

日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究(第4巻)

吉田 純・田野大輔(編)

国際比較からみる 若者のアイデンティティと 社会参加



若者の「趣味(Hobby)」に
対する認識の日独比較

歌川光一 Koichi Utagawa

聖路加国際大学大学院 看護学研究科 准教授



「障害のある性的少数者」の
若者がいかに社会運動に
参加しているか
— 日本とドイツにおける
LGBT運動の