the environment of the rural area. For example, there would be more cars and less people using public transport eventually leading to increased air and noise pollution (Islam, 2009).

On the positive side, urban-rural migration can bring about economic regeneration based on migrants' business activity (Bosworth, G, 2009). This is especially true if those migrants reason for moving was to start up business in the rural area

In Greece, some migrants are attracted to the rural area because of the existence of cultural opportunities at the destination. This points out clearly the role of local culture and of creative economies in attracting urban residents. More importantly, the urban-rural migrants to the Greek provinces actively contribute to creativity and culture through a series of bottom-up cultural activities, both commercial and non-commercial, but with a strong community focus (Gkartzios, et al; 2013).

Having established the positive roles in-migrants can play in the rural environment, this present study will add to the existing literatures, by exploring diverse positive social roles played by I-turn migrants in the revitalization of rural communities of Japan. At the same time, the process of migrating to a new place is often tedious, and after migration, the migrants may find it hard to adjust to their new environment. Such problems are often mitigated by the presence of formal and informal networks of I-turners. Therefore, the roles of social networks in migration will be reviewed next.

## **2.3 Overview of the Role of Social Networks in Migration**

### **2.3.1 Definition of Social Networks**

A social network is made up of individuals and organizations, often called "nodes," which are tied together by different sorts of relationships, such as friendship, economic exchange, influence, and common interests. An individual person can think of him or herself as a node that has ties to kin, community members, schoolmates, and colleagues, as well as to larger religious, political, educational, and state institutions. Networks are different from groups or communities in that they do not have closed boundaries. They are, in principle, open configurations of relationships that can encompass groups and communities, among other social formations (Poros, 2011). Whereas, "migrant social networks are defined in the literature as recurrent sets of interpersonal ties that bind migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations that can be drawn upon to facilitate entry, adjustment and employment at points of destination" (Spittel, 1999).

A social connection to a migrant at a particular destination represents an important resource that can be utilised to facilitate movement. The recognition of social relationships in migration permits the understanding of migration as a social product and focuses the act of migration away from individual actors to a focus on a combination of factors, which influences migration. This therefore implies that networks, not people, are at the centre of the migration process. An important implication of the network theory then is that the process of being socially connected to someone who has migrated necessarily creates a migratory information

feedback mechanism, where contacts act as conduits of information to potential migrants. Therefore, migration as a network-creating process, developing an increasingly dense web of networks and contacts between places of origin and destination, allows the migration process to become self-sustaining and impervious to short-term changes in economic incentives. Network connections thus increase the likelihood of migration because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration (Awumbila et al., 2017; Poros, 2011; Portes, 1995; Spittel 1999).

There are different approaches to social networks analysis. Social network can be analysed quantitatively through the application of mathematics, particularly graph theory and statistical models. There is also a qualitative approach to social network analysis by employing the use of participant observation, interviews, diaries of communicative practices and participatory visual mapping techniques. Qualitative approaches critically analyses the narrative, observational and visual data on social networks. Recently, a mixed method approach to social network analysis has also been adopted. A mixed method entails combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches in research on social networks (Edwards, 2010)

### **2.3.2 Social Networks Roles in the Migration Process**

Migration researchers have emphasized so much on the roles social networks play both in internal and international migration. However, since international migration usually involve longer distances and a lot of legal and policy contexts, social networks of internal migrants may differ in composition and probably in function from that of international migrants. In addition, some researchers have argued that social networks are more useful in international migration than in internal migration. Massey (1988) argued that social networks' greater importance in international migration is related to the higher costs associated with international migration.

However, internal migration as well is often accompanied by diverse risks which is entailed in a venture of relocating themselves to a new place. Sometimes, the situation of migrants involved in internal migration may be very similar to those of international migrants. For instance, individuals moving to another part of the same country with different cultural values and lifestyles may experience similar cultural shocks just as the international migrants. Internal migrants and international migrants both face the hard time of adjusting themselves to a new society. The existence of social networks reduces the risks and cost of migration, because pioneer migrants establish a smooth path for other migrants from their own experiences. When potential migrants have social contacts at the destination, it reduces the psychological effect and monetary cost that come with migrating to a new place (Banerjee, 1983; Dekker and Engbersen, 2014). This is to say that the presence of social contacts in a destination is likely to pull more migrants to that destination (Spittel, 1999). During the migratory process, the social contacts supply potential migrants with vital information about the destination especially information about employment and housing (Van Meeteren et al, 2013; Rainer and Siedler, 2009), and after migration, they offer the migrants material assistance and supportive relationship at the time of adjustment and job search (Banerjee, 1983; Borjas, 1992; Poros, 2011; Bilecen et al, 2018). Chain migration has been the by-product of the interactive process between the migrants and their social contacts at the destination (Banerjee, 1983), thereby making migration a self-sustaining process (Massey et al. 1998).

Migrant type, distinguished by migration motives, may also determine the migrant's social networks type, size and even the extent of roles played by them. For instance, the social networks of a labour migrant (drawn by the perspective of work in the destination) may differ from that of a student, asylum seekers, family migrants (those who migrated for marriage reasons or to join a family member) or those who migrated to experience different lifestyles and cultures (Van Meeteren et al, 2013).

The following social networks type were observed in the study carried out by Van Meeteren et al. (2013) on Brazilian migration to Portugal and the Netherlands.

***Type of Social Networks in Migration and Key Actors***

- i. kinship Networks- *family members*
- ii. friendship Networks- *friends*
- iii. Community Networks- *shared community of origin.*'
- iv. Institutional or Organizations Networks- *employers, government officials, traffickers and other migration broker*
- v. Internet Networks- *'online-based virtual communities'*

Their major findings are:

- i. Social networks are important for finding a first house and a first job; and friends, sometimes found in the country of destination through previous contacts, not family members, are essential to enter the labour market.
- ii. Institutions constituted relevant sources of information and travel funding for students and those who migrated to experience life and culture abroad, but they were not found relevant for other type of migrants.
- iii. For students, the internet, embassies/consulates and agencies that participate in the recruitment of international students or organise exchange programs are fundamental resources to access information and therefore this is the migrant type less dependent on personal networks to access information.
- iv. Institutions play a role in providing information and assistance to obtain documents, and that some students and migrants who moved to experience life and culture in another country benefitted from their assistance. They did not play a major role in helping migrants to find a place to live or a job.
- v. Primarily students used the internet as a source of information. The other groups mostly relied on other sources of information. In terms of assistance with housing and finding a job, all groups heavily depended on their personal contacts or on institutions. Only very few respondents relied solely on the internet for information and then managed to find a house and a job on their own.
- vi. Family members are important sources of information for family migrants but not so much for other profiles where friends assume a more prominent role. Family members are fundamental resources for funding. Family migrants benefit from the migration of others who usually fund their migration, while workers, students and seekers of experiences abroad depend on the resources available within their families in the origin country.

Kinship / friendship networks, as the term implies, are networks of family members/friends either at point of origin or at the point of destination. As the nature of relationship among these ties are often cordial, they can be regarded as informal social networks. Just as the study of

Van Meeteren et al. above, informal social networks have been proven to play important roles during migratory process and after migration. This is partly because of the close-knit nature associated with this kind of network, which is capable of reducing uncertainty and increases the hope of getting necessary support both during and after migration

In Japan, friendship network (informal social networks) and institutional networks (formal social networks; so called, due to the formal relationship expected to exist between them) are especially important for facilitating I-turn migration. 'Kinship networks' and 'shared community of origin' are almost non-existent in the I-turn migrants' social networks, especially at the point of destination. This is partly attributed to the unique nature of I-turn migration and the organizational structure of Japanese society. However some I-turners may migrate to the origin of their parents or grandparents, but these I-turners are few in number.

Rainer and Siedler's (2009) study on the role of social network in migration from East Germany to West Germany revealed that individuals who are socially connected to pioneer migrants prior to migration are economically better off than the unconnected ones. This is because they are more likely to be employed and to hold higher paying jobs as a result of receiving job information from their contacts. Zhou (2015) once more confirmed the role of pre-migration network on the labour market outcome of rural-urban migrants in China as those individuals with networks have almost twice job arrival rate than those without networks. Thus, efficient transmission of information within social networks is important for migration facilitation and for the migrant's economic condition in post migration.

However, Blumenstock et al (2018) discovered that the average migrant benefits more from networks that provide social support than networks that efficiently transmit information. They argued that individuals are prone to migrate to destinations where they can get economic and social support rather than to a destination where they have expansive networks. Hence, efficient transmission of information facilitates migration and information backed up with material assistance; social and emotional support facilitates migration even more. Material assistance and emotional support reduces the monetary cost and psychological effect of migration respectively; when material assistance and social support are extended in post- migration period, migrants can adjust themselves faster even before finding a job.

### **2.3.3 Social Networks Roles in Migrants' Integration**

The process by which people who migrate to a society become part of that society is referred to as 'integration' in Europe and as 'assimilation' in the United States. If migrants do not feel they are fully accepted by the local residents or regard themselves as part of the host community, they cannot be totally integrated into that community. The willingness of a given society or a host community to be engaged in integration processes of migrants is often observed in their attitudes and perceptions of these migrants. For instance, if the host community feels that the presence of the migrants may deter their own progress, they may be resistant to the migrants and may even resort to using negative words against the incomers (Anja et al; 2013).

There are three basic dimensions to migrants' integrations; the social, economic and cultural integration, and the fourth dimension is the political integration (Mandred et al,n.d.). Successful integration takes place when there is an interaction between migrants and the receiving society, which means integration is expected to be a two-way process (Yue et al, 2013). For instance, migrants may play active roles in the process of their integration into the

host communities. To be integrated culturally, they may participate in the cultural activities in the host community, such as festivals rooted in tradition. When they are active in the traditionally rooted festivals, they are invariably acculturating themselves in the village. This is expected to eliminate all possible differences between migrants and their host communities, hence opening way for them to establish networks with the original village members. On the other hand, migrants may find some of the customs and traditions of the rural communities strange and embarrassing. The original village members are not expected to impose these traditions on the migrants or try to exclude them when they fail to embrace such customs. It may take time for the migrants to accept strange cultural practices and all through the process the original village members are expected to be patient and accommodating. In addition, while migrants are embracing the customs and traditions of the host community, the original village members are also expected to embrace the traditions and customs of the migrants, thereby facilitating mutual understanding.

Economic integration may take a different shape depending on the kind of migrants involved. It is the responsibility of a host community or a country, in the case of international migration, to create equal opportunity of employment both for the citizens, migrants or an ethnic minority. A host community or country, who limits foreigners to certain jobs only is not fully integrating those migrants in the economic system. Economic integration for amenity migrants, who moved to a rich natural environment and which at the same time is characterised by poor economic conditions, may take the form of material assistance and general reciprocity between the migrants and the host communities. For economic integration to happen successfully for amenity migrants, a rich social relationship is expected to exist between the migrants and the residents of the village in the first place. Hence, a rich social network between amenity migrants and the residents of a village is a necessity for the economic welfare of the concerned migrants.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE ROLE OF I-TURNERS' PRE-MIGRATION SOCIAL NETWORKS IN I-TURN MIGRATION

Potential migrants are first interested to migrate to a new place even before exploring the benefits embedded in their networks. In other words, social networks facilitate the migration of only those interested to migrate in the first place. Hence, before exploring the roles played by the I-turners' pre-migration social networks in their migration, the motivations behind I-turn migration should be analysed first.

#### 3.1 Motivations for I-turn Migration

In depth interviews with the I-turners revealed a common characteristics shared by them prior to migration

- i. Job dissatisfaction: Most I-turners stated that they were not satisfied with the jobs they held in the city, even though some of them had a well paid job.
- ii. Lost connection with urban life: Urban life turned out to be too noisy, too busy and too inconvenient to the I-turners
- iii. Envisaging rural areas as attractive and suitable for overall well being.
- iv. Desire to be involved in agriculture and sustainable lifestyle

The above characteristics of the I-turners, prior to their migration, may have constituted to their core reasons for migrating to the rural areas.

The data from the questionnaire survey revealed that most of the I- turners (51.1%) moved to the rural areas because of the quiet and relaxed life which characterizes typical rural livelihood in Japan (Table 3-1). Secondly, around 32% of them left the city for the rural area to be engaged in agriculture, mostly natural/organic farming. This motive is considered to be born out of their desire to produce and consume safe foods. At the same time, farming engagement is viewed by them to be a part of their contribution to the rural community. The I-turners' third popular reason for migration was their strong desire to raise their kids in the rural environment, as they were of the opinion that kids raised in the rural environment have a stronger moral character. In addition, children are also seen as a communal asset, individual members of the community jointly take up the responsibility of raising them up. I-turners' major reasons for moving can be summed up to be their pursuit of happiness and fulfilment of dreams, happiness induced by a desirable rich natural and social environment. Other socio-economic reasons seem to have played only secondary roles in their decision to move.

**Table 3-1: Motivations for I-turn Migration (Multiple Choice Responses)**

Reason(s)	Frequency	%
Preference for quiet and relaxed rural life	24	51.1
To be engaged in agriculture	15	31.9
Strong desire to raise kids in the rural area	14	29.8
Tired of city life	10	21.3
To be self-employed	10	21.3
Found current job in rural area	8	17.0
Marriage related reasons	5	10.7

Low cost of living in the rural area	4	8.5
Health related reasons (radiation and sickness)	3	6.4
Landscape/ natural environment of rural areas	3	6.4
To live a self-sufficient life	2	4.3
Others	7	14.9

Source: Field survey, 2015. The same is applied to all the other tables

Hence, the migration type of the I-turners, based on reasons for migration, is something very similar to natural amenity migration. ‘Amenity migration involves people moving to perceived desirable regions, usually for non-economic reasons, such as a physical or cultural environment that is seen as more beautiful, tranquil or inspirational than their current residence, usually urban environment’(Axel et al; 2012).

### **3.2 Analysis of the Role of I-turners’ Pre-migration Social Networks in their Migratory Decision-Process: Qualitative Data**

This analysis is based on the in depth interviews carried out on 11 I-turners.

#### **3.2.1 Identification of Network type**

In this study, the I-turners’ pre-migration social networks are categorized into formal networks, semi-formal networks and informal networks. These networks are identified by the nature of ties existing between them and the potential I-turners, such as organizational ties or friendship ties. When it is an organizational or institutional tie, they are formal networks while friendship ties are considered to be the potential I-turners’ informal networks. Semi –formal networks are grouped in-between formal and informal networks, in which relationship among actors are not so cordial according the duration of such friendship.

Furthermore, in considering who facilitates the migration of the I-turners, two important factors are considered:

- i. Who gives Information to the potential I-turners?**
- ii. Who offers moral, material and emotional support to the potential I-turners?**

In this study, in order to examine for joint roles played by the potential I-turners’ networks, an important consideration is made. For instance, those who give vital information to I-turners and those who created an information channel are considered to play complementary roles in the facilitation of the migration of I-turners. In more practical term, when a potential I-turner attends an event, such as seminar on rural areas, organized by a formal network and he meets an individual who eventually assisted him to migrate, by either supplying vital information or offering physical assistance. The formal network, who created an information channel or a meeting point and the individual who supply vital information or physical assistance to the I-turners are both co-actors in the facilitation of the I-turners’ actual migration. The individual in question is regarded as the semi-formal network of the I-turner, since at the point of meeting, the relationship that exist between the I-turner and the network may not be so cordial nor too formal. In the long run, probably after the migration of the I-turners, the semi-formal networks may eventually become informal networks, characterised by a more cordial relationship.

The events or seminars attended by the I-turners in this study, essential in facilitating their migration, are assumed to be organised by the formal networks, since such kind of events are often linked to organizations or institutions rather than to individuals.

### **3.2.2. The Role played by the I-turners' Formal Networks in their Migratory Decision-Process**

In Japan, although, there are no official migration-supporting institutions, national and local governments have been implementing a variety of schemes to facilitate I-turn migration. For instance, due to the rapid population decline in rural Japan because of decreased birth rate and out-migration of the youth, Japan's municipal governments have been trying to encourage people to move to rural areas, especially young and vibrant people like I-turners. First, the municipal governments supply general information about rural areas such as suitable villages to move into, how to get a good vacant house and how to start up agriculture. Second, there is a national scheme to send willing youths to the rural areas with the intention of revitalizing the shrinking rural areas through the activities of the innovative youths. These youths receive monthly payment from the government for a specified number of years after which they are expected to continue to live in the rural area. Such volunteers in rural parts of Japan, apart from engaging in farming, have been contributing to the development of the regions through a number of volunteering activities.

In addition, some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are observed to send workers to rural Japan with the aim of contributing to the revitalization of the shrinking rural communities. Potential migrants are connected to the migration supporting sections in public institutions either by visiting their offices to seek information or by attending events organised by them.

Due to the organisational structure of the migration supporting institutions and the nature of ties that exist between them and potential migrants, they are classified among the I-turners' formal social networks.

Based on the qualitative data, the key actors in the I-turners' formal social networks, notably the municipal government, NGOs, agricultural institutions and any other public institution supporting migration played crucial roles in the I-turners' migratory process and decision.

Particularly, the migration of 3 I-turners out of the 11 I-turners interviewed, were solely facilitated by the formal networks. Specifically, the formal networks helped to determine the destination of these I-turners by recommending a particular village to them. One of the I-turners was directly employed as an NPO staff in one of the surveyed villages. Another I-turner was introduced to a village head by a real estate agency (acting as a migration supporting institution in this study). The job offered by the formal network and the introduction of an I-turner to an influential person in the destination, may facilitate the social and economic adjustment process of the I-turners after migration.

### **3.2.3. The Role played by the I-turners' Informal Networks in their Migratory Decision-Process**

The role played by the I-turners' informal networks (friendship network) is commonly observed in their impact on choice of destination of the I-turners. The I-turners who already have friends in a particular destination end up migrating to that destination. Informal networks facilitated the migration of 4 out of the 11 I-turners surveyed.



Below is a part of the migration story of one of the I-turners who migrated through an influence of her informal network.

“...I discovered that urban life was not attractive to me and I hated the busy city life, then I started making plan of relocating myself to the rural area especially to be engaged in agriculture. Then a friend of mine, an I-turner, who works in Mr. K.’s tea farm and a resident of Tsuge, introduced the village to me. I started visiting the village from March 2014 for agricultural involvement. In January of this year (2015), I finally moved to former Tsuge village and I am currently working in Mr. K.’s farm.” (Miss. N)

Miss N.’s friend played two roles in her migration. First, she influenced Miss. N’s choice of destination, by introducing the village to her. Second, she introduced Miss N. to her employer, who eventually employed Miss N. This supports the existing literature, that those migrants who have social contacts at destination have a higher job arrival rate compared to other migrants who do not.

### **3.2.4 Collaborative Role Played by the I-turners’ Pre-migration Social Networks**

#### ***a. Formal Networks Link Potential I-turners to semi-formal networks***

By organising events such as agricultural events or events for advertising rural areas, the formal networks create an avenue for interactions between potential I-turners and their semi-formal networks, who would eventually facilitate the final move of the I-turners. Therefore, these events function as a bridge linking the potential I-turners and the semi-formal networks. The effect of this link may continue even after the migration of the I-turners. Hence, semi-formal networks are considered to be potential informal networks, which may contribute to facilitating the I-turners’ adjustment and integration in post migration.

The migration story of Mrs. H, one of the I-turners surveyed, revealed the collaborative role of I-turners’ formal and semi-formal networks in their final decision to migrate and choice of destination. First Mrs H. attended an event organized by the formal key actors where she got connected to Mr. F. Mr. F afterward connected her and her husband to two influential I-turners in Saihoji, Mr. Sh. and Mr. So, who resided in the same village as Mr. F. These individuals, constituted the semi-formal networks for Mrs H. at the point of meeting. As Mrs. H. put it;

“My husband had a passion for country life and we both had health challenges too. We desired for a clean/fresh air in the countryside and a more relaxed life style. My husband searched for some areas in Nagano and Gifu Prefectures (mountainous areas) but he could not find a suitable place and friendly people, so we lived in Osaka for a while and then back to Aichi. While in Osaka, I attended Farmer’s Fair event where I met Mr. F. (a resident of Saihoji Daira) who also delivered a lecture in that event. Afterward, we visited Saihoji Daira where we met with Mr. Sh. and Mr .So (Key persons in Saihoji). Mr. Sh. and Mr. So. advised my husband to get involved in chilli production and they promised to provide him with a green house free of charge... After a few years, we decided to move into Saihoji.” (Mrs. H)

The above story of Mrs. H shows the interconnectedness within their networks, appropriately fitting the description of social networks as a ‘web...’ in the literatures. It is apparent, based on the experience of Mrs H. and her husband that a potential I-turner may continue to linger in the city until he/she gets the necessary assistance or information they require to move. However, the couple did not move immediately because according to Mrs. H., they were advised by their contacts to spend time and gather enough money required for their move and adjustment after migration.

***b. Formal Networks Connect Potential I-turners to their informal Networks***

When a potential I-turner attends an event organised by formal network, they may be reunited with a long lost friend, or get to physically meet a close friend also in attendance. It could be a pre-arranged meeting or coincidental. However, an important fact is that formal network created an avenue for such meeting. Therefore, when a migration decision is made in that meeting with the friend (informal network), playing a significant role, both the informal and formal networks are considered to have played a complementary role in the migration of the I-turner. It is also assumed that during the event, the potential I-turner gained access to information from the lectures delivered in that event. Furthermore, the potential I-turner, during the migratory process may get a connection to an influential person in an intended destination, forming a semi-formal network, which may make the migratory process even easier. The above description is derived from the experience of one of the I-turners interviewed, Mr. K, as he stated below:

“The 2011 East Japan’s earthquake prompted my desire to leave my old residence, Ichikawa city, because I was worried my family may be affected by the effect of the radiation. Then, I attended an event entitled ‘earth day’, where I met a friend, a traditional Japanese paper maker, who suggested that I should move to Shigasato with my family for safety. Then through the help of Mr. I., a local resident of Shigasato village and the organiser of Kodakara net, I found an attractive vacant house in Shigasato and that made my move in 2012 to the village easier in 2012”.

(Mr. K)

In the migration story of Mr K. above, all the 3 categories of potential I-turners’ pre-migration networks (the formal network, informal network and semi informal network), contributed in facilitating his migration by offering him moral support and information which made him determine the destination.

The successful migrations of two I-turners interviewed were made possible by the collaborative effort of all of the I-turners’ pre-migration social networks in this study. However, there are two I-turners whose migration are not clearly associated to any network (Table 3-2). One is a man who moved to a rural area to inherit his grandfather’s temple (Mr. AM, No. 11). The other man gave no full detail of his migration process (Mr. A).

**Table 3-2: Migration stories of the key informants and the role of pre-migration social networks**

Name	Detailed Migration story	Migration motivation/facilitator
(1) Mr. F	I joined a car selling company at the age of 22. Afterward, I was asked to move to the head office of the car selling company in Osaka but then I realized I would not be fulfilling my long time desire of being involved in agriculture, then I quit the job, by that time I was already 27 years old. I attended an event ‘trial for farming’ in Mizuho town and I was introduced to Nogyo Kaigi, a Kyoto Council of Agriculture (a section of Kyoto Prefectural Office). The main aim of this section is to keep agricultural land and promote the entrance of new comers who are to be involved in agriculture. This office introduced the village (Saihoji Daira) where I am currently living in with my wife and daughter”.	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>To be involved in agriculture</i></p> <p>Facilitator of Migration: <b>A formal network</b></p>
(2) Miss T	I moved to Saitama prefecture from Tokyo when I was 5 years old. I stayed in Saitama until I was 20 years old. Afterward I moved to the city of Kyoto. I had always desired to be involved in agriculture and I love the rich environment of the rural area. I love mountainous area and I love mountain climbing a lot. I learnt about Monobe Village through an agricultural seminar where I met an NPO member (I-turner) living in the village. Finally, I found a job in the village as an NPO staff and I moved there in 2014.	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>Desire to be involved in agriculture and love for natural environment</i></p> <p>Facilitator of Migration: <b>A formal network</b></p>
(3) Ms. M	I left Ikoma city for Yamatokoriyama. In the process, I discovered I had no connection with urban life. I desired the clean and natural environment of the rural area and most importantly, I desired to raise my children in a similar natural environment where I grew up. At the same time, I wanted to move to an area where my husband can commute to a place of work within an hour. A real estate agency suggested Utano village to me and they introduced me to the village head.	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>Desire for the rich natural rural environment, childcare purposes</i></p> <p>Facilitator of Migration: <b>A formal network</b></p>
(4) Mrs. H	My husband had a passion for country life and we both had health challenges too. We desired for a clean/fresh air in the countryside and a more relaxed life style. My husband searched for some areas in Nagano and Gifu Prefectures (mountainous area also) but he could not find a suitable place and friendly people, so we lived in	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>Health issues and desire for relaxed life style</i></p> <p>Facilitator of Migration:</p>

	<p>Osaka for a while and then back to Aichi. While in Osaka, I attended Farmer’s Fair event where I met Mr. F (a resident of Saihoji Daira) who also delivered a lecture in that event. Afterward, we visited Saihoji Daira where we met with Mr. Sh. and Mr .So. (Key persons in Saihoji). Mr. Sh. and Mr. So. advised my husband to get involved in chilli production and they promised to provide him with a green house free of charge. We did not move in immediately due to some financial reasons but we were constantly visiting the village, making friends, learning how to produce chilli and also helping the villagers in harvest time. After a few years we decided to move to Saihoji”.</p>	<p><i>Formal and semi-formal networks</i></p>
<p><b>(5) Mr. K</b></p>	<p>The 2011 East Japan’s earthquake prompted my desire to leave my old residence, Ichikawa city, because I was worried my family may be affected by the effect of the radiation. Then, I attended an event entitled ‘earth day’, where I met a friend, a traditional Japanese paper maker, who suggested me to move to Shigasato with my family for safety. Then through the help of Mr. I. (a local resident of Shigasato village and the organiser of Kodakara net; (Kodakara net is a local network for promoting intending young I-turners to settle in the village), I found an attractive vacant house in Shigasato and that made my move to the village easy in 2012. Though my initial desire to move to the rural area was not directly related to agriculture, currently I am involved in part time farming.</p>	<p><i>Motivation for migration: Health issues</i></p> <p>Facilitator of Migration</p> <p><i>Formal, semi-formal and informal networks</i></p>
<p><b>(6) Miss N.</b></p>	<p>I was born in Takatsuki city of Osaka Prefecture in the year 1970. I spent the first nine years of my life in Ibaraki city then I moved to Kyoto city where I spent 11 years. Afterward I travelled to the United States of America. I spent roughly 5 years in America and then came back to Kyoto City where I was engaged in bead making. Then I discovered that urban life was not attractive to me and I hated the busy city life, then I started making plan of relocating myself to the rural area especially to be engaged in agriculture. Then a friend of mine, an I-turner, who works in Mr. K.’s (The tea farmer in the former Tsuge village) tea farm and a resident of Tsuge, introduced the village to me. I started visiting the village from March 2014 for agricultural involvement. In</p>	<p><i>Motivation for migration: Tired of city life and the desire to be engaged in agriculture</i></p> <p>Facilitator of Migration: <i>An informal network</i></p>

	January of this year (2015), I finally moved to the Tsuge village and I am currently working in Mr. K.'s farm.	
<b>(7) Mr. Ko</b>	After graduating from the university, I went to a vocational school for pottery making in Kyoto. Afterward, I became an apprentice of a private teacher of pottery in Ehime Prefecture. Then a company making pottery in Aomori Prefecture employed me. However, I had always wanted to make pottery using firewood instead of electricity, and urban area is not a suitable environment to fulfil that purpose. I started making plans to move to the rural area. A friend of mine from the same university was already living in Tsuge. He works in the farm of one of the villagers. So, I moved to Tsuge village as well.	<p><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>Desire for pottery making in rural area</i></p> <p><b>Facilitator of Migration:</b> <i>An informal network</i></p>
<b>(8) Mr. Y</b>	I have always been interested in environmental issues. After graduating from the Faculty of Economics at a university, I was employed by Watami company (a bar-restaurant chain doing business across Japan), which also had a farming section. I quit working with this company and engaged in agriculture in Iga city in Mie Prefecture as a trainee where I spent one and a half year. Iga city was not mountainous, so there were relatively large farms but my idea did not fit to this large farming style. I preferred smaller farming operation in mountainous areas in Tsuge rich in nature. Then around 2007 I started working with Mr. K in his tea farm, who I knew when we were undergraduates. I worked in other places too while searching for my own farmland	<p><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>Desire to be involved in agriculture</i></p> <p><b>Facilitator of Migration:</b> <i>An informal network</i></p>
<b>(9) Mr. O</b>	I was making and supplying hemp fibre to a traditional group (Nara Zarashi), I was licenced by the government to do so. Meanwhile, at that time I was in Sangocho in Nara prefecture. Then the president of Nara Zarashi invited me to come to the village (former Tsukigase village). I made no attempt to move to another village before coming to former Tsukigase village	<p><b>Facilitator of Migration</b> <i>An informal network</i></p>
<b>(10) Mr. A</b>	I was born in Kobe city. I have lived in such places like Funabashi city (Chiba), Osaka, Takafu city (Fukui). In all these places, I found no satisfaction and fulfilment because I wanted to live in a place where I could be self-sufficient in every aspect and rural area holds such promises. Then in 2009, I moved to Nishikata in Shigasato village and I have been living there ever since.	<p><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>Desire to be self sufficient</i></p> <p><b>Facilitator of Migration</b></p>

		<i>Self-effort; No mention of social networks</i>
<b>(11) Mr. AM</b>	I was born in Nara city. I graduated from Kyoto University. I left the city for the rural area primarily to inherit my grandfather's temple in O-Uda. I desire to be a unique priest, both enjoying rural life and influencing the rural community in a positive way.	<p><b>Motivation for migration:</b> <i>To inherit father's temple</i></p> <p><b>Facilitator of Migration</b></p> <p><i>Self-effort; No mention of social networks</i></p>

**Table 3-3: Key actors in the I-turners' successful migration (summarized table)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Migration channel/key actors</b>	<b>Network type</b>
<b>(1) Mr. F</b>	Nogyo Kaigi	formal network
<b>(2) Miss T</b>	NPO	formal network
<b>(3) Ms. M</b>	Real estate agency	formal network
<b>(4) Mrs. H</b>	Farmers' fair event and key persons at destination	Formal and semi-formal networks
<b>(5) Mr. K</b>	Earth day event, a friend and key person at destination	Formal, semi-formal and informal networks
<b>(6) Miss N.</b>	A friend.	An informal network
<b>(7) Mr. Ko</b>	A friend	An informal network
<b>(8) Mr. Y</b>	A friend	An informal network
<b>(9) Mr. O</b>	A friend	An informal network
<b>(10) Mr. A</b>	Self-effort	No mention of social networks
<b>(11)Mr. AM</b>	Self-effort	No mention of social networks

### **3.3 Analysis of the Role of I-turners' Pre-migration Social Networks in their Migratory Decision-Process: Quantitative Data**

#### **3.3.1 I-turners' Source of Knowledge of Suitable Villages**

A questionnaire survey including all the 47 I-turners was carried out in order to reveal to some extent the roles the I-turners' pre-migration social networks played in their migratory decision-process.

One of the major challenges facing potential I-turners is finding suitable villages to move into. Therefore, to know if the I-turners' pre-migration social networks played any role in helping the I-turners discover suitable villages to move into, the I-turners were asked

how they knew the villages they moved into in the first place. The questionnaire survey indicated that almost half of the I-turners surveyed (23 or 49%) knew the villages they moved into through their friends and relatives already living in the villages. The local government also contributed in creating awareness of suitable villages for 7 or 14.9% of the I-turners. Thus, I-turners' informal networks and their formal networks created awareness of suitable villages as well as influence the choice of destination of 30 or 64 % of the I-turners, with their informal networks playing a greater role.

**Table 3-4: I-turners' Source of Knowledge of their Chosen Village**

<b>How did you know this place</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Through friends/ relatives living here	23	49
Self- discovery	8	17
Through the local government	7	15
Through magazines/ books	6	13
Through the internet	4	9
It is the origin of my ancestors	2	4
Through newspapers articles	1	2
Through television program	1	2

The data revealed other ways in which I-turners discovered suitable villages to move into, notably among them is self-discovery (17%), magazines/books (13%) and through the internet (9%). Self-discovery of villages may offer the potential I-turners the opportunity to get a first-hand information about their aspiring villages rather than depending on the information provided by other sources. On the other hand, potential I-turners may have sought for information about suitable villages outside a social network, probably due to not having any social networks at all in the rural areas or in the cities that are useful to them. It can also be associated with a personal choice of exploring diverse options, other than depending on social networks.

It is worthy to note in passing that the potential I-turners' knowledge of suitable villages, irrespective of whatever means, may not be sufficient to cause actual migration. As there may be cases of migration failure, even after some migration barriers are cleared. The reasons for migration failure of I-turners and the prevalence of failed migration among potential I-turners, are outside the scope of this study. The study focused mainly on the successful migration of potential I-turners.

### **3.3.2 I-turners' Reason for Choosing a Particular Village**

The survey data revealed that the I-turners' informal social networks do not only play an important role in creating awareness of suitable villages for potential I-turners but they also influence the choice of destination of the I-turners (Table3-4). 32% of the I-turners chose to move to their current villages primarily to be close to their friends already living in the village. This corresponds to the findings in the literatures, which postulate that individuals are more likely to migrate to destinations to which they have stronger social ties (Spittel 1999, Blumenstock 2017). The I-turners' semi –formal networks which is arisen from the meeting between would-be I-turners and villagers played important role in the I-turners'

choice of destination, as 21 or 45% of the I-turners chose their current village due to the kindness of the villagers. However, I-turners' love for the villages' natural environment tops the list for the reasons for choosing a particular village to move into having influenced the choice of destination of 27 or 56% of the I-turners.

Therefore, based on the result of the survey, the I-turners' informal networks, their semi-formal networks and the rural landscape played dominant roles in the I-turners' choice of destination.

**Table 3-5: I-turners' Reason for moving into the Village**

<b>Reasons for Moving</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>(%)</b>
I love its natural environment	27	57.5
Villagers who I met were very kind	21	44.7
To be close to my friends	15	31.9
Nearness to my place of work	7	14.9
Nearness to the city	5	10.6
Its cultural values	5	10.6
I found a suitable empty house in the village	5	10.6
I found a work in the village	3	6.4
A resident of the village suggested the place to me	2	4.3
Others	6	12.8

*Multiple Choice Responses*

### 3.4 Conclusion

Both the qualitative interviews and quantitative data revealed that the I-turners' pre-migration social networks played vital roles in their moving decision and eventual relocation. I-turners who are connected to social networks associated with a particular locality prior to migration, especially informal networks, are more likely to migrate to those areas. Hence, social networks play crucial role in determining the I-turners' choice of destination.

The I-turners' informal networks and semi-formal networks do not only influence the I-turners' choice of destination but they also offer emotional and moral support during the I-turners' migratory process. However, the ties between the I-turners and their semi-formal networks are not very tight at the early stage of meeting.

The key actors among the I-turners formal social networks often organise series of events, serving as an information channel for potential I-turners as well as serving as a bridging and bonding ground between the potential I-turners and their semi-formal and informal networks respectively. In addition, the key actors in the I-turners' formal networks, notably NGOs, may offer jobs to I-turners at the destination, which is crucial for economic adjustment upon arrival.

Social networks, however, are not only a 'mechanism through which the migration process is patterned, but they also have broader implications for migrants and non-migrants alike (Bilecen et al; 2018). After migration, I-turners need to have a certain financial base and rich social networks to adjust themselves to economic and social lives in the village. Socio-economic condition is thus important for I-turn families' sustenance in post migration period.



The next chapter, therefore, is going to analyse a series of socio-economic data of the I-turners, (on an individual household bases) in order to ascertain the actual socio-economic circumstances in which I-turners are living and the roles their social networks may play in curtailing any challenges they may encounter.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF I-TURN MIGRANTS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses economic and social circumstances under which I-turners are living after they moved to rural communities. Economic and social lives of I-turn migrants are particularly important because they are the core determinants of how well these migrants have been integrated to the host community. Unlike economic migrants, i.e. those individuals who moved to a new place in search for a job and other economic opportunities, I-turners moved to the rural areas not for economic benefits but primarily for its tranquillity and natural environment. Basically, I-turners moved from a region of higher economic opportunities (cities) to a region of lower economic opportunities (villages). Hence, I-turners may have to face a decline in their economic status after migration. However, those I-turners who are able to establish social networks in the village may to some extent offset any negative changes in their economic status by drawing on the resources embedded in their networks.

In this study, the economic status of the I-turners in rural communities will be examined from the following viewpoints: households' average annual income, along with change of income before and after moving into rural areas; households' savings; and average monthly expenditure of each household.

In order to provide an insight into the I-turners' economic status prior to migration and after migration, the socio-economic background of the I-turners will be reviewed first. However, to analyse if there is any significant impact of the I-turners' socio-economic characteristics prior to migration, especially on their long-term economic status in the rural areas is out of the scope of this study.

#### 4.2 Socio-Economic Background of I-turners

The I-turners displayed a high level of educational attainment (Table 4-1). Specifically, 18 or 38.3% are university graduate. Although the national average for university education is 54%. It is expected that some of these I-turners because of their educational qualification, may have been gainfully employed in the city.

**Table 4-1: I-turners' education level**

	<b>Educational Level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
<b>1</b>	University	18	38.3
<b>2</b>	High School	13	27.7
<b>3</b>	Junior College	7	14.9
<b>4</b>	Vocational school	5	10.6
<b>5</b>	Post Graduate	2	4.3
<b>6</b>	Secondary School	1	2.1
<b>7</b>	No Response	1	2.1
	Total	47	100

Next, we present the I-turners' employment information at the cities.

**Table 4-2: I-turners' employment information**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Company employee	14	29.8
Private business	10	21.3
Part time job	8	17
Teaching	4	8.5
Employed by semi-government institution	4	8.5
House wife	2	4.3
Government official	2	4.3
Others (Truck driver, Medical work)	2	4.3
No Response	1	2.1
Total	47	100

According to table 4-2, all of the I-turners were employed in the cities before moving to the villages, except an I-turner who did not respond to the question. The data showed that most I-turners were company employees (29.8%), business owners and part time workers prior to migration. This implies that the I-turners may have led a reasonably comfortable life or at least lived an average life of a city dweller in Japan.

Most of the households (22 of them) prepared some amount of money for moving during pre-migratory process (Table 4-3). 6 or 20% prepared between 100 and 300 hundred thousand yen, 5 households prepared between 1 million and 2 million yen and 3 households prepared between 3 million and 5 million. On the upper side, 4 households prepared between 13 and 15 million yen, one household prepared 25 million yen and another household prepared 50 as much as million yen.

**Table 4-3: Households' prepared amount for moving**

<b>Amount Prepared (in 1000 Yen)</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>(%)</b>
0	8	26.7
100-300	6	20
400-550	2	6.7
1000-2000	5	16.7
3000-5000	3	10
13000-15000	4	13.3
25000	1	3.3
50000	1	3.3
Total	30	100

Households' income in the city, family size, presence or absence of pre-migration social networks and the duration of time spent planning for moving would have influenced the amount prepared for moving by each household. First, households who earned so much in the city would probably prepare a higher amount for moving compared to households who earned lesser. At the same, the number of years I-turners worked in the city before migration may influence

their income level. Second, households with a larger family size are expected to prepare larger amount of money. Third, when potential I-turners have pre-migration social networks, it reduces the monetary cost of migration. For instance, potential I-turners pre-migration social networks may offer them free agricultural land or sell them at a very low cost, give them housing information and probably go as far as helping them get a good and a cheaper house, hence this would bring about a reduction in the amount prepared for moving. Sometimes, preparing a large amount of money for moving can be associated with having a pre-migration social networks, potential migrants may be influenced to do so based the information given by the social networks as to what to expect in the destination. Fourth, I-turn households who took a good number of years planning to move to the rural area could be better prepared than I-turners that moved suddenly.

There is no information about the actual amount of money spent by the households from the amount prepared for moving. However, most households channeled the money to housing related expenses, then agricultural related expenses, car related expenses and other miscellaneous expenses (Table 4-4). As regards to housing related expenses, most households used the money for the renovation of a house. This portrays the deteriorating state of houses in the villages of Japan. These houses have long been abandoned because of the ongoing depopulation in the villages. Most households channeling their prepared amount for moving to agriculture is an indicator of the growing interest of the I-turners to be involved in agriculture.

**Table 4-4: The use of prepared amount for moving by the households** *(Multiple Choice Responses)*

<b>Use of Prepared Amount</b>		<b>Freq.</b>	<b>(%)</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>Housing Related Expenses</b>	(22)	(100)
	Purchase of land for housing	3	13.64
	Built a new house	3	13.6
	Purchased an existing house	4	18.2
	Deposit money for renting house	1	4.6
	Renovation of house	11	50
<b>B.</b>	<b>Agricultural Related Expenses</b>	(20)	(90.9)
	Purchase of agricultural machine	6	27.3
	Purchase of other agricultural inputs	4	18.2
	Purchased a small truck (lorry) for farming	8	36.4
	Purchase of farm land	2	9.1
<b>C.</b>	<b>Car Related Expenses</b>	(9)	(40.9)
	Purchased a car	7	31.8
	Reparation of car	1	4.6
	Made a parking lot	1	4.6
<b>D.</b>	<b>Others (Miscellaneous Expenses)</b>	5	22.7

Apart from the money I-turners prepared for moving, they also moved to the villages with the savings they made while in the cities (Table 4-5). Generally, majority of the households (43.3%) saved 1 million Yen and below which they came with to their current place of residence. 16.7% saved between 1 and 2 million,, 13.4% saved between 3 and 5 million, 10% saved between 4 and 6 million and 13.3% saved about 8 million and above. However, a handful of I-turners (3) did not move to the village with any savings (Table 4-5).

**Table 4-5: Households' accumulated savings before moving**

<b>Accumulated Savings (in Yen)</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>(%)</b>
None	3	10
1 million and below	13	43.3
1 million – 2 million	5	16.7
3 million – 4million	2	6.7
4 million – 5 million	2	6.7
5 million – 6million	1	3.3
8 million and above	4	13.3
Total	30	100.00

The above data showed that most I-turners moved to the villages with a reasonable amount of savings good enough to sustain them for a while if they do not find a job immediately or before they begin to make money from their businesses and/or agricultural practices, as it applies to one of our key informants;

‘‘At the beginning, I found agriculture very challenging. I was involved in natural and organic agriculture and I wanted to sell my products directly to consumers but it was difficult to get customers. Agricultural Cooperatives did not accept my products, which were considered to be of low quality. Then I had to spend my savings to sustain myself.....’’

The savings of the I-turners prior to moving is also an indicator that they had a favourable economic condition while living in the city. Next, we will analyze the economic status of I-turners in the rural communities

### **4.3 Economic Status of the I-turners**

#### **4.3.1 Average Rural Income and I-turners' household Average Annual Income**

According to a statistics released by Mainich Shimbun Newspaper in April 2015 (Table 4-6), average annual income for rural part of Nara and Kyoto Prefectures (Yoshino, Minami-Yamashiro and Shimo-Kitayama) was about 2.6 million yen. Meanwhile, their urban counterparts (Ikoma City, Seika Town, Nara and Kyoto Cities) had an average income of about 3.7 million yen annually, indicating an income gap of about 1.1 million yen between the urban and rural areas.

**Table 4-6: Average Annual Income in Nara and Kyoto Municipalities (2013)**

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Average Annual Income ('000yen)</b>
Ikoma City	3,962
Seika Town	3,750
Nara City	3,649

Kyoto City	3,387
Yoshino Town	2,641
Minami – Yamashiro Village	2,566
Shimo-Kitayama Village	2,528

Source: Mainich Shimbun, 17 April 2015

Table 4-7 shows the average annual income of I-turners' household in the villages. 60% of the I-turners earned their income from employment, 30% from private business, 20% from agriculture, and 10% from part time jobs. "Others" category (10%) includes income from pension, children allowance from the government, and investment in stocks.

**Table 4-7: Households' Average Annual Income (Yen)**

Average Annual Income	Freq.	(%)
None	1	3.3
1 million and below	2	6.7
1 million - 2 million	11	36.7
2 million - 3million	7	23.3
3 million- 4million	5	16.7
4 million - 5 million	1	3.3
5 million- 6million	3	10
Total	30	100

Tables 4-6 and 4-7 clearly indicate a generally poor economic condition of I-turners. 14 I-turn households (46.7%) fall below the average annual rural income in Nara and Kyoto Prefectures, out of which one household earned nothing at all at the time of the study. This household might have survived partly on their past savings. Meanwhile, 7 households (23.3%) fall within the range of the average annual rural income. Thus, majority of the households (21 or 70%) earned a lower income, with one earning nothing at all, as compared with the average annual income of urban households. However, the other 9 households (30%) enjoyed a relatively high income, measuring up to that of their city counterpart, with 4 of them (13.3%) earning an income 1-2 million yen higher than average urban income.

#### 4.3.2 General Decline in I-turners Income Level

The discrepancy between rural and urban income revealed in the data released by Mainich Shinbum is also found in the case of I-turners under study. More than half of the I-turners (59.6%) indicated that they experienced a decline in their income level since they moved into rural areas, with 31.9% indicating more than 50% decrease (Table 4-8). Only a handful of I-turners (15.1%) indicated that they had an increase in their income level. At the same time, for 21.3% of them, their income was unchanged.

**Table 4-8: Percentage Change in Income on an Individual Basis**

Percentage change	Freq.	%
No change	10	21.3
Less than 10% Increase	2	4.3
10 – 30 % Increase	2	4.3

More than 50% Increase	3	6.4
10 - 30 % Decrease	3	6.4
30 – 50 % Decrease	10	21.3
More than 50% Decrease	15	31.9
No Response	2	4.3
Total	47	100

The decline in the income of the I-turners adversely affected their amount of savings in the villages. According to Table 4-9, the majority (38 or 80.9%) of informants saved less than 300,000 yen annually or could not save at all. At the same time, 21 or 44.7% of the I-turners indicated that they experienced a decline of savings after they moved into villages.

**Table 4-9: Average Annual Savings on an Individual Basis (after migration)**

Average Annual Savings (in 1000 Yen)	Freq.	(%)
None	13	27.7
100 and below	13	27.7
100 – 300	12	25.5
500 – 700	2	4.3
700 - 1000	2	4.3
1000 and above	2	4.3
No Response	3	6.4
Total	47	100

#### 4.3.4 I-turners Households Average Monthly Expenditure

The general decline in income of the I-turners' households might have also affected the size of expenditure in the village as well. Majority of the I-turn households (43.3%) spent only 100,000 yen or less monthly (Table 4-10). A careful observation of the data clearly revealed that the monthly expenditure of the I-turners is generally low irrespective of family size and composition.

**Table 4-10: Household's Average Monthly Expenditure**

Household Average Monthly Expenditure (in Yen)	Freq.	(%)
100,000 and below	13	43.3
100,000 -150,000	8	26.7
150,000 – 200,000	5	16.7
250,000 – 300,000	1	3.3
400,000 and above	1	3.3
No Response	2	6.7
Total	30	100.00

Most households (18 or 60%) claimed that they spent more while in the city than in the village.

Diverse reasons provided by them for reduced expenditure include they quitted wasteful life style characterizing urban life (67%); cheaper prices of goods (50%); food self-sufficiency in rural areas (50%); and, other reasons, which include receiving various things for free from their neighbours.

Having seen the important role played by the I-turners' neighbours in their expenditure reduction, we will now turn our attention to the social conditions of the I-turners in rural communities and see the possible roles of their social networks, neighbourhood and informal networks, can play both in their economic and social adjustment in the host communities.

#### 4.4 Social Conditions of the I-turners

In this section, the social condition of the I-turners in the village will be examined by their nature of social relationship with the local residents. Rich social relationship between I-turners and the local resident has significant positive implications not only for the I-turners themselves but also for the rural communities at large. When the local residents fully accept I-turners as part of their community, they will be willing to offer the I-turners all the necessary helps they need to adjust themselves to the community and the I-turners in return will find the environment conducive to carry out their innovative ideas in the community.

##### 4.4.1 I-turners' Nature of Relationship with Neighbours in the Rural Communities

Rural communities are often expected to have stronger communal ties compared to their urban counterparts. Partly because villages are less populated than the cities and there are occasions for villagers to gather to carry out one communal activities or another.

Majority of the I-turners under survey (31 or 66 %) indicated that generally they had a closer relationship with people in their neighbourhood as compared to their former experience in the cities. As shown in Table 4-11, the top three reasons given by them for closer relationship with the villagers are as follows: villagers are more willing to cooperate with other people (51.1%); it is easy to know one another in a small village (42.6%); and people in the countryside are kind (27.7%).

**Table 4-11: Reasons for Closer Relationship with Neighbours (Multiple Choice Responses)**

Reasons	Freq.	%
Villagers are more willing to cooperate with other people	24	51.1
It is easy to know one another in a small village	20	42.6
People in the countryside are kind	13	27.7
People in the country side are willing to spend time with neighbours	6	12.8
To avoid unnecessary conflict	5	10.6
Others	2	4.3

At the same time, 39 or 83 % of the I-turners indicated that they were still careful about their relationship with other villagers. This implies that the bonds between the I-turners and some of the local residents is not as tight as those among original villagers, as Ms. T, a key informant from Shigasato village, emphasized that social ties between I-turners and the villagers were not strong very much. Besides, some I-turners, especially those who bring about innovative ideas for rural development, often encounter resistance from conservative village elders. There are notable differences in thinking between the older residents and newcomers as Mr. A, another



key informant from Shigasato village, put it:

“I-turners are striving to make a positive impact on village community, but such an attempt is often hindered by a discrepancy in thinking between I-turners and the local residents.”

However, I-turners enjoy so many benefits from some cooperative village members or neighbours.

## 4.5 The Roles of I-turners’ Social Networks in their Adjustment

### 4.5.1 The role of I-turners’ Neighbourhood Networks

I-turners neighbourhood networks in this study include all the cooperative village members who are willing to offer the I-turners all necessary assistance they require to adjust to their community. Both the results from the questionnaire survey and the oral interview indicated that the I-turners’ neighbourhood networks played vital role in the I-turners’ adjustment to the host community. For instance, majority of the I-turners (85.1%) indicated that they were being helped by the neighbours in one way or another. They were further asked to list the ways in which they received help from the neighbours. 36.2% simply replied that the neighbours were very cooperative. By being cooperative, they accept the I-turners innovative ideas for rural revitalization. 25.5% of the I-turners received various kinds of information, advice and assistance in farming from their neighbours. I-turners not only gained knowledge about farming technique but also useful information on available farmland. 19.2% indicated that they received assistance in their children upbringing, and the same percentage of them received vegetables and other kinds of food from neighbours (Table 4-12).

**Table 4-12: Ways I-turners Receive Help from their Neighbours**

Help ways	Freq.	%
Neighbours are very cooperative	17	36.2
Receives information, advice and assistance in farming	12	25.5
Receives vegetables and food from neighbours	9	19.2
Assistance in children upbringing	9	19.2
Receives information and guidance about rural life	5	10.6

I-turners’ neighbourhood networks, besides giving the I-turners information about farming and general way of life in the rural communities, also serve as a major source of information to the I-turners. Sixty six percent (66%) of the I-turners indicated that they source information about what is happening in the village directly from their neighbours (Table 4-13). These figures are higher than those for other sources of information available to I-turners such as print media (news letter from the local government, community or local newspapers), community bulletin board, and portable neighbourhood notice board, internet including social networking service (e.g. Facebook), group members and even I-turners’ own friends.

**Table 4-13: I-turners major Sources of Information**

Major Source of Information	Freq.	(%)
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Neighbours	31	66
Friends	22	46.8
Portable neighbourhood notice board	19	40.4%
Social network services e.g. Facebook	11	23.4
Community leaders	11	23.4
<i>Association and group members</i>	10	21.3
News letter from the local government	10	21.3
Internet	9	19.1
Community or local newspapers	6	12.8

The above data showed that the I-turners' neighbourhood networks, comprising cooperative village members, played crucial roles in I-turners adjustment in the community by providing them emotional support, material assistance and information for daily survival. Note that the material assistance they receive from their neighbours could assist in offsetting the unfavourable economic condition of the I-turners in the villages, as an I-turner put it.

“...As my income decreased, expenditure decreased too because of cordial relationship with neighbours” (Miss. T)

#### 4.5.2 The role of I-turners' informal social networks (Friendship networks)

I-turners informal networks or simply friendship networks constitute all of the I-turners' intimate friends in the rural communities. Particularly, I –turners' intimate friends in the village were divided into four categories; friends they feel at ease with, friends who can lend them money as much as 100,000 yen, friends with which they can discuss private matters and friends they can call on for help in times of emergency (Table 4-14). In this study, the idea of categorizing I-turners friends is adopted in order to cover each I-turner's understanding of intimate friendship. For instance, 'I-turner A' may view intimacy from the standpoint of 'if I can discuss private matters with you' and 'I-turner B' may view it differently as 'if I can ask you for money in times of need'. Also, the four categories of friendship were carefully selected because the expected roles played by these friends are considered to be crucial in the I-turners' adjustment in the host community. In the categorization, an I-turners' particular friend may fall into all the categories of friends listed. Therefore if not careful, when an I-turner list a particular friend in all the four categories of friends, we may be counting one friend as four. Hence, to get rid of bias and the error of over estimating each I-turner's total number of friends in the village, the highest number of friends owned by an I-turner in any of the four category of friends was finally selected as the actual number of friends owned by the I-turner in the village. For instance, if an I-turner listed that he has 5 friends he feels at ease with, 6 friends who can lend him money as much as 100,000 yen, 7 friends with which he can discuss private matters and 8 friends they can call on for help in times of emergency. In this case, we assume the I-turner has 8 close friends in the village instead of adding up the number of friends in each category.

According to table 4-15, almost half of the I-turners have at least 1 to 4 intimate friends in the village, 6 I-turners have about 5 to 8 intimate friends, 7 I-turners have about 10 to 13 intimate friends, 4 I-turners have about 20 to 30 intimate friends. Meanwhile, 6 I-turners indicated they have no intimate friends at all in the village.

**Table 4-14. I-turners' Friends in the Village by category**

Number of friends	Friends you feel at ease with	Friends who can lend you money as much as 100,000 Yen	Friends with whom you can discuss private matters	Friends you can call on for help in emergency
None	12 (25.5%)	22 (46.8)	15 (31.9%)	6 (12.8%)
1-4	19 (40.4%)	19 (40.4%)	18(38.4%)	24 (51.1%)
5-8	6(12.8%)	-	8 (17.0%)	2(4.3%)
10-13	5(10.6%)	3 (6.4%)	4 (8.5%)	7 (14.9%)
20-30	3 (6.4%)	1(2.1%)	-	2(4.3%)
No Resp.	2 (4.3%)	2 (4.3%)	2 (4.3%)	6 (12.8%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>47(100%)</b>	<b>47 (100%)</b>	<b>47 (100%)</b>	<b>47 (100%)</b>

**Table 4-15: Estimated number of intimate friends owned by I-turners**

Number of friends	Frequency of I-turner	Percentage
0	6	12.8
1-4	23	48.9
5-8	6	12.8
10-13	7	14.9
20-30	4	8.5
No response	1	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2015

Apart from the expected roles of I-turners' intimate friends in the host community as already described by their category, they also constitute one of the significant information sources for the I-turners (Table 4-13). Information to migrants in a new destination is of high significant value, since it does not just make them aware of happenings in the community but may open a wider opportunities for them such as gaining information about job in the area.

A close observation of the data revealed that those I-turners who belonged to one social group or another had more intimate friends in the village than I-turners who do not. In the table 4-14 above, 5 out of the 6 I-turners who had no intimate friends at all in the village do not belong to any social group neither are they involved in any rural development activities. On the other hand 4 I-turners who had between 20 and 30 friends are all social group members, actively involved in rural development activities and actively involved in agriculture. On the other hand, it was also observed that the I-turners' duration of stay in the village had no significant impact on the number of intimate friends they can have. Therefore, I-turners joining a social group, which can either be a pre-existing social group in the village or totally creating new ones in collaboration with the local residents is one of the ways they can build social networks in the village, particularly friendship networks.

Generally, active participation in communal activities and social obligations have remained an effective way to be accepted in Japan's rural communities. Nishide et al. (2005) contends that those who participate in some kind of social activities (i.e. voluntary activities, community based activities, and sports and other recreation) tend to have a higher level of trust in society, a broader network in communities, and a higher satisfaction in life than those who do not participate.

An I-turner in one of our research areas, Mr. O, emphasized that I-turners are obligated be active in communal activities in order to make friends.

“Making friends is not always easy for I-turners at the beginning. In my village, people are open and welcome new members, but you have to be involved in various village activities to achieve this.”

Some Japan’s rural communities are often open minded to incomers who are actively engaged in agriculture. Mr. A, a 43-year-old I-turner in Shigasato village, shared his experience with us on how he was accepted by Shigasato villagers. According to him, on arrival at the village in 2009, he was very much concerned about local residents’ evaluation of him. He eventually realized that he must be very active in agriculture in order to give a favourable impression on other villagers, as he put it:

“Working hard on the farm constitutes a very important factor in villager’s evaluation of new arrivals.”

Mr. A was also convinced that his active participation in village work helped to achieve recognition as a village member. He also believed that he was making success in his soba noodle restaurant business because of the local residents’ acceptance of him as a member of the community. However, situation may differ for I-turners in different geographical locations, since villages in different locations react differently to I-turners. On the other hand, location of the I- turners may play important roles in their willingness to build social networks, as we shall see in the next chapter.

#### **4.5.3 Psychological state of the I-turners**

I-turners economic situation is not so favourable in the village; at the same time, they face resistance from uncooperative village members and conservative village elders. It is expected that the I-turners may feel discouraged and then desire to move back to the cities. However, most of the I-turners (83 %) indicated that they enjoy rural life due to the following benefits they get from living in the village

- i. Tranquil and relaxed life
- ii. Connection with natural environment
- iii. Children growing with less pressure than in urban area
- iv. Reduction in complaints from neighbours as regards to, for example, noise
- v. Unlimited freedom to keep pets of one’s choice
- vi. Greater safety
- vii. Opportunity to be heard in community meetings
- viii. Rich relationship with cooperative neighbours

The original reasons behind the I-turners’ migration and the rich social relationship they have with some cooperative village members have sustained them in the midst of the challenges they face living in the rural areas.

To evaluate the I-turners psychological state in the village, their willingness to continue to stay in their chosen villages were examined. They were asked if they had any plan to leave the village in the near future. Nearly half of them (42.5%) indicated that they did not have any plan to move in the future. 29.8% were yet to decide about this. Meanwhile, 17% responded that they might probably move, and only 8.5% disclosed their intention to leave the village in the

future. This indicates that most I-turners were content with rural life despite a variety of challenges they faced. The benefits they are getting from rural life seem to currently over-ride their concern about future. However, some I-turners may change their plan as their children approach adulthood, moving into another area where they can obtain an advanced education of high quality.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

The above analysis revealed that economic situation of most I-turn households was generally poor in terms of annual income and savings. More than half of the I-turners had to put up with a decreased income in the rural area. However, such a negative effect of unfavourable economic condition of I-turners was offset partly by a reduced expenditure in the rural area through (1) bilateral relationship with their neighbours, and friends in form of 'neighbourhood social networks' and 'informal social networks through which various direct and indirect assistance were provided, (2) lower cost of living in the rural area, and (3) opportunity to produce their own food to achieve a partial food self-sufficiency.

As regard to social condition, the I-turners generally enjoyed close relations with some cooperative village members, which were displayed on a variety of social occasions. At the same time, I-turners may have to participate in various communal activities to build up trust among villagers and to expand their range of neighbourhood social networks. They also have to belong and be active in social groups to establish informal or friendship networks.

Such a social obligation and other inconveniences notwithstanding, the majority of I-turners seem to have been satisfied with rural life. It is worthy of note that, in the first place, most I-turners were attracted to the quiet and relaxed rural life. As one of the key informants, Ms. N insisted:

“Villages do not need any amenities. A village is beautiful and attractive as it is. It has everything that makes the place rural, such as fresh air, clean water, and landscape. A healthy life it offers itself is enough for the dwellers. To bring something new from the city to a rural area will make it 'un-rural', and when this happens, the village will lose its original nature, beauty, and attractiveness.”

Therefore, to encourage the I-turners (especially those with aspirations to contribute toward the solution of rural problems) to continue to live in the rural area, villagers and local government should concentrate their efforts in making the villages more attractive for the I-turners, rather than trying to make them more convenient and comfortable places like cities. Providing material support for I-turners' farming engagement is especially important, because many migrants have expressed great interest in agriculture. Findings from this study also suggest that I-turners' social relationships in the village, are one of the deciding factors in keeping I-turners living in a particular village. Chapter 6 would explore how I-turners can form social networks in the village both for their sustainability in the rural environment and essential for easier implementation of their revitalizing activities. Before this, the next chapter would explore the challenges facing I-turners in the rural communities which may affect the I-turners revitalizing activities.

## CHAPTER 5

### CHALLENGES OF LIVING IN RURAL COMMUNITIES OF JAPAN: I-TURNERS' PERSPECTIVES

#### 5.1. Introduction

Rich social networks for I-turners after migration is important due to the diverse challenges, especially the socio-cultural challenges, they face in the rural communities. Undoubtedly, I-turners may receive the benefits of living in rural communities such as a relaxed and quiet life, rich natural environment, opportunity to be engaged in agriculture and consume naturally produced food, and a better social and natural environment for bringing up children, among others. At the same time, these I-turners, many of whom have been accustomed to the convenient city life, have to endure a variety of inconveniences that accompany rural life. Existing studies have focused mainly on I-turners' challenges arising from materialist drawbacks such as lack of employment, poor economic conditions, and lack of educational institutions (Matanle, 2008; Odagiri, 2011). However, there are few, if any, studies analysing the challenges of I-turners from the viewpoint of I-turners themselves. Therefore, this chapter aims to reveal these challenges from I-turners' own perspectives, since this approach may be helpful particularly in identifying some socio-cultural aspects of challenges that should be tackled by both I-turners and villagers. As one of the purposes of this chapter is to reveal I-turners' own perspectives on challenges of living in rural areas, informants' own narrative will be closely analysed. The data from the questionnaire survey is also examined.

As one might expect, I-turners in rural areas have challenges such as low income, lack of shopping and transportation facilities, along with problems arising from natural environment such as disturbances caused by wild animals, insects, and harsher weather. On the other hand, one of the commonest problems mentioned by I-turners were socio-cultural and infrastructural challenges, to which we will now turn our attention.

#### 5.2 Socio-cultural Challenges of I-turners

As shown in table 5-1, I-turners have to endure a number of inconveniences arising from socio-cultural situations unique to rural areas. Some of these challenges are lack of some basic social facilities that can make everyday life enjoyable. About 40% of the I-turners mentioned general

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**Table 5-1: Socio-cultural challenges of I-turners** (Multiple response)

Challenges as perceived by I-turners	Frequency	(%)
Village life is dull due to lack of entertainment facilities	22	46.8
Village life has a lot of inconveniences	19	40.4
Embarrassed with strange customs and tradition	19	40.4
Increased commitment to rural customs and social obligations	13	27.7
Some old residents are not open to outsiders	11	23.4
No challenges at all	6	12.8

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2015.

inconveniences inherent in rural life. There are more serious issues such as being overburdened with social obligation and facing resistance from some conservative village elders who do not necessarily understand the I-turners' creative roles in the rural communities. The issue of being burdened with lots of commitment to rural customs and social obligations as complained by 13 or 27.7% of the I-turners have a discouraging effect on I-turners as one of the key informants (Miss A) put it:

“Some I-turners who have plans for the village cannot demonstrate their initiatives because there are a lot of village works in which they are already involved. It is difficult for them to balance their personal plan and the village obligations.”

Another key informant, Mr. C, asserted:

“I-turners have a lot of roles to play in village works, so they have a heavy burden on their back.”

It seems that, initially, most I-turners did not understand social importance attached to each village work by the villagers, and thereby could not understand very well why they had to be involved in such works when they did not have enough time to participate in all of them. On the other hand, the villagers expected I-turners to know this naturally, without giving them any detailed explanation. The I-turners also experienced some culture shock upon moving to the rural area. For example, 19 or 40.4% complained of being embarrassed with strange customs and tradition in rural areas.

### **5.2.1 Negative Aspects of Social Interaction between Villagers and New-arrivals**

Based on our questionnaire survey, some I-turners (23.4%) complained that some village elders are resistant to new ideas and not open to outsiders. This is partly because the old residents may not fully understand creative potential of the I-turners in their rural communities. The resistance may be associated with the difference in thinking that exists between the villagers and the I-turners, who have a broadminded view of life due to their exposure to a wider world.

An intensive interview with Miss A revealed how the village elders become an obstacle to the I-turners' initiatives. Mr. E also revealed the position of the village elders in the village politics in the following quotation:

“Three years ago, I accepted the post of *kumi cho*, or chief of *kumi* (a neighbourhood group made up of a ten households). This opened my eyes to decision making process in the village. All the *kumi chos* meet together (*kumi-cho kai*) to make decisions about a variety of issues, and the process is led by the influential elders.

Currently, the core members of *kumi-cho kai* are over 60 years old. This implies that the younger generations have little or no say. On the other hand, the sons of these core members are seldom involved in village activities, because they are busy with their work outside the community. They have no time for such meeting. Even the core members of *kumi-cho kai* themselves are not willing to handover their authority to the younger generation. This is a major challenge, because community revitalization is better carried out by the younger generation, which may in turn create a favourable environment for I-turners. A member of the *kumi-chokai* (a local resident) advised the old ones to retire and handover their power to the younger generation.”

Mr. B. also have this to say about the elders in his village:

“Conservative village elders control the village politics, so some I-turners do not have a voice and are greatly hindered in accomplishing their mission for the village.”

Due to the domineering presence of the village elders in the village politics, I-turners may not be able to actualize their mission maximally in the rural communities. If no drastic step is taken about this, it may eventually lead to the out-migration of the I-turners from the rural communities. However, some I-turners in the research areas are observed to have little or no interest in rural revitalizing activities, at the same time the host community care less about what the I-turners have to offer. This is the situation of I-turners in Uda village as clearly shown below

***i. Condition of I-turners in Uda***

I-turners in Uda village, which has easy access to Nara city, faces typical case of resistance from village members. One of the interviewees, Mr. A, emphasized on the degree of the villagers’ resistance in the following words;

‘even those married into the community are not fully accepted as full members’.

***ii. Why some villages are resistant to I-turners***

The interviewees explained that resistance observed in some Uda villages is mostly due to the village’s communal assets that generate income such as mastutake mushroom. Other times the village attracts a lot of subsidy from the government and receive huge commissions from companies who come to build utilities in their area. The local residents are not willing to share their asset with strangers, hence the resistance. Sometimes, incomers have to pay a sum before they could live in their community. Another reason for their resistance towards strangers, especially the I-turners, is that they do not trust them to be loyal residents. They perceive I-



turners as temporary residents who would eventually leave their village for the cities just as their sons and daughters did. Existing literatures have shown that I-turners could bridge the gap between themselves and the local residents by becoming actively involved in village activities. However, some I-turners in Uda are not willing to be involved in village activities, as they are scattered across Uda and therefore difficult to form networks among themselves.

### *iii. Reasons for inactiveness of I-turners in Uda*

The unwillingness of some of the I-turners (there are a few active ones) to be involved in village activities could be partly because of their original reason for moving into the area. Most of the I-turners moved to Uda for childcare purposes, not necessarily to revitalise these areas. At the same time, Uda villagers do not encourage these I-turners to participate in village activities or take up leadership roles. Ms. M, one of the interviewees, expressed the local residents' attitude towards I-turners as regards to leadership, in the following words;

“Do you want an official position? Well if  
you do not want, it is all right.”

I-turners in Uda seems not to care so much about the villagers' negative attitude towards them. Partly because they think they are young and therefore can work hard and take care of their needs. Most of the I-turners', at the time of the study, have children within primary school and junior high school age and they have access to school. There is no easy access to high schools in Uda, so the parents may move out with their kids when they get to high school age. This confirms the villagers' fears, and the I-turners perceiving themselves as temporary residents put up with the unfriendly attitude of the local residents. The attitude of the local residents and the I-turners' response to it makes it difficult for I-turners to form networks with the villagers.

On the contrary, the I-turners in the remote areas of Maizuru and Ayabe of Kyoto prefecture are observed to be more active in rural revitalizing activities. The reasons behind each I-turner's migration may influence their choice of village to move into. An I-turner who has revitalizing intentions may want to move to those areas in dire need of revitalization and most times those villages are often either mountainous or remote. Geographical characteristics of the I-turners destination, therefore, certainly play a role both in the I-turners' willingness to be actively involved in village activities and the extent to which the local residents are willing to cooperate with them. It is also worthy to note in passing that villagers who think that their villages need revitalization will be more open to outsiders compared to villagers who think otherwise.

## **5.3 Challenges Arising from Infrastructural Discrepancies between Rural and Urban area**

### **5.3.1 Educational and Medical Facilities**

To elicit further the challenges I-turners may be facing or would face in the near future, their level of concern on education and medical care were analysed (Table 5-2). In general, there is a striking discrepancy in educational institutions and medical facilities in rural and urban areas. According to a national survey carried out by the government in November 2005, it was revealed that out of 90,390 rural communities surveyed, only 8,320 rural communities (9.2%) had elementary schools, 3,210 (3.6%) had junior high schools, and 4,910 (5.4%) had hospitals or clinics within each rural community. Although it took less than 30 minutes for

more than 80% of surveyed rural communities to reach these facilities (Gao, 2013). Yamauchi et al. (2007) also discovered that there are regional discrepancies of the supply of physicians in Japan in recent years. There are increasing number of vacancies of physicians especially in the field of paediatrics, obstetrics and gynaecology. Rural hospitals have difficulty in finding new doctors to occupy these seats, and some were forced to shut down some of the specialized sections, giving rise to serious problems of access to primary medical care. In general, Japanese doctors prefer to work in urban hospitals than rural hospitals.

Table 5-2 reveals that 37 or 78.7% of the I-turners are generally worried about access to advanced medical care. Education is another great concern especially for young parents who have children in their teens. In particular, it is inconvenient for rural children to attend high school and university far away from home. Even in local primary schools, children have no age mates to play with, because of declining child population. As shown in Table 5-2, 31 or 66% of them are worried about the high school education of their children (23.4% out of them are seriously worried) and 28 or 59.6% are worried about the university education of their children (17 or 36.2% of them are seriously worried). Note, however, that I-turners' responses to such questions were also influenced by whether they have children of school age or not.

**Table 5-2: I-turners' Concern about Lack of Access to Educational and Medical Facilities in Rural Areas**

Facilities/ Institutions	Seriously worried	Worried	Worried a little	Not worried	Not sure	No Response	Total
Primary school education	6(12.8%)	8(17 %)	10(21.3%)	17(36.2%)	3(6.4%)	3(6.4%)	47(100%)
Junior high school education	8(17 %)	7(14.9%)	8(17 %)	16(34 %)	4(8.5%)	4(8.5%)	47(100%)
High school education	11(23.4%)	10(21.3%)	10(21.3%)	7(14.9%)	5(10.6%)	4(8.5%)	47(100%)
University education	17(36.2%)	5(10.6%)	6(12.8%)	8(17 %)	8(17 %)	3(6.4%)	47(100%)
Primary health care	4(8.5%)	9(19.2%)	5(10.6%)	25(53.2%)	-	4(8.5%)	47(100%)
Advanced medical care	11(23.4%)	12(25.5%)	14(29.8%)	6(12.8%)	-	4(8.5%)	47(100%)
Facilities for caring for the elderly	7(14.9%)	7(14.9%)	7(14.9%)	16(34 %)	7(14.9%)	3(6.4%)	47(100%)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2015.

Mr. B expressed his worry in the following words:

“I am worried about the future of my children when they set out to the wider world. It might be hard for them to cope with. Added to this, no advanced medical care is available in the village. There is only a small clinic for minor sicknesses.”

Rural children, who have been accustomed to a quiet and relaxed lifestyle in the countryside, may experience a culture shock when they eventually move into urban centres. On the other hand, lack of advanced medical care in the rural area is one of major concerns for the I-turners. The fear of sudden serious sickness might discourage them from continuing to live in the countryside.

### 5.3.1 Other Amenities and Infrastructure

Apart from educational and medical facilities, there are other kinds of amenities or institutions, which I-turners wish to have in the rural communities (Table 5-3). Majority of the I-turners (24 or 51.2%) think that more job opportunities are needed in their current place of residence. 38.3% indicated that it is a cafe that they needed, and the same number of them needed a renewable energy facility. Meanwhile, 29.8% and 23.4% of the I-turners indicated that they need gathering place for youth and library respectively.

Transportation infrastructure is another area that is needed to be improved. 21.3% of the I-turners indicated that they needed public transportation. In many cases there are some sort of public transportations even in remote villages such as community buses, but their number is limited. Villagers are normally heavily dependent on private cars, which may not be possible to use in their old age. Some informants noted that it is dangerous driving through the village on its narrow and curvy roads especially with children. I-turners also often encounter

**Table 5-3: Facilities/Amenities Needed in Current Place of Residence**  
(Multiple-choice responses)

Items	Frequency	%
More job opportunities	24	51.1
Cafe	18	38.3
Renewable energy	18	38.3
Gathering place for youth	14	29.8
Library	11	23.4
Public transportation	10	21.3
Associations for recreational activities	9	19.2
General hospitals	8	17
Movie theatre	7	14.9
Art museum	5	10.6
Sport facilities	5	10.6
Shopping centre	4	8.5
Concert hall	3	6.4
University	2	4.3
High way	1	2.1

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2015.

difficulties in finding a house to live in the village. Normally they move into an unoccupied house. Although there are many empty houses in rural areas nowadays, the owners are not always willing to rent it out, and these long-abandoned properties are in the state of desolation for a long time and needed to be reformed. Some rural NGOs are active in introducing empty houses to would-be I-turners. Other facilities on I-turners' wish list (other than educational and medical institutions) are; high speed internet, park (a place where villagers and outsiders can

interact with one another), facilities or programs aimed at attracting tourist, a guest house where local products can be sold, a hot spring, recreational activities /occasions for interaction among people of different age groups (especially interaction between the elders and children/youth), events to learn about village traditions, indigenous technology and history from village elders.

#### 5.4 Agricultural Related Challenge

Most I-turners who moved to the rural area primarily to be involved in agriculture encountered some challenges at the beginning of their agricultural practices, mainly because they were initially inexperienced in farming. The following narratives from three I-turners describe their initial problems in farming.

“The major challenge I faced earlier in the village was to adapt myself to tea farming, since I had no knowledge about farming. At first, it was also very tedious for me. As I was the only female tea farmer in Mr. K.’s farm, where I was employed, the men might not perfectly understand my weakness as a woman. All these challenges fizzled out with time. I have not only gained knowledge about tea farming but I am also one of the strongest workers in the farm now.” (Miss A)

“At the beginning, I found agriculture very challenging. I was involved in natural and organic agriculture and I wanted to sell my products directly to consumers but it was difficult to get customers. Agricultural Cooperatives did not accept my products which were considered to be of low quality. Then I had to spend my savings to sustain myself. I also had trouble in farming techniques since I had no prior knowledge about farming. Now, I am doing very well in agriculture, selling my products to the Agricultural Cooperative. I am also involved in direct sales to consumers (*chokubaijo*)”. (Mr. C)

“I started agriculture the same year as I migrated to Shigasato. I cultivated paddy farm alongside three I-turners in the same parcel of land. Agriculture was very difficult for me in the first year. Two weeks after planting rice, I travelled to Tokyo for my business. I came back and found no rice in the farm because I did not weed. At that time, I did not have the knowledge of weeding and its importance. I learnt afterward.” (Mr. D)

Interestingly, the I-turners overcame the challenges they encountered at the beginning of their agricultural practices with the passage of time. It is worth noting that some I-turner-farmers were helped considerably by the villagers, neighbourhood networks, in finding farmlands and giving useful knowledge and information on farming. At the same time, some I-turners pointed

out that they need official support for farmers in terms of marketing and design, along with regular monthly village market where they may be able to sell their farm products

**Table 5-4: I-turners' Narration of Challenges faced by them**

<b>Miss A</b>	“Some I-turners who have plans for the village cannot demonstrate their initiatives because there are a lot of village works in which they are already involved. It is difficult for them to balance their personal plan and the village obligations.”	“The major challenge I faced earlier in the village was to adapt myself to tea farming, since I had no knowledge about farming. At first, it was also very tedious for me. As I was the only female tea farmer in Mr. K.’s farm, where I was employed, the men might not perfectly understand my weakness as a woman. All these challenges fizzled out with time. I have not only gained knowledge about tea farming but I am also one of the strongest workers in the farm now.”
<b>Mr C</b>	“I-turners have a lot of roles to play in village works, so they have a heavy burden on their back.”	“At the beginning, I found agriculture very challenging. I was involved in natural and organic agriculture and I wanted to sell my products directly to consumers but it was difficult to get customers. Agricultural Cooperatives did not accept my products which were considered to be of low quality. Then I had to spend my savings to sustain myself. I also had trouble in farming techniques since I had no prior knowledge about farming. Now, I am doing very well in agriculture, selling my products to the Agricultural Cooperative. I am also involved in direct sales to consumers ( <i>chokubaijo</i> )”.
<b>Mr. B</b>	“Conservative village elders control the village politics, so some I-turners do not have a voice and are greatly hindered in accomplishing their mission for the village.”	“I am worried about the future of my children when they set out to the wider world. It might be hard for them to cope with. Added to this, no advanced medical care is available in the village. There is only a small clinic for minor sicknesses.”
<b>Mr. D</b>	“Most I-turners do not understand the priority attached to each work by the villagers and so they are confused as to which ones to be involved in since they don’t have the time to participate in all of them. The villagers do not create time to teach them”.	“I started agriculture the same year as I migrated to Shigasato. I cultivated paddy farm alongside three I-turners in the same parcel of land. Agriculture was very difficult for me in the first year. Two weeks after planting rice, I travelled to Tokyo for my business. I came back and found no rice in the farm because I did not weed. At that time, I did not have the knowledge of weeding and its importance. I learnt afterward.”

## **5. 5. Concluding Remarks: Expected Role of I-turners' Social Networks in curtailing their Challenges**

I-turners in rural parts of Japan have a variety of challenges such as those derived from the differences in the socio-cultural aspects between urban and rural life, infrastructural discrepancies between urban and rural areas, and lack of experience in agricultural practices. As regards to the challenges they encountered in the agricultural practices, the villagers, their neighbourhood networks, played crucial roles in alleviating these challenges. However, some other challenges of the I-turners, especially heavy social obligations and resistance from conservative village elders, can be alleviated if appropriate measures are taken. The I-turners themselves have a major role to play in making life easier for them in the rural communities. For example, one of the strategies would be to form a social network among themselves which is expected to facilitate their communication with the local residents in a systematic way, thereby convincing conservative village elders of I-turners' mission of revitalizing rural communities. On the other hand, the villagers are expected to encourage I-turners (especially those with aspirations to contribute toward the solution of rural problems) to continue to live in the rural areas, by lessening the burden of village works imposed on I-turners, along with abolishing some conventional rules which can be an obstacle for outsiders to settle in the community. Local NGOs have great potential of acting as a mediator or facilitator between I-turners and original villagers. Finally, the local government should try as much as possible to provide the necessary facilities to realize a more convenient life in rural areas.

## CHAPTER 6

### ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ROLE OF I-TURN MIGRANTS IN RURAL REVITALIZATION

#### 6.1 Introduction

Rural communities in Japan are currently facing serious challenges such as ageing population and general population decline, mainly due to out-migration of the youth (Kakiuchi and Hasegawa, 1979; Ishikawa, 2008; Matanle, 2007; Odagiri, 2011; Tanaka and Iwasawa, 2011; Wijaya, 2013; Feldhoff, 2013; Xiaoping, 2013). These have also led to other problems like declining social functions. While 2,225 rural communities lost their social functions between 1980 and 1990, 4,959 communities lost such functions between 1990 and 2000. It was also feared that 1,403 communities mainly in hilly and mountainous areas would be left uninhabited in subsequent years, and such communities are currently facing difficulties in maintaining their social functions (Gao, 2013). In addition, there is a threat to the continuation of agricultural activities in Japan's rural areas, because there is no successor generation for most farming households.

Revitalization of rural Japan has received a lot of attention among scholars. Many have emphasized the importance of green/ rural tourism as well as the need to encourage more urban residents to settle permanently in rural areas (Arahi, 1998; Wijaya, 2014; Chakraborty and Asamizu, 2014). Drawing more migrants into rural areas may open a wide range of opportunities for the villages such as population growth and creation of diverse economic activities (Lewis et al., 1991; Dahms and McComb, 1999; Démurger and Xu, 2011).

I-turn migrants do not only impact favourably on villages in terms of economy and demography, but they also play positive social roles which may contribute to the revitalization of the shrinking villages of Japan. The positive social roles of the I-turners may be divided into two broad categories:

- (1) Sustaining pre-existing social functions (“sustaining roles”), and
- (2) Introducing fresh ideas and practices into village communities (“innovative roles”).

Although the innovative roles of I-turners have so far attracted attention of many scholars (Yoshikawa, 2005; Sekiya and Oishi, 2014), few studies have paid attention to their sustaining roles. According to our own observation, however, I-turners' innovative ideas cannot easily be accepted by the villagers without his or her active participation in existing community activities. When I-turners actively participate in existing community activities, they are invariably integrating culturally to the host community; and this boosts the chance of expanding their networks with the villagers essential for effective implementation of their innovative ideas .

This chapter therefore, analyses the multiple roles played by I-turners with the intention of revitalizing rural communities, by employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. First, the size of contribution by I-turners in sustaining the pre-existing social functions is examined by analyzing their membership in village social groups, which is a network of original village members and I-turners themselves, and their contribution to official village organisation and works. As to the introduction of new ideas and practices, their involvement in diverse voluntary activities and their farming practices will be analyzed. Note that we only focused on the social roles of I-turners from the viewpoint of I-turners themselves, and did not consider the views from the original villagers, which may also be important to evaluate I-turners' social functions from insiders' viewpoint. To examine the complicated “interactive process” between I-turners and original villagers (Takaki, 1999, 2000) is outside the scope of this study.

## 6.2 The Roles of I-turners in Sustaining Pre-existing Social Functions

### 6.2.1 I-turners' Involvement in Official Village Administrative Organisation

There have been a variety of social functions or groups in Japanese villages, such as traditionally rooted village administrative organizations, communal village works, and groups and events based on traditional village cultures. All of these activities and cultures are on the wane, as outmigration increased and even local residents, especially of younger generation, lost their interest in such traditional village functions.

I-turners under study have contributed in some measure to the maintenance of dwindling village administrative functions. For example, 16 or 34% of the I-turners have assumed an official position either in official village administration or other local groups. At the same time, majority of the I-turn households (20 or 66.7%) indicated they attended village meeting as much as possible, while 3 (10%) indicated that they attended every time. Those households attending village meetings once in a while were 2, and only one household indicated that they have never attended.

### 6.2.2 I-turners' Involvement in Communal Village Works

Participation in village works (known as *murayou* in northern Kyoto) is an integral part of mutual help in most Japanese villages. Generally, I-turners are expected to play a vital role in village works, including those activities associated with community fire brigade, in which male I-turners have to join in most cases. Although there are various village works carried out in the rural communities of Japan, some selected activities that are common to all the research area are taken to examine I-turners' frequency of participation, as shown in Table 6-1.

In all the categories of village works, the number of those households, which responded that, they attended "every time" or "as much as possible" exceeds that of those that answered "once in a while" or "never." If we label those in the former category as "active participants," the

**Table 6-1. Frequency of Participation in Village Works by the Households**

Village works	Every time	As much as possible	Once in a while	Never	No response	Total
Maintenance of irrigative canals	7 (23.3%)	10 (33.3%)	-	12 (40%)	1 (3.3%)	30 (100%)
Maintenance of community roads	7 (23.3%)	15 (50%)	1 (3.3%)	6 (20%)	1 (3.3%)	30 (100%)
Maintenance of the community shrines and temples	8 (26.7%)	9 (30%)	3 (10%)	9 (30%)	1 (3.3%)	30 (100%)
Maintenance of local primary/ secondary schools	2 (6.7%)	13 (43.3%)	-	13 (43.3%)	1 (3.3%)	30 (100%)
Maintenance of community halls	6 (20%)	12 (40%)	-	11 (36.7%)	1 (3.3%)	30 (100%)

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2015.

share of active participants ranks highest in the maintenance of community roads (73.3%), followed by maintenance of community halls (60%), maintenance of the community shrines and temples (56.7%), maintenance of irrigative canals (53.7%) and maintenance of local primary/ secondary schools at the lowest (50%). A closer observation of the data reveals that 8 particular households were especially active in such activities, participating every time in most



of the works. On the other hand, 6 households have never attended for all of these works. The unwillingness of some of the I-turn households to be involved in village works can be attributed to a variety of reasons: tedious and laborious nature of these physical works; I-turner's lack of understanding about social importance of such communal works; I-turner's lack of time to participate in these works

### **6.2.3 I-turners' Interest and Involvement in Village Cultural Groups and Events**

Most I-turners indicated a great interest in the village festivals and other cultural activities, including both traditional and newly introduced ones. These include; Yagura/Taisai festival, Satoyama (village mountain) festival, Yamano Kami Sama (God on the mountain) ceremony, Dondoyaki ceremony (burning of old amulets), Shishimai (lion dance), fire fly festival, fireworks festival, spring festival, etc. I-turners contributed to these social events in a variety of ways: setting up stalls, cleaning up of the site after the event, and sometimes working as active organisers, as seen in the case of Yagura/Taisai festival in Saihoji village in northern Kyoto, which was revitalized by I-turners in the area. on traditional village culture. Among these groups are groups to preserve traditional dance (e.g. shishimai dance) and groups to learn Japanese drumming art (taiko). There are also other kinds of associations based on non-traditional hobbies or recreations such as sports, choir, and craft. It is interesting to note, in passing, that most of those I-turners joining such local groups are female.

## **6.3 I-turners' Introduction of New Ideas and Practices in the Rural Communities**

### **6.3.1 I-turners Perception on Rural Development**

Before moving to I-turners' innovative activities in the villages, it will be useful to look at I-turners' ideas about what should be the important goals of rural development programs. Informants were provided with a list of development goals and were asked to select the ones they expect from rural development programs. As shown in Table 6-2, majority of the I-turners (72.3%) expected a rural development program to be aimed towards the promotion of agricultural and forestry industries. Meanwhile, 48.9% of them indicated that they expect such programs that will lead to development of local specialty products in the region, and 40.4% expected a rural development program to be aimed towards developing the sightseeing places to attract more tourists.

I-turners also listed the following as goals of rural development programs in their own words:

- Self-sufficiency on energy, food and local technology
- Self-sufficiency on entertainment and recreation
- Forest conservation
- Programs aimed at attracting migrants to the rural areas in terms of intensive publicity
- Management of bamboo forest
- Revival of abandoned farmlands
- Support for child's upbringing
- Social support for single elderly
- To increase I-turners especially young people and children
- To increase occasion of communication among villagers
- Maintenance/ utilization of abandoned houses in the village

From the above data, it is clear that most I-turners attach a great importance on revitalizing the existing economic activities, notably agriculture and forestry, thereby utilizing existing (and

**Table 6-2. I-turners' Perception on Most Important Goals of Rural Development Programs (Multiple responses from 47 I-turners)**

<b>Goals of rural development programs</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>(%)</b>
To promote agricultural and forestry industries	34	72.3
Development of local specialties of the region	23	48.9
To develop the sightseeing places to attract more tourists	19	40.4
To create a market for local specialty products	18	38.3
To improve living standard of the rural residents	9	19.2
To improve infrastructures for daily living	6	12.8
To promote manufacturing industries	3	6.4
To invite companies/ factories into rural areas	3	6.4
No development plan is needed	3	6.4
No idea	1	2.1

mostly abandoned) local resources including farmlands and forests. Creating local specialties and markets, along with promotion of tourism based on existing natural environment and landscape, may also reflect I-turners perception on the ideal direction of sustainable rural development. For many of them, the conventional measures of rural development such as building infrastructures and inviting manufacturing companies are considered to be neither a priority nor sustainable.

I-turners not only had a clear perception on sustainable rural development, but also demonstrated their commitment to development programmes. A considerable number of them displayed their willingness towards active participation in community development activities. Informants were asked if they were willing to contribute to a community development project even if it does not benefit them directly. 26 (55. 3%) indicated that they were willing to do so. 3 (6.4%) responded that they would never contribute to such projects. On the other hand, 15 or 31.1% of them were indecisive about this.

### **6.3.2 Voluntary Activities by I-turners: New Social Groups and Other Revitalizing Activities**

The I-turners under study contributed greatly to reinvigorate rural communities through a number of voluntary activities. One of the notable examples of such activities is those of “Tsukigase Mirai” in Tsukigase village in Nara Prefecture. Tsukigase Mirai (literary interpreted as Tsukigase future) was founded in 2013 by I-turners and local U-turners, with the main purpose of revitalizing rural communities by utilizing existing local resources. Activities of the group include charcoal burning, firewood making, joint farming, and participating in both existing local events and new functions created by the group such as musical events, movie show, and lectures. One of the most unique activities of the group is to run a shared residence by utilizing an empty old farmhouse. The group also provides information about jobs and empty houses to would-be I-turners. According to the members including one of the founders, Tsukigase mirai has served as an avenue for I-turners to establish a friendly relation and form social network with the local youth as well as the U-turners, which contribute greatly to building trust between them. Furthermore, through their interactions with the local residents in this group, I-turners have been able to acquire more information about the locality. At the same time, the activities of the group have widened the I-turners’ horizon on how to attract more people into the area. There is a similar group in Shigasato village in northern Kyoto, namely Kodakara Net, a local network to promote I-turn migration of young generation into the village. Although Kodakara Net (literally “children as treasure”) was originally established in 2005 by

local residents including a U-turner to increase children in the village, I-turners are very active nowadays, taking leading roles in the activities of the group. The main activity of the group has been coordination of I-turn migration to Shigasato, acting as an intermediary between would-be I-turners and local residents who own empty houses to rent. Alongside this, the group has been organising various events on urban-rural exchange including farmers market.

24 or 51.1% of the informants indicated that they were also actively involved in other kinds of community revitalizing activities. Some of them belonged to semi-official village committee on revitalization, and other activities were done on a basis of informal groups and networks. Some of these activities include; working as an instructor to young I-turners on farming, working as a paid volunteer to support depopulated and ageing community, organising farmers market, coordinating 'Farm Experience Events' for urban residents.

One of the unique examples of I-turners' initiatives is the Share Seed Network established by two I-turners in Tsuge and Tsukigase villages in Nara, one of whom is a full-time farmer. The network was established to preserve seeds of local varieties of crops (sorghum, millet, beans, and leafy vegetables) which were on the verge of extinction. Another I-turner in Shigasato village, Kyoto, organized a small group for playing badminton and table tennis. At the time of the study, he proposed the idea of 'Mini Culture Centre', a forum to learn various cultures including taiko drumming and flower arrangement. A female I-turner from Monobe village was engaged in promotion of the use of woods including firewood for stove and materials to make wooden utensils including spoons.

Remarkably, in 2013, a female I-turner in Utano of Uda village, Ms. M, took a giant stride to renovate an abandoned post office in Uda. The post office was built in 1934; it was abandoned partly due to rural out migration. Firstly, she started a fund raising in 2012, which she tagged 'fund to renovate the post office and all the spoiled houses'. A total sum of 15 million yen was collected from the fund raising; the ministry of transportation donated 5 million yen, city council gave 5 million yen and the other 5 million yen was donated by the I-turner herself. At the completion of the project, the down floor of the post office served as a one-day restaurant for different chefs for the period of 3 years and the up floor was a shop. Currently the post office serves as an office for two NPOs, Geolife Association and Nara Yushi. Unfortunately, Ms. M could not realise all the money spent in the renovation of the post office, partly due to low economic activity in the rural area.

Mr. A, a male I-turner in O-Uda often organises music concert, talk shows, end of the year party and other similar activities in his temple that he inherited from his grandfather. His major focus is to gather the marginalised of the community, such as those women who are married to local residents and I-turners, and then offer them the opportunity to get together and interact with one another. Ms. M and Mr. A co-founded 'Uda Katu' in 2014. Uda Katu was a forum designed to encourage interactions between rural and urban area, particularly targeted to attract urban youth and to familiarise them with life in the rural area. It is a kind of 'rural internship'. To ensure continuity of the system, Mr. A and Ms. M focused on such urban youths in the university. Nine university students usually in their 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> grade are invited to have a home stay in Uda, with some of them staying in Mr. A and others in Ms. M's home. Mr. A's driving force for Uda Katu is that he believes that someday the students who have experienced rural life will eventually remember the village in the future or may even return to live there permanently. He is also optimistic that they may remember him at his old age, hence he perceives Uda Katu as an 'investment in human capital'. The founders also think that Uda Katu may bridge the gap between the local residents and I-turners. Mr. A affirmed that the I-turners and the local residents have one mind whenever the university students visited. At one time, Tokyo university students were invited and the villagers were thrilled to have students from such prestigious university coming to stay in their village. Mr. A and Ms. M bore all the

expenses of the students whenever they visited except for their transportation cost, which they have to pay by themselves. However, this promising program lasted for only 3 years, between 2014 and 2017. The founders discontinued the program for some reasons among which is financial constraints.

At the same time, it should be noted that such initiatives from I-turners also encounter a number of obstacles, most notably conservative village elders who control village politics. According to informants, in some cases, the old residents of the rural communities are resistant to accept new and innovative ideas from these I-turners. The I-turners can only overcome the opposition from the local residents by first gaining approval and trust of the village members. They may earn the trust of the host community only through their active participation in social functions and communal works, as well as on farming activities, as we shall see below.

### 6.3.3 I-turners' Involvement in Agriculture

The study revealed that, although most of the I-turners surveyed (44 or 93.6%) are not from a farm household, a good number of them (32 or 68.1%) are currently involved in farming, particularly natural and organic farming for self-sustenance. However, only a handful of the I-turn farmers (8 or 25%) identified themselves as full-time farmers. Others indicated that they were working in other people's farms on a part-time basis, or simply growing crops for self-consumption. Their main produces are; vegetables, rice, soybean and other beans, tubers, tea and wheat. The farm size of I-turn households (18 out of the 30 household) ranges between 0 - 30 *tan*<sup>1</sup> for paddy field and 0.1 - 30 *tan* for upland field. The sum total of farmland belonging to these households is 75.8 *tan* for paddy field and 71.1 *tan* for upland field, on the average 4.2 *tan* and 4.0 *tan*, respectively. The growing interest of I-turners in agriculture is associated with their desire to produce and consume safe foods, to be self-sufficient and to contribute to their rural community. In fact, one of the main reasons why I-turners moved to the rural area in the first place is to be involved in agriculture as clearly shown in chapter 3. The natural and organic farming practices of the I-turners, with which the local residents have not been familiar, is a reflection of their perception on the sustainable rural development. Agriculture can be regarded as an interesting arena, in which original villagers and outsiders (such as I-turners) can cooperate with each other to revitalize former community functions, linking the old and the new. Although agriculture is an age-old practice in which old villagers' knowledge and skills can be utilized, it also provides a new opportunity for I-turners to pursue their ideals on sustainable rural livelihood. To be actively engaged in farming may also be important for the I-turners to gain trust and approval from the local villagers as can be seen in the following quotation from an interview with an I-turner in Shigasato.

“Even before I migrated to Shigasato, I had a strong passion to contribute to rural community through running a soba restaurant...I realized that, to gain support from the local residents, I had to impress them with my active performance in farming activities. I am still able to sustain my soba restaurant in the village, because of the encouragement I receive from the local residents”.

The diverse positive social roles of the I-turners do not only contribute to the revitalization of the rural communities but they also have broader implications for the I-turners and the local residents. As the local residents may feel indebted to the I-turners for their positive roles, a chance of network formation between them and the I-turners is one the expected implications

## 6.4 Conclusion

Although some I-turners in research areas were not cooperative in maintaining village functions, the above analysis showed that the I-turners have a potential for making a considerable contribution in revitalizing rural communities both in terms of new initiatives and pre-existing functions. The active participation of I-turners in the community functions is likely to lead to the revival of these functions, hence preserving the rich culture and tradition of Japan's rural communities, although in modified forms. In particular, I-turners' involvement in agriculture is an important step towards rural revitalization since it ensures continuity of agricultural activities in the rural area especially when farmers are getting old and their second generation have no interest in farming. At the same time, it is important to note that I-turner's practice and their involvement in village community activities and agriculture is likely to be influenced by their perception of sustainable rural development.

From the in-depth interviews with the key informants, it was revealed that those I-turners, who aspire to contribute to the revitalization of the rural communities, are conscious about their active participation in the pre-existing social functions in the community. When these I-turners actively participate in the pre-existing social functions, with which the local residents are familiar, they are integrating themselves to the host community and it increases their chance of forming networks with the villagers, which also increases the trust between them, thereby making it easier for I-turners to introduce their new ideas and practices. Note that some successful initiatives such as Tsukigase Mirai and Kodakara Net were based on a close collaboration between I-turners and local residents including U-turners. Hence, formation of networks between I-turners and the local residents is thus important for rural revitalization.

This chapter limited its scope to analyze the social role of I-turners in rural revitalization only from the viewpoint of I-turners themselves. Further study will be needed for the better understanding of the possible roles in their host communities, by including the views from the original residents. In particular, the interactive process of building trust between outsiders and original villagers should be the main subject of further inquiry.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 7.1 Summary

The aim of this thesis is to explore the roles social networks play in I-turn migration, along with changes in I-turners' socio-economic status after migration. Existing studies on I-turn migration have not analysed in detail the social and economic circumstances of I-turners in rural areas, as well as how their social network helped them in adapting themselves to rural environment. The study focused on three key areas. Firstly, the study has analysed the roles played by I-turners' pre-migration social networks in their migratory decision and process. Secondly, the study has explored the post-migration circumstances and activities of I-turners, highlighting the roles played by their post-migration networks in their adaptation to rural environment. Thirdly, the obstacles to I-turners' network formation in post-migration period was also discussed.

Chapter 1 has given a background knowledge of I-turn migration in Japan, explaining the general motivations behind I-turn migration and the hurdles in the I-turn migratory decision process. In Chapter 1, the detailed aims of this study and the framework of analysis were outlined. I-turners' social networks were defined, by dividing them into two broad categories; pre-migration social networks and post migration social networks. Their pre-migration social networks were sub-divided into formal social networks, semi-formal social networks and informal social networks. Their post migration social networks were sub-divided into friendship networks or informal networks and neighbourhood networks. Chapter 1 also contains the description of the research areas, the method for data analysis and the demographic characteristics of the key informants used in this study.

Chapter 2 reviewed literatures on internal migration in Japan, as well as those on social networks of migrants around the world. It outlined the negative effects of outmigration of the youth from the villages on the rural communities of Japan. The major effects include increasing ageing population and rapid population decline in the rural areas. It also reviewed diverse efforts channelled towards the revitalization of Japan's rural communities by the government, and the local communities/councils. Chapter 2 also include an overview of social networks roles both in the migratory decision process and in post migration period of migrants. Migrants' social networks have been empirically proven to reduce the risks and cost of migration, because pioneer migrants often help to establish a smooth path for other would-be migrants from their own experiences. Social contacts at destination supply potential migrants with vital information about the destination especially job and housing information. Potential migrants are found to be drawn to destinations where they already have social contacts. When people move to a destination where they already have an existing social contact, there is a higher opportunity of finding a job. Migrants social networks play vital roles in the adjustment and in integration of new migrants into the host communities.

Chapter 3 analysed the roles played by the I-turners' pre-migration social networks in their migratory decision process. First, the motivations behind I-turn migration were analysed.

It was revealed that most I-turners moved to the host village for non-economic reasons, with the desire of living and upbringing their children in a physical or cultural environment that is considered to be more beautiful, tranquil or inspirational than their current residence, usually urban environment. The I-turners' pre-migration social networks played crucial roles in the facilitation of the migration of the I-turners. They supplied vital information to I-turners about suitable villages to move into, and offered them emotional support. The I-turners' choice of a particular village to move into was determined by their pre-migration social networks. The pre-migration networks of the I-turners also contributed to preparing themselves for quick adaptation in the villages after migration.

Chapter 4 explored the socio-economic circumstances of I-turners after migration and the roles their post migration networks play in their economic and social adjustment in the village. After migration, the I-turn households had an unfavourable economic condition as compared to urban life. More than half (59.5%) of the I-turners had to put up with a decreased income and decreased savings (59.8%). However, such a negative effect of unfavourable economic condition was offset partly by a reduced expenditure in the rural area through (1) their social networks, (2) lower cost of living in the rural area, and (3) opportunity to produce their own food to achieve a partial food self-sufficiency. Notably, I-turners received various direct and indirect assistances from their friends and neighbours, who might offer them both material and moral support: foods, information, advice and assistance in farming and child upbringing. Thus, post migration social networks played active roles in the I-turners' adjustment and adaptation into rural environment.

Chapter 5 has given a detailed insight on the challenges I-turners face in the host community and analyses how social networks can curtail these challenges. Many I-turners experienced negative aspects of village community, such as the closed nature of village leadership and resistance against their innovative proposal from uncooperative village members. Geographical characteristics of the I-turners' destination also played a certain role both in the behaviour of the I-turners and the host community members. For instance, I turners in villages close to urban areas were not so interested in village matters, unlike those I-turners in remote areas. It was also found that villages characterised by rich communal property were not so open to migrants. Such a situation limited the chance of network formation among I-turners themselves and between them and the locals.

In Chapter 6 the contributions of I-turners in revitalizing rural communities were assessed, with special reference to the importance of social networks in the successful implementation of I-turners' goals and initiatives in the rural communities. I-turners made a considerable contribution in revitalizing pre-existing social functions through their active participation and leadership roles in village activities. For example, 16 or 34% of the I-turners have assumed an official position in either official village administration or other local groups. I-turners' active participation in communal works and village leadership is considered to have eventually increased their chance of acceptance by the original villagers, which is essential to realize their innovative ideas. I-turners also contributed greatly to reinvigorate rural communities through a number of voluntary activities. Analysis of some successful I-turners' initiatives on rural revitalization revealed that these activities were based on social networks between I-turners and local villagers including U-turners.

## **7.2 Conclusion**

Although migration researchers in Japan recognises the importance of social networks in I-turn migration, surprisingly, there are a few empirical analysis on the role of social networks in I-turn migration. In addition, no much attention has been paid to the role played by the I-turners' post migration social networks, especially informal networks, in their adjustment in the host community. This thesis is one of the few that empirically analyses the role of I-turners' pre-migration and post migration social networks in their migratory process and in their post migration circumstances and activities.

The findings showed that the I-turner' pre-migration social networks (formal, informal and semi-formal) played diverse roles in the successful migration of the I-turners. I-turners who are connected to social networks associated with a particular locality prior to migration, especially informal networks, are more likely to migrate to those areas. These informal networks do not only influence the I-turners' choice of destination but they also offer emotional and moral support during the I-turners' migratory process. The key actors among the I-turners formal social networks often organise series of events, serving as an information channel for potential I-turners as well as serving as a bridging and bonding ground between the potential I-turners and their semi-formal and informal networks respectively. Overall, informal networks are more important to I-turners as they depend on them for adaptation and integration into the host communities.

This thesis also uncovered that the presence of I-turners in the villages contributed greatly to the invigoration of the shrinking rural communities through a number of their voluntary revitalizing activities. Some of the revitalizing activities of the I-turners were based on a close collaboration between I-turners and local residents including U-turners. Hence, formation of networks between I-turners and the local residents is thus important for rural revitalization. As part of rural revitalization, most I-turners are involved in agricultural activities. Agricultural practice of the I-turners is an interesting arena, in which original villagers and I-turners can cooperate with each other to revitalize former community functions, linking the old and the new.

This thesis however have some limitations. First, the social roles of I-turners in rural revitalization were analyzed only from the viewpoint of I-turners themselves. Further study will be needed for the better understanding of the possible roles in their host communities, by including the views from the original residents. In particular, the interactive process of building trust between outsiders and original villagers should be the main subject of further inquiry. Second, in analyzing the roles played by the I-turners' post migration social networks in adjusting themselves to the rural community, the thesis focused on the I-turners' social networks in the rural community only. Future research should seek to know if the I-turners have social networks outside the community, which may be useful to them during their adjustment process in post migration period.

## **7.3 Recommendation**

Since the Japanese government is working towards providing solutions to Japan's rural problems, having seen the diverse roles played by I-turners in the revitalization of rural communities, the national and local governments, therefore, should employ rural development policies to encourage more I-turners to come and be settled in rural areas. Most importantly,



interactions between rural residents and urban dwellers should be highly encouraged, since they are capable of serving as an avenue for social networks formation, which eventually facilitates migration.

Some rural communities have not fully understood the importance of I-turners in their communities; hence, they are resistant to I-turners. The local governments should initiate and promote programs aimed at sensitizing the villagers on the crucial roles of I-turners in the rural communities.

The I-turners themselves have a major role to play in making life easier for them in the rural communities. For example, one of the strategies would be to form a strong social network among themselves which is expected to facilitate their communication with the local residents in a systematic way, thereby convincing conservative village elders of I-turners' mission of revitalizing rural communities

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Table A1-1: The Time moved to Current Residence by the Household

Number of households and Place moved to				Time moved
1	No. of H/h	Place	H/h Breakdown	2015 (Less than 1 year)
	4 (13.3%)			
		Kamihatta Ex-Tsuge ExTsukigase	1 2 1	
2	6 (20 %)	Kamiurushibara	1	2014 (One year ago)
		Ex-Tsuge	1	
		Monobe	2	
		Higashi Yoshino	1	
		Soni	1	
3	1 (3.3 %)	Ex-Tsukigase village	1	2013 (2 years ago)
4	3 (10 %)	Shigasato (Nishikata)	1	2012 (3 years ago)
		Shigasato	1	
		Yoshino town	1	
5	1 (3.3 %)	Okadanaka (Saihoji)	1	2011 (4 years ago)
6	2 (6.7%)	Kamihatta	1	2010 (5 years ago)
		Ex-Tsuge	1	
7	2 (6.7%)	Okadanaka	1	2009 (6 years ago)
		Shigasato	1	
8	1 (3.3 %)	Bouguchi town, Deai	1	2006 (9 years ago)
9	4 (13.3 % )	Okadanka (Saihoji),	1	2004 (11 years ago)
		Sagawa	1	
		Shigasato,	1	
		Totsukawa village	1	
10	1 (3.3 %)	Ex-Tsukigase village	1	2003(12 years ago)
11	1 (3.3 %)	Shigasato	1	2002 (13 years ago)
12	1 (3.3 %)	Ex-Tsukigase village	1	2001 (14 years ago)
13	1 (3.3 %)	Okadanaka (Saihoji )	1	2000 (15 years ago)
14	1 (3.3%)	Monobe	1	1994 (21 years ago)
15	1 (3.3%)	Ex-Tsuge	1	No Response
	<b>30 (100 %)</b>			

Table A1-2: I-turners' Place of birth

Birth plc (Pref.)	Cities/Town/ Ward	F	C.F	(%)
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1	Kyoto	Maizuru city(2), Yosano town (1), Fukuchiyama (1),	Kyoto city (5), Fushimi ward (1), Kamioka (1)	Uji city (1),	12	12	25.5
2	Hyogo	Itami (2) , Kobe city (1), Nishiwaki (1)			4	16	8.5
3	Osaka	Osaka city (3) , Mihara (1), Neyagawa(1) ,	Ibaraki city(2) , Izumi (1), Katano (1)	Higashi Osaka (1), Toyonaka (1)	11	27	23.4
4	Mie	Iga city (1)			1	28	2.1
5	Nara	Nara city (2), Tawaramoto town (1), Yamato-Koriyama city (1)			4	32	8.5
6	Shizuoka	Shizuoka city			1	33	2.1
7	Ishikawa	Kanazawa			1	34	2.1
8	Aichi	Tokoname (1) , Nishio (1)			2	36	4.3
9	Toyama	Koyabe city			1	37	2.1
10	Nagano	Iida city			1	38	2.1
11	Niigata	Tsubakuro city			1	39	2.1
12	Tokyo	Machida (1), Edogawa ward (1), Tokyo (1)			3	42	6.4
13	Chiba	Itchikawa city			1	43	2.1
14	Saitama	Saitama city			1	44	2.1
15	Kagawa	Takamatsu			1	45	2.1
16	Nagasaki	Minami Shimabara			1	46	2.1
17	Hokkaido	Hokkaido city			1	47	2.1
<b>Total</b>					47		100

**Table A1-3: Married Households' duration into marriage**

Time married by the 18 married households		Frequency of households	Range of duration into marriage (in years)	
Year married	Duration into marriage (in years)		Duration	Frequency
2015	Less than 1 year	1	0 – 5	4(22.2%)
2014	1	1		
2011	4	1		
2010	5	1		
2008	7	4 (22.2%)	7 – 14	8(44.4%)
2005	10	1		
2004	11	1		
2003	12	1		
2001	14	1		
1988	27	1	27 – 36	3(16.7%)
1984	31	1		



1979	36	1		
1975	40	1		
1972	43	1	40 – 45	3(16.7%)
1970	45	1		
Total		18		18 (100%)

Majority of the I-turners married household (22.2%) got married in the year 2008 (7 years ago). Cumulatively, 22.2% and 44.4% of them got married between 0 – 5 years ago and 7 – 14 years ago respectively. 16.7% of them got married between 27 – 36 years ago and the same number of them (16.7%) got married between 40 – 45 years ago.

**Table A1-4: The Last Place lived in by the I-turners**

Last place lived in by the I-turners before the move (By Prefectures)	Cities/Town /Ward		Frequency
<b>Tochigi</b>	(Not specified)		1(2.1%)
<b>Chiba</b>	Itchikawa City.....1,	(Other not specified)	2(4.3%)
<b>Tokyo Metropolitan Area</b>	Machida City .....2,	(Other not specified)	3(6.4%)
<b>Aichi (Chubu)</b>	Handa City.....1		1(2.1%)
<b>Mie</b>	Iga City		1(2.1%)
<b>Kyoto</b>	Kyoto City.....10 Maizuru City .....2 Hyoshi Town.... .....2	Yosano town .....1 Fukuchiyama.....1 Yawata City.....1 Kamioka City.....1	18(38.3%)
<b>Osaka</b>	Osaka City..... ..... 3 Toyonaka City..... ..... 2 Neyagawa City.....2	Izumi City.....1 Suita City.....1 Katano City.....1	10(21.3%)
<b>Nara</b>	Ikoma City.....2 Heguri Town.....2	Tawaramoto Town ...1 Sango town.....1	6(12.8%)
<b>Hyogo</b>	Amagasaki City.....2 Kobe City.....1	Nishiwaki City.....1 Ichijimo Town.....1	5(10.6%)
Total			47 (100%)

**Table A1-5: I-turners' Work Location**

<i>I-turners' answer to the question:</i>		
<i>A. Is your place of work same as this village/town where you live?</i>		
Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	34	72.3
No	8	17
No Response	5	10.6
Total	47	100.00

B. If no, where is your place of work? (Work Location of the 8 I-turners who said no)				
	Work Type	Work Location	Freq.	Lives in (Present Address)
1	Part time job	Miyazu City	1	Kamiurushibara (Maizuru)
2	Lecturer in cooking class	Nabari City, Mie Pref.	1	Ex-Tsukigase village (Nara City)
3	Part time job	Monobe (Ayabe)	1	Shigasato (Ayabe)
4	Government official	Osaka City	1	Ex-Tsukigase (Nara City)
5	Private business	Higashi Osaka	1	Ex-Tsuge (Nara City)
6	Company employee	Maizuru City	1	Saihoji, Kasa area (Maizuru)
7	Private business	Work place varies	2	Sagawa,(Nara),Shigasato (Ayabe)
		Total	8	

**Table A1-6: I-turners' desired job in the future**

A. Do you wish to change your present job in the future?		
Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	25.5
No	16	34
I don't know	16	34
No Response	3	6.4
Total	47	100
B. Which job would you rather go for in the future? Multiple Choice Responses		
Responses	F	(%)
A job in which my skill will advance year after year	20	42.6
A job of high income	10	21.3
A job in which I have a leeway to devise some ways on my own term	28	59.6
Easy work	3	6.4
A job I can allocate time freely (flexibility of time allocation)	30	63.8
A Job which a husband and wife can work together	7	14.9
A Job in which one can feel that he is really contributing to society	24	51.1
Creative job	28	59.6
Others	3	6.4

**Table A1-7: Household's Rank of Expenditure on items in the City and in the Village**

Household's expenditure on items in the city in the descending order (based on amount spent on each item)

	Items	No. of H/holds (for Item 1)	No. of H/h (for Item 2)	No. of H/h (for Item 3)
1	Food and drinks	10 (33.33%)	8(26.7%)	7(23.3%)

2	Clothes	x	2 (6.7%)	1 (3.3%)
3	Education	x	2 (6.7%)	1(3.3%)
4	Communication (phone bills, internet etc)	x	3(10%)	3 (10%)
5	Transportation (train ticket bus ticket and other public transportation)	x	3(10%)	1(3.3%)
6	Electricity and gas (For cooking, heating etc)	1 (3.3%)	2(6.7%)	6 (20%)
7	Expenses on private car	1(3.3%)	6 (20%)	1(3.3%)
8	Hobbies and recreation	2(6.7%)	x	4(13.3%)
9	Skill acquisition and self development expenses	x	x	1(3.3%)
10	Housing expenses (house rent, house cleaning etc)	12(40%)	3 (10%)	1(3.3%)
11	Payment of loan	3(10%)	x	2(6.7%)
12	Others: Life Insurance payment (Item 3)	x	x	1 (3.3%)
13	No Response	1 (3.3%)	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)
	<b>Total</b>	30 (100%)	30(100%)	30 (100%)

**Table A1-8:** Household's Expenditure on items in the Current time in the descending order (based on amount spent on each item)

	Items	No. of H/holds (for Item 1)	No. of H/h (for Item 2)	No. of H/h (for Item 3)
1	Food and drinks	11(36.7%)	6(20%)	2(6.7%)
2	Education	1(3.3%)	x	1(3.3%)
3	Communication (phone bills, internet etc)	1(3.3%)	3(10%)	3 (10%)
4	Transportation (train ticket bus ticket and other public transportation)	2(6.7%)		1(3.3%)
5	Electricity and gas (For cooking, heating etc)	x	5(16.7%)	6 (20%)
6	Water for domestic use (drinking and sewage)	x	1(3.3%)	1(3.3%)
7	Medical care	x	1(3.3%)	
8	Expenses on private car	5(16.7%)	3(10%)	7(23.3%)
9	Hobbies and recreation	1(3.3%)	2(6.7%)	
10	Housing expenses	3(10%)	5(16.7%)	4(13.3%)
11	Payment of loan	1(3.33%)	x	
12	Others: Payment of dues to neighbourhood association (Item 1), Miscellaneous expenses (Item 3)	1(3.3%)	x	1(3.3%)
13	No Response	4(13.3%)	4(13.3%)	4(13.3%)

<b>Total</b>	30 (100%)	30(100%)	30 (100%)
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**Table A1-9: Households’ perception of cost of living in both areas (city and the village)**

Responses of the households to the question “Do you think you spent more in your former place (city) of residence compared to now that you are in this village/town?”

	A. Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Yes, definitely	18	60
2	Not at all	5	16.7
3	Not sure	6	20
4	No Response	1	3.3
	Total	30	100.00
“If yes, can you state the possible reasons?” (Multiple Choice Responses)			
	B. Reasons ( for the 18 Households who responded Yes, definitely)		
		Freq.	(%)
1	Things are more expensive in the city	9	50
2	I can produce foods by myself	9	50
3	There were things I needed while in the city so I had to buy them, but I don’t need them now in the country side	9	50
4	I discontinued wasteful life style which characterizes urban life	12	66.7
5	House rent is lower in the village	2	11.1
6	Others: I receive various things for free from neighbours in the village.	1	5.6

Percentage is calculated based on the 18 households who said yes (x/18 of 100).

**Table A1-10: Households’ prepared amount of money for moving**

	Amount Prepared (in 1000 Yen)	Freq.	Cum. Freq.	(%)	Group (in 1000Yen)	F	CF	(%)
1	0	8	8	26.67	0 – 100	10	10	33.3
2	100	2	10	6.67				
3	300	4	14	13.33	300 – 550	6	16	20
4	400	1	15	3.33				
5	550	1	16	3.33				
6	1000	1	17	3.33	1000 – 2000	5	21	16.7
7	2000	4	21	13.33				
8	3000	2	23	6.67	3000 -5000	3	24	10
9	5000	1	24	3.33				
10	13,000	1	25	3.33	13,000 – 15,000	4	28	13.3
11	14,000	1	26	3.33				
12	15,000	2	28	6.67				
13	25,000	1	29	3.33	25,000 - 50,000	2	30	6.7
14	50,000	1	30	3.33				

<b>Total</b>	129,350	30	100	30	100
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**Table A1-11: The use of prepared amount for moving by the households**

	Use of Prepared Amount	Freq.	(%)
A.	<u>Agricultural Related Expenses</u>	(20)	(90.9)
1.	Purchase of agricultural machine	6	27.3
2.	Purchase of other agricultural inputs	4	18.2
3.	Purchased a small truck (lorry) for farming	8	36.4
4.	Purchase of farm land	2	9.1
B.	<u>Housing Related Expenses</u>	(22)	(100)
1.	Purchase of land for housing	3	13.64
2.	Built a new house	3	13.6
3.	Purchased an existing house	4	18.2
4.	Deposit money for renting house	1	4.6
5.	Renovation of house	11	50
C.	<u>Car Related Expenses</u>	(9)	(40.9)
1.	Purchased a car	7	31.8
2.	Reparation of car	1	4.6
3.	Made a parking lot	1	4.6
D.	Others (Miscellaneous Expenses)	5	22.7

*Multiple Choice Responses*

**Table A1-12: Crops produced by the households for self consumption and sales**

Household's Response to the Question "Do you produce crops and/or do you rear livestock?"

A. Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)	
<b>B.</b>			
<b>Yes</b>	18	60	
<b>No</b>	12	40	
<b>Total</b>	30	100	
<i>"If yes, please specify your main produces, and circle the items for sale".</i>			
<b>No. of households Producing certain crops ,for self consumption and for sales</b> <i>(Open ended question and multiple responses)</i>			
<b>C. Produce</b>	<i>Self Consumption</i> (No. of households)	<i>Commercial Purpose</i> (Sales) (No. of households)	<i>Aggregate</i>
<b>1</b> Vegetables	12(66.7%)	2(11.1%)	14(77.8%)
<b>2</b> Rice	8(44.4%)	5(27.8%)	13(72.2%)
<b>3</b> Tea	2(11.1%)	None (0)	2 (11.1%)
<b>4</b> Soybean	3(16.7%)	3(16.7%)	6(33.3%)

5	Wheat	1(5.6%)	1(5.6%)	2(11.1%)
6	Bean	3(16.7%)	2(11.1%)	5(27.8%)
7	Tubers	3(16.7%)	1(5.6%)	4(22.2%)
8	Others (Indigo)	1(5.6%)	None	1(5.6%)

**Table A1-13: Tans of Paddy Field and Upland Field owned by the Households**

Household Number	Tan of Paddy Field(1)	Tan of Upland Field(2)	Range of Paddy Field(1)	Freq. of H/hold(1)	Range of Upland Field(2)	Freq. of H/hold(2)
<b>Household 1</b>	1	0.5	0	2(11.1%)	x	No H/h
„ 2	2	0.1	0.2 – 0.7	3(16.7%)	0.1 – 0.8	7(38.9%)
„ 3	6	30				
„ 4	0	0.4				
„ 5	0	3	1 – 2	6(33.3%)	1 – 4	7(38.9%)
„ 6	0.2	3				
„ 7	0.4	0.8				
„ 8	0.7	0.6	4 – 6.5	3(16.7%)	x	No H/h
„ 9	30	4				
„ 10	1	2				
„ 11	1	0.2	20 - 30	2(11.1%)	20 - 30	2(11.1%)
„ 12	6.5	2				
„ 13	4	2				
„ 14	1	0.5	No Resp.	2(11.1%)	No Resp.	2(11.1%)
„ 15	2	2				
„ 16	20	20				
<b>Total</b>	75.8	71.1	Total	18 (100%)		18 (100%)
<b>H/hold 17</b>	No Response	No Response				
<b>H/hold 18</b>	(NR)	- (NR)				

**Table A1-14: I-turners responses to the question; “Are you currently involved in any form of agriculture?”**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	32	68.1
No	15	31.9
<b>Total</b>	47	100.00
<b><u>I-turners responses to the question; “If No, would you likely be involved in any agricultural activity in the future?”</u></b>		
<b>Responses of the 15(31.91%) I-turners</b>		
	F	(%)
Yes	2	13.3
No	2	13.3

Not sure	11	73.3
<b>Total</b>	15	100
<b>I-turners responses to the question; “If yes, how are you involved in agriculture?”</b>		
<b>Agricultural involvement of the 32(68.09%) I-turners</b>	F	(%)
Full time/Professional farmer	8	25
Part time farmers	3	9.4
Assisting and working in other people’s farm	7	21.9
Subsistence Agriculture (for self consumption purposes)	3	9.4
Paddy Rice field and Upland field (for growing vegetables)	9	28.1
Others	2	6.3
<b>Total</b>	32	100

**Table A1-15: Names of Group belonged by the Respondents**

Respondents	Group Name	Benefit(s)
Resp.1	(i) JA Kasa Branch (ii) Okatanaka Village Revitalization Committee Member	(i) Ability to interact with local people and exchange information (ii) Knowledge of the challenges facing the village
Resp.2	(i) <b>Executive Committee Member for Fireworks</b> (ii) Musical Group Member	
Resp.3	(i) Gate ball Cycles for Elders (ii) Conversational Group with non Family Members	
Resp.4	(i) Group to preserve <i>Shishi mai</i> (lion dance) and other traditional dance (ii) Badminton Sporting Club	(i) Connection with other villagers and learning of new dancing skills (ii) Health benefit
Resp.5	(i) Group to preserve Japanese drumming art (ii) <b>Group targeted to learn about construction and reparation by utilizing abandoned timbers from forest thinning activities</b> (iii) ‘Little Heart Project’ aimed at direct distribution of organic vegetables to home	(ii) Learnt carpentry skills
Resp.6	(i) <b>Nationwide Network for Carpenters who utilize domestic timbers</b> (ii) A local network for promoting young I-turners to settle in the village ( <b>Kodakara.net</b> ) (iii) <b>Neighbourhood Association</b>	

	(iv) Village Fire Brigade	
Resp.7	(i)Eastern Mountain Network  (ii) <b>Tsukigase Mirai</b>	(i)Exchanging information on Eastern mountainous area of Nara (Yamato highland area) (ii)Running a 'Share house' for I-turners and making charcoal
Resp.8	(i)Tsukigase Chorus  (ii) <b>JA (Female Group)</b>	(i)Got to know many friends, enjoy singing (ii) Got to know many people
Resp.9	(i) <b>Tsukigase Mirai</b>  (ii) <b>Study Group</b>  (iii) Furusato Juku ( <b>Study group about the village</b> )	(i)Gets encouragement from young people (ii)Gets various kind of information and enlightenment (iii) Ability to study about the village)
Resp.10	(i) <b>Kodakara.net</b> (ii) <b>Executive Committee Member for Fireworks Festival</b> in Shigasato (iii)Committee Member for Shigasato Bear Party (iv) Playing flute at village festivals	(i)Promotes I-turners to settle in the village (ii)Interacts with local people and sell soba at the festival (iii) Connects with local people (iv) Makes friends and gets knowledge about the tradition of the village
Resp. 11	(i)Citizen's Radiation Measurement (ii)Centre, Northern Kyoto Gospel Choir Group	(i)Ability to check safety of food (ii)Enjoys singing with friends
Resp.12	(i) <b>Okatanaka Village Revitalization Committee</b> (ii) <b>Saihoji Neighbourhood Association</b> (iii) <b>Fire Protection Group</b> of Okatanaka	
Resp. 13	(i)Association of Recitation of folklore (ii) <b>Totsukawa Kodou Society (Drum Group)</b>	Gets knowledge, connections and sometimes jobs through these activities
Resp. 14	<b>Local Drum Group (Taiko)</b>	Communicates with local friends and share the culture learnt with the outside world
Resp. 15	Consumer Co-operatives	
Resp. 16	Ayabe Cocoon (Silk worm ) Craft Group	
Resp. 17	<b>Taiko</b>	Exciting, gets inspiration from it and enjoys it
Resp. 18	<b>Tsukigase Mirai</b>	
Resp. 19	<b>Tsukigase Mirai</b>	Makes more friends and gets information about the local area
Resp. 20	Parents and Teachers Association of Primary School	



Resp. 21	<b>Fire Fighting Group</b>	Gets knowledge about rural area
Resp. 22	<b>Village Female Group</b>	Supports village events and communicates with local people, Gets information about the village
Resp. 23	<b>Tsukigase Mirai</b>	Knowledge of attracting people to the area
Resp. 24	<b>Tsukigase Mirai</b>	

**Table A1-16: Position Occupied by the Respondents in the Rural Community**

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Leader of village sub group (as a treasurer) (3 respondents)</li> <li>2. (i) Leader/Deputy Chairman of Neighbourhood Association (a rotational position) (2 respondents) (ii) Religious group leader for village shrine</li> <li>3. A leader/Staff of female section of JA (3 respondents)</li> <li>4. (i) Leader of a sub group of Neighbourhood Association (6 respondents) (ii) Representative of land improvement district (iii) A staff in charge of farm land and water (iv) Member of Local Water Users Association</li> <li>5. Liaison officer of female section</li> <li>6. P.T.A of Nursery School (President)</li> </ol>
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## Appendix 2: Detailed Information of Key Informants and Villages

**Table A2-1: Basic Information of Key Informants from Ayabe**

		Names of Key Informants from Ayabe		
	Basic Information	<b>Yuka Tachikawa</b> (Monobe)	<b>Masatoshi Kusakari</b> (Shigasato)	<b>Kenichi Ajiki</b> (Shigasato)
1	Age	32	35	43
2	Gender	Female	Male	Male
3	Educational level	High School	University graduate	Graduate of Vocational School
4	Marital status	Single	Married	Married
5	No. of family members	1	4	3
6	Family composition	She Lives alone	He lives with his wife and 2 daughters (2 and 4 years old)	He lives with his wife and his son (13 years old)
7	Birth place	Urban area of <b>Setagaya (Tokyo)</b>	Sub urban area of <b>Sendai city ( Miyagi )</b>	Sub urban area of <b>Kobe city ( Hyogo )</b>
8	Present address	Monobe (Ayabe)	Nishikata ,Shigasato village ,(Ayabe)	Nishikata ,Shigasato village ,(Ayabe)

9	Year of migration	2014 (1 year ago)	2012 (3 years ago)	2009 (6 years ago)
10	Current job	Works with NPO	Artiste, teacher	Runs a soba restaurant
11	Income source	NPO	Income from teaching architecture	Income from soba restaurant

**Table A2-2: The Key Informants Migration History and Reason**

Migration History/Reason	Miss Tachikawa	Mr. Kusakari	Mr. Ajiki
1 Places ever lived in (Prefectures in red)	Setagaya Ward (Tokyo), Saitama, Kyoto city (Kyoto), Monobe village (Kyoto)	Sendai city (Miyagi) Ichikawa city (Chiba) Shigasato village (Kyoto)	Kobe city (Hyogo) Funabashi city (Chiba) Osaka city (Osaka) Takefu city (Fukui) Nishikata village (Kyoto)
2 Why the desire to live in rural area in the first place?	1.She had interest in agriculture  2.She loves rich natural environment  3.She loves mountainous area and love mountain climbing	1. He discovered people of his age are living in the rural areas and they are surviving.  2. Health related reason(He was worried about the effect of radiation)	1. He was exhausted with urban life. He suffered mental stress in the urban area 2.He wanted to be involved in self made food 3.He wanted to be engaged in a manual making of goods (monozukuri) 4.He discovered and developed interest in ‘half –agric, half-ex’
3 Knowledge of current village of residence	1. She learnt about the area through an agricultural seminar  2. She learnt more about the village through an NPO member (I-turner) living in the village.	1. Through a friend, a maker of Japanese traditional paper called “kurodani washi”. He met this friend at an event in Tokyo in 2011 tagged “Earth day”	1. He met Mr. Shiomi in 2008,(the author of half agric, half ex) a key and influential person in the village  2. Through the NPO of Satoyama in Ayabe
4 Reason for choosing the current village of residence	1.The village is rich in nature and she loves the landscape 2.She found a job in the village 3.She already has friends (I-turners) in the village 4. She came as a patroness of WWOOF.	(1)The traditional paper maker friend suggested he comes to the village (2)He found an attractive empty house (akiya)through Mr. Inoue, a key person in the area and the organiser of “Kodakara net”	1.He found Shigasato a suitable place to accomplish his unquenchable passion of running a soba restaurant  2.He found it an attractive place to raise his son who is also crazily in love with its rich natural environment

**Table A2-3: Information about the Villages (Monobe and Shigasato)**

		Name of Villages/Key Informants		
	Information about the village	<b>Monobe mura</b> (Miss. Tachikawa)	<b>Shigasato mura</b> (Mr. Kusakari)	<b>Shigasato mura</b> (Mr. Ajiki)
1	Village population	Monobe is relatively big. It has 13 districts	Shigasato has about 1,300 people.	Shigasato has a population of about 1,300 people and Nishikata(a sub unit) has about 100 households
2	The attraction that the village holds	1.It is very close to the city 2. Shopping is easy because it is a commercial area and a lot of people own a shop 3. Easy access to hospital 4. The village has a primary school. 5. The village organizes a lot of festival open to all (local residents and I-turners alike.	(1)Shigasato mura gives a rich feeling of happiness and satisfaction due to its richness in nature. (2) The village is a close society. The relationship among the villagers is very tight.	Shigasato is a convenient environment for child care 2. The atmosphere of the village teaches what human relation and natural environment is all about. 3. The residents of the village are active, talented, interesting and optimistic. It is a village that should be made as a model for others.
3	Village works (murayou)	1.Clearing of irrigative canal 2.Maintenance of community shrines 3.Maintenance of community roads 4.Collection of garbage 5. Removal of snow during the winter 6.Caution for fire using a striking stick		1.Irrigation and drainage maintenance 2.setting electricity boundary for protection against wild animals 3.cleaning of village shrine and small public halls
4	Village activities(festivals)	<i>Nabe</i> (the act of eating together in a large hot pot) 2.Barbeque party 3. <i>Kairaban</i> (News dissemination)	1.Fire work festival/party 2.Matsuri festival	1. <i>shishi mai</i> (Lion dance), 2.flute playing 3.Music concert 4.Fire work festival 5.Beer garden 6. <i>Kairaban</i> (News dissemination)

5	Village meetings, groups and associations	1.Tako (drum group) 2.Singing group 3.Women association 4.Fire protection voluntary group 5.Parents Teachers Association 6.Jichikai	1.Kumi meeting 2.Fire protection group 3.Small core facility group 4.Village meetings 5.No-zei (observed in Shigasato mura)	1. Kodakara net 2. No more 'no-zei' in Nishikata
6	General challenge of the village	Village work (murayou) is left alone for the older generation (more than 50 years of age) The younger generation (less than 40) are not interested in village work, collective action and village festivals since they are busy with their work.	The cost of using Shigasato's gymnasium is high and so not in frequent use, people would rather visit the gym at the centre of the city.	1.Dependence 2.Declining number of children 3.Difficulty in maintaining the size of class in a primary school
7	Facilities/Amenities needed in the village	Adequate channel to disseminate information about the village to the outside community	(1)A mini culture centre, a forum to learn various events and cultural activities. In this forum the elders can teach the younger generation. (2)A forum for discussion between the I-turners and the indigenous people	1. A coffee shop 2. Small guest house

**Table A2-4: Information about I-turners in the village**

		Names of Villages/Key Informants		
	Information about I-turners in the village	<b>Monobe mura</b> (Miss Tachikawa)	<b>Shigasato mura</b> (Mr. Kusakari)	<b>Shigasato mura</b> (Mr.Ajiki)
1	I-turners population	There are about six households of I-turners in Monobe	Nishikata (in Shigasato) has about 5 households of I-turners (all married).One household has no child and one I-turner is from U.S.A	Shigasato has about 80 I-tuners for about ten years now (counted through Kodakara net only) and about 6 households of I-turners in Nishikata
2	General Challenges of I-turners	The community tie between I-turners and the villagers is not too strong	Most I-turners do not understand the priority attached to each <i>murayou</i> by the villagers and so they are confused as to which work	1.I-turners are striving to impact the village but are greatly hindered by difference in thinking

			to be involved in, they don't have the time to participate in all the work.	between them and the local residents 2. Decision making is done by the old people in the village.
--	--	--	---	--

**Table A2-5: Key informants (as I-turners) personal experience of Rural Life and personal contribution and initiatives to the Village**

		Names of Key Informants		
	Personal experience of rural life	Yuka Tachikawa (Monobe)	Masatoshi Kusakari (Shigasato)	Kenichi Ajiki (Shigasato)
1	Cost of living In the village	Cost of living is relatively low because; (1)She produces her own food (tomatoes, egg plant, green pepper etc) (2)She receives vegetables free from her neighbours and other NPO staff	Expenditure generally came down because; (1)There is a decrease in house rent (2)He produces his own food (3)Neighbours share vegetables and food with him.	Generally the same as urban area or slightly lower because he produces his own food.
2	Gains of living in this village	(1)There is a reduction in mental stress (2)As income decreases, expenditure decreases too because of cordial relationship with neighbours (3)Her feeling of happiness is on the increase	(1)He can enjoy self sufficiency in staple food (2)His health status has improved positively compared to when he was in the urban area (3) He enjoys cordial relationship with neighbours (4) Neighbours are kind to his children, they care for them and offer them gift	His son is happy. He is also happy achieving his long time dream of running a soba restaurant
3.	Agriculture	She involves partly in agriculture. She owns a vegetable garden for self consumption.	(1)He owns 0.25 hectare of paddy field which he got for free. ( 2)He currently produces rice and	He owns 0.4 hectare of paddy field for rice farming, 0.1 for soybean and 0.1 for soba, making a total of 0.6 hectares. He owns

			vegetables for self consumption	a vegetable garden for self consumption.
3	Challenges	She has little or no information about the management of <i>Jichikai</i>	Nishikata people have the tendency inclined to individualism, as a result of this, he doesn't feel the closeness with the villagers.	Making profit through soba restaurant is quite challenging.
4	Personal contributions	1. She participates actively in village work and belongs to the village drum group. 2. She is involved in the activities of NPO.	He organizes a small group for playing badminton and table tennis	1. Participates actively in kumi meeting and other village activities. 2. Runs a soba restaurant as means of revitalizing the village 3. He volunteered to use his soba restaurant as a meeting place
5	Initiatives	1. She introduced the use of firewood stove for warming in winter 2. She suggested the village needs adequate channel to disseminate information about the village to the outside community	Mr. Kusakari proposes the idea of 'Mini Culture Centre'	He proposes having a coffee shop and supports the opening of a small guest house in the village

**Table A2-6: Key Informants from Maizuru (Saihoji Village) Basic Information**

		Names of Key Informants	
Basic Information		Naoki, FUSE	Tomoko, HASHIMOTO
1	Age	42	43
2	Gender	Male	Female
3	Educational level	High School	University graduate
4	Marital status	Married	Married
5	No. of family members	3	3
6	Family composition	Himself, wife and 10 months old daughter	Herself, husband and 3 years old son
7	Birth place	Ibaraki City, Osaka Prefecture.	Anjou city, Aichi Prefecture
8	Present address	Saihoji Daira(Okatanaka)	Saihoji

9	Year of migration	October, 2000 (15 years ago)	2012 (3 years ago)
10	Current job	Farming	Bridal flower arrangement
11	Income source	Income from farming	Income from bridal flower arrangement

**Table A2-7: Key Informants from Shimofukawa (In Ex-Tsuge Village)\_Basic Information**

		Names of Key Informants	
Basic Information		Ryosuke, KONDO	Yuka ,NOMURA
1	Age	30	45
2	Gender	Male	Female
3	Educational level	University graduate	College graduate (3 years)
4	Marital status	Married	Single
5	No. of family members	2	1
6	Family composition	He Lives with his wife, no child.	She lives alone
7	Birth place	Uji city, Kyoto Prefecture.	Takatsuki City, Osaka Prefecture
8	Present address	Shimofukawa, Ex-Tsuge mura	Shimofukawa, Ex-Tsuge mura
9	Year of migration	April,2014 (1 year ,6 months ago)	Temporary: 2014 Permanent: 2015
10	Current job	Pottery making	Tea farming
11	Income source	Income from pottery making	Income from tea farming

**Table A2-7: Key Informant from Harigabessho Area (A Unit in Ex-Tsuge Village)**

Name	Takeshi YOKOTA
Age	43
Gender	Male
Educational Level	University graduate
Marital Status	Married
No. of Family Membera	6
Family Composition	He lives with his wife, two children and wife's parents
Place of Birth	Urban area of Kobe city ( Hyogo )
Present Address	Harigabessho Area, Ex-Tsuge mura
Year of Migration	2012 (3 years ago)
Occupation	Agriculturist (farming)
Income Source	Income from farming

Appendix 3: Images from Village Festivals

i. Images of Festivals/Activities in Shigasato Village

Image 1



Image 2



Image 3

Image 4



Image 5

Image 6





Image 7



Image 8



Image 9



Image 10

Source: Mr. Kenichi Ajiki (*The Key Informant from Shigasato Mura*)

ii. Images from Yagura/ Taisai Festivals In Saihoji

Image 1

Image 2



Images 3 and 4



Image 5

Source: Mr. Naoki Fuse and Mrs. Tomoko Hashimoto, the Key Informants from Saihoji Daira

### ON A SPECIAL FESTIVAL IN EX-TSUGE: DAIMOKUTATE

(Observed only by the People of Kamifukawa Village, Tsuge )

In this festival, young men of Kami-fukawa community gather in Yahashira Shrine of Nara City in central Japan. These men stand in a semi-circle dressed in samurai clothes and carrying bows. They are called up one by one to the centre stage by an old man who reads the name of a character in the tales of the feud between the Genji and Heike clans. Each of these young men are expected to deliver his character's lines from memory, in a distinctive accent but without acting or musical accompaniment. When all twenty-six characters have spoken, the youths rhythmically stamp their feet and sing themselves offstage. Originally a rite of passage at the age of seventeen to mark the formal acceptance of the eldest son into the community of the twenty-two families of Kami-fukawa, the Daimokutate is now performed annually in mid-October by young men of various ages and from many different families. Indeed, since the twentieth century, the dispersion of the original twenty-two families has meant that other residents of Nara have led the effort to preserve the ceremony. Unique in Japan as a dramatic performance without acting or music, the Daimokutate is an important marker of identity and plays an indispensable role in maintaining solidarity in this mountainous town.

#### iii. Images from Daimokutate Festival



Source: [http:// www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00276](http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00276)

#### Appendix 4: Questionnaire for Participants of the Survey.

#### INSTRUCTION

Please tick [  ] in the appropriate spaces. You can tick more than one place in some questions. Questions are divided into two parts;

- (1) Those for the whole family
- (2) And those for individuals.

Not-married persons are requested to answer all the questions regardless of the above divide.

**I. QUESTIONS FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY**

**(Only one of the couples is requested to answer)**

1. What is your Family size (including you)?

1[ ] 2 [ ] 3[ ] 4[ ] 5[ ] 6 and above [ ]

2. How many children below 15 years old do you have living with you?

None [ ] 1[ ] 2 [ ] 3[ ] 4 and above [ ]

3. How many people above 65 years old do you have living with you?

None [ ] 1[ ] 2 [ ] 3[ ] 4 and above [ ]

4. Present place of residence (address).....

When did you move into that place? .....

5. Average annual income (of whole family) (Yen) in your current place of residence?

None [ ] 1 million and below [ ] 1 million- 2 million [ ]

2million- 3million [ ] 3- 4million [ ] 4- 5 million [ ]

5million- 6million [ ] 6million -7million[ ] 7 million- 8 million [ ]

8 million and above [ ]

6. What is/are your income source/s? (You can tick more than one option when it is applicable to you)

(1)Employment [ ] (2) farming [ ] (3) private business [ ] (4)pensions [ ] (5) remittances from children [ ] (6) others specify.....

7. Total savings (Yen) of your family which you came with to your current place of residence:

None [ ] 1 million and below [ ] 1 million- 2 million [ ]

2million- 3million [ ] 3- 4million [ ] 4- 5 million [ ]

5million- 6million [ ] 6million -7million[ ] 7 million- 8 million [ ]

8 million and above [ ]

8a.How much did you prepare for the moving? Approximately.....yen

8b.What did you do with your prepared money?

(1) Purchase of agricultural machine (2) Purchase of other agricultural inputs

- (3) Purchase of farm land (4) Deposit money for renting farmland
- (5) Purchase of livestock (6) Building barns/ livestock sheds
- (7) Purchase of land for housing (8) Deposit money for renting land for housing
- (9) Building a new house (10) Purchasing an existing house
- (11) Deposit money for renting house (12) Renovation of house
- (13) Purchasing a small truck (lorry) for farming (14) Purchasing a car
- (15) Others specify.....

9. What is your average monthly expenditure (in yen), in the current time?

- 100,000 and below [    ]      100,000- 150,000[    ]      150,000- 200,000 [    ]
- 200,000- 250,000 [    ]      250,000- 300,000 [    ]      300,000- 350,000 [    ] 350,000 -
- 400,000 [    ]      400,000 and above [    ]

10. List three items that make up your expenditure (in the descending order of amount spent) while in the city?

- (1) Food and drinks (2) Clothes (3) Education
- (4) Communication (phone bills, internet etc)
- (5) Transportation (train ticket bus ticket and other public transportation)
- (6) Electricity and gas (For cooking, heating etc)
- (7) Water for domestic use (drinking and sewage)
- (8) Medical care (9) Expenses on private car (10) Hobbies and recreation
- (11) Skill acquisition and self development expenses (cooking classes, guitar classes, buying of novels/books)
- (12) Housing expenses (house rent, house cleaning etc) (13) Payment of loan
- (14)Others,specify.....

11. List three items that make up your expenditure (in the descending order of amount spent) in your current residence?

- (1) Food and drinks (2) Clothes (3) Education
- (4) Communication (phone bills, internet etc)
- (5) Transportation (train ticket bus ticket and other public transportation)

(6) Electricity and gas (For cooking, heating etc)

(7) Water for domestic use (drinking and sewage)

(8) Medical care (9) Expenses on private car (10) Hobbies and recreation

(11) Skill acquisition and self development expenses (cooking classes, guitar classes, buying of novels/books)

(12) Housing expenses (house rent, house cleaning etc) (13) Payment of loan

(14)Others, specify.....

12a. Do you think you spent more in your former place (city) of residence compared to now that you are in this village/town?

Yes, definitely [ ] Not at all [ ] Not sure [ ]

12b. If yes, can you state the possible reasons? (You can tick more than one option when applicable)

- (i) Things are more expensive in the city
- (ii) I can produce foods by myself
- (iii) There were things I needed while in the city so I had to buy them, but I don't need them now in the country side
- (iv) I discontinued wasteful life style which characterizes urban life
- (v) I don't know
- (vi) Others specify.....

13. Do you live in your personal house in this community?

(1)Yes, I live in my own house [ ] (2) I live in a rented house [ ]

(3) Public apartment (village owned or government owned)

4) Private apartment (privately owned)

14. Do you attend village meetings in your village/town of residence?

(1) Attending every time [ ] (2) As much as possible [ ] (3) Occasionally [ ]  
(4)Never [ ]

15. Which rural development program/village work are you taking part?

	Attending every time	Attending as much as possible	Attending once in a while	Never attended
<b>(1) maintenance of irrigative canal</b>				
<b>(2) maintenance of community roads</b>				

(3) Maintenance of the community shrine and temples				
(4) Maintenance of local primary/secondary school				
(5) Maintenance of community hall				

(6) Others specify.....

16. Do you produce crops and/or do you rear livestock?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If yes, please specify your main produces, and circle the items for sale.

.....

17a. How did you acquire the land you are using for the agricultural activity? (Tick more than one option when applicable to you )

(i) I bought the land (ii) I rented the land (iii) No farm land (iv) It was given freely to me by a neighbour

Others specify.....

17b. How many *tans* of land do you use for the agricultural activity?

Paddy field: .....*tan* Upland field.....*tan*

18. What kind of agricultural method do you currently practice?

Organic agriculture [ ] Natural agriculture [ ] Inorganic (Non-organic) agriculture [ ] Both [ ]

## II. QUESTIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS

(Husband and wife are requested to answer separately. )

### A. Respondent's Characteristics

1. Gender: male [ ] Female [ ]

2. Age: 20 and below [ ] 21-30 [ ] 31-40 [ ] 41-50 [ ]  
51-60 [ ] 61-70 [ ] 71 and above [ ]

3. Marital Status: (1)Single [ ] (2)Married [ ]

When did you marry your current partner? .....

4. Educational Level: (1)Secondary School [ ] (2) High School [ ]

- (3) Junior College [    ]    (4) University [    ]  
 (5) Post Graduate [    ]    (6)Others specify....

5. Place of birth.....

B. Reasons of Migration

1a. Where is the last place you lived in before you moved to this village/town/?  
 .....

1b. What is the duration of stay in the last place lived in before you moved?

Less than 1 yr [    ]    1 - 3yrs [    ]    3- 5yrs [    ]    5yrs and above [    ]

2. Why did you choose to move from the city and settle in the rural area? (You can tick more than one option when it is applicable to you)

- (i) Preference to quiet and relaxed rural life [    ]
- (ii) Strong desire to raise my kids in the rural area /natural environment (Child care purposes) [    ]
- (iii) Tired of city life [    ] (iv) Low cost of living in the rural area [    ]
- (v) I found my current job in rural area [    ] (vi) I want to engage in agriculture [    ]
- (vii) I found my spouse in my current residence [    ] (viii) I want to be self employed [    ]
- (ix) The price of land is cheap [    ]
- (x) Others specify.....

3. Why did you choose to move into this particular village/town? (Tick more than one options when applicable to you)

- (i) Nearness to the city [    ] (ii) To be close to my relative and friends [    ]
- (iii) Its cultural values [    ] (iv) I love its natural environment [    ]
- (v) Nearness to my place of work [    ] (vi) Villagers who I met were very kind [    ]
- (vii) Other reason, please specify.....

4. How did you get to know this place (the rural community you are living in now)? (You can tick more than one option when it is applicable to you)

- (i) It is the origin of my parents/grandparents/ancestors [    ]
- (ii) It is the origin of my husband/wife [    ]
- (iii) My friends or relatives are living here [    ]
- (iv) Through Newspapers articles [    ]



- (v) Through television program [ ]
- (vi) Through the internet [ ]
- (vii) Magazines/books about advertising the area [ ]
- (viii) Oral communication/information from friends [ ]
- (ix) Self discovery through research (through touring around)[ ]
- (x) Through the administrative government [ ]
- (xi) Others specify.....

.....

5. How long have you (yourself) lived in this village/town (including the period before marriage)?

- Less than 1 year [ ] 1 - 3yrs [ ] 3- 5yrs [ ] 5-10yrs [ ] 10yrs and above [ ]

6a. Do you have plans of moving out of this village/town in the future?

- (1)Yes [ ] (2)No [ ] (3)Probably [ ] (4)Undecided [ ]

6b. If Yes, where do you want to move to? (i)Big city [ ] (ii.) Small city [ ] (iii)Another town [ ] (iv)Another village [ ] (v) Undecided [ ]

C. Respondent's employment history

1. Occupation in the previous place of residence

- (1)Company employee [ ] (2) Government official [ ] (3)Teaching [ ] (4) employed by semi-government institution [ ] (5) private business [ ] (6) Farming [ ] (7)Student [ ] (8) house wife [ ] (9)Part time job [ ] (10) No permanent job (11) Others (specify).....

2. Your current occupation (in the current time):

- (1)Company employee [ ] (2) Government official [ ] (3)Teaching [ ] (4) employed by semi-government institution [ ] (5) private business [ ] (6) Farming [ ] (7)Student [ ] (8) house wife [ ] (9)Part time job [ ] (10) No permanent job (11) Others (specify).....

3. Is your place of work same as this village/town where you live? Yes [ ] No [ ]

If No, where is your place of work? .....

4. Do you wish to change your present job in the future? Yes [ ] No [ ]

I don't know [ ]

5. If yes, which job would you rather go for? (tick more than one option when applicable to you) (1)A job in which my skill will advance year after year [ ]

(2)A job of high income [ ] (3) A job in which I have a leeway to devise some ways on my own term [ ] (4) Easy work [ ] (5) A job I can allocate time freely (flexibility of

time allocation) [ ] (6)A Job which a husband and wife can work together [ ] (7)A Job in which one can feel that he is really contributing to society[ ] (8)Creative job[ ]

(9)Others specify.....

6. Are you from a farm household? Yes [ ] No [ ]

7a. Are you currently involved in any form of agriculture? Yes [ ] No [ ]

7b. If yes, how are you in involved in agriculture?

.....

7c. If No, would you likely be involved in any agricultural activity in the future?

(1)Yes [ ] (2)No [ ] (3)Not sure

#### E. Respondent's Income information

1. Average annual income of yourself (Yen) in your current place of residence?

None [ ] 1 million and below [ ] 1 million- 2 million [ ]

2million- 3million [ ] 3- 4million [ ] 4- 5 million [ ]

5million- 6million [ ] 6million -7million[ ] 7 million- 8 million [ ]

8 million and above [ ]

2. By what percentage have your current income (now in the rural area) changed from your past income (while in the city)?

(1) No change (2) Less than 10% increase [ ] (3) 10-30% increase [ ]

(4) 30-50% increase [ ] (5) More than 50% increase [ ]

(6) Less than 10% decrease [ ] (7) 10-30% decrease [ ]

(8) 30-50% decrease [ ] (9) More than 50% decrease [ ]

#### F. Respondent's Savings and Expenditure information

1. Do you currently save from your monthly income (if you receive any)?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Sometimes [ ]

2. What is your average annual saving (in yen)?

None [ ] 100,000 and below [ ] 100,000- 300,000[ ] 300,000- 500,000  
 [ ] 500,000- 700,000 [ ] 700000- 1,000,000 [ ] 1,000,000 and above  
 [ ]

3. What are your motivations (reasons) for saving? (you can tick more than one option when applicable to you)

- (i) Precautionary purposes (saving for the rainy day)
- (ii) For maintenance purposes (to use to maintain existing properties/assets)
- (iii) To channel the money saved to gainful investment
- (iv)To smoothen consumption after retirement (To use take care of oneself after retirement)
- (v)I don't know any reason, I just like to save
- (vi)Others specify please.....

4. What can you say about your saving rate since you moved into this village/town?

- (1)There is an increase [ ] (2)there is a decrease [ ] (3) it is constant (no change)  
 [ ] (4) I don't save [ ] (5)Not sure [ ]

5. What do you think about the cost of living in the rural area compared to the city?

- (1)Very cheap [ ] (2) slightly cheap [ ] (3)I cannot tell [ ] (4)slightly expensive  
 [ ] (5) very expensive [ ]

G. Social Capital

1. Do you belong to any social group(s) in this village/town?Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. If yes to question 1, Can you list the name(s) of the group(s)? Also indicate what you can gain from the group (such as friends, information, etc.).

- (1).....
- (2).....
- (3).....
- (4).....
- (5).....

3a.Did you belong to any social group(s) while in the city?Yes [ ] No [ ]

3b.If yes, what is/are the name(s) of the group(s)?  
 .....

4. How many close friends do you have in your neighbourhood? (These are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or call on for help)

	Number	None
(1) Friends you feel at ease with	( )	( )
(2) Friends with which you can discuss private matters	( )	( )
(3) Friends who can lend you money as much as 100,000 Yen	( )	( )
(4) Friends you can call on for help in times of emergency	( )	( )

5a. Do you feel that you are helped by the villagers in one way or the other?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I cannot tell [ ]

5b. If yes, please specify the way you receive help from villagers

.....  
 .....

6a. Would you say you have a closer relationship with people in your neighbourhood now (in the village) compared to when you were in the city?

Yes, definitely [ ] Not at all [ ] Not sure [ ]

6b. If yes, what could possibly be the reason? (You can tick more than one option)

- (i) People in the country side are kind
- (ii) Villagers are more willing to co-operate with other people
- (iii) It is easy to know one another in a small village
- (iv) To avoid unnecessary conflict
- (v) People in the country side are willing to spend time with neighbours
- (vi) Others specify.....

7. Are you careful in your relationship with people in this village?

Yes [ ] No [ ] I cannot tell [ ]

8. Have you ever assumed any official position in this rural community?

Yes [ ] No [ ] If yes, please specify the position occupied.....

### H. Rural Life

1. Do you enjoy rural life? (1) Yes, very much [ ] (2) A little [ ] (3) I cannot tell [ ] (4) Not so much [ ] (5) Not at all

2. What do you gain from living in this village/town that you don't think you would have gotten if you had lived in the city? (You can tick more than one option when applicable to you)

- (i) I have been enjoying quiet and tranquil life [    ]
- (ii) Rich natural environment
- (iii) A relaxed life style [    ]
- (iv) Close relationship/co-operation with neighbours [    ]
- (v) My children growing with less pressure [    ]
- (vi) Reduction in complaints from neighbours as regards to personal freedom and noise [    ]
- (vii) Unlimited freedom to keep pets of my choice [    ]
- (viii) I feel very safe [    ]
- (ix) Opportunity to be heard in community meetings [    ]
- (x) Others, specify.....

3. What challenges do you face living in this village/town? (You can tick more than one option when it is applicable to you)

- (i) Life has been difficult and inconvenient [    ]
- (ii) The village life is dull due to lack of entertainment facilities and other recreational activities [    ]
- (iii) Increase in commitment to rural customs and social obligations [    ]
- (iv) old residents are resistant to new residents (not open to outsiders)
- (v) Embarrassed with strange customs and tradition in the rural area
- (vi) I have no challenges living here
- (vii) Others specify.....

4a. Do you think you have more free time now in the country side compared to when you were in the city?

- (1) Yes, very much free time [    ] (2) A little increase in free time [    ]
- (3) I cannot tell [    ] (4) A little decrease in free time [    ] (5) Very much decrease in free time [    ]

4b. If there is an increase in free time, how do you use your free time? (

.....

5. Which activity/activities carried out in your town/village interest you the most?.....

6a. Are you actively involved in any rural development activities/remittances or village works in your village/town of residence? Yes [    ] No [    ]

6b. If yes, please list the activity/activities you are involved in.

.....

6c. If no, would you like to join any rural development activity? Yes [    ] No [    ]

7. If a community project does not directly benefit you but has benefits for many others in the village/neighbourhood, would you contribute time or money to the project?

Yes, I will contribute time and money [    ]  
 No, I will not contribute time and money [    ]  
 Don't know [    ]

8. Is there any difference(s) in the way of thinking between the new and old residents in this community?

1. Yes, big difference [    ] 2. A small difference [    ] 3. I cannot tell [    ]  
 4. Not so much difference 5. Almost the same

9. Please, tick your two main sources of information about what is going on in your environment/rural community.

1. Friends [    ] 2. Neighbours [    ]  
 3. Portable neighbourhood notice board [    ] 4. Community bulletin board [    ]  
 5. News letter from the local government [    ] 6. Farmers' market [    ]  
 7. Community or local newspapers [    ] 8. Association or groups I belong to [    ]  
 9. Community leaders 10. Internet 11. Social network services (e.g facebook, etc)

*I.        Direction of Rural Development*

1. List the three most important goals you expect a rural development program in this community to have or achieve.

(1) Promoting agricultural and forestry industries

(2) Promoting manufacturing industries

(3) Inviting companies/factories in the rural area

(4) To develop the sightseeing places to attract more tourist [    ]

(5) Development of special products in the region

(6) Creation of market for special products

(7) To improve the living standard of the rural resident [    ]

(8) Improvement of infrastructures for daily living

(9) No development plan is needed [    ]

(10) I don't know

(11) Others specify.....

2. Mention the differences between urban life and rural life and how they worry you?

(Tick one option for each)

Differences	Options				
	Very worried	Worried	Little worried	Not worried	Not sure
1. Primary education of my children	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Secondary education of my children	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

3. High school education of my children	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. University education of my children	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Primary health care	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Access to advanced medical care					
7. Available resources/facilities for caring for the elderly	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

3 .What kind of facilities/amenities/items do you think you need in your current residence?(you can tick more than one option when applicable to you)

- (i) More job opportunities (ii) Movie theatre (iii) Library (iv) Art Museum (v)Shopping centre (vi) Cafe (vii)Concert hall (viii)University (ix) Sport facilities (x)General hospitals (xi) Public transportation (xii)High way Renewable energy (xiii)Associations for recreational activities Gathering place for the youth

Others specify.....

4. Do you think the villagers need to get together to jointly petition government officials or political leaders for something benefiting the community?

1. Yes, I think so [ ] 2. Not so much [ ] 3. Never [ ] 4. I cannot tell [ ]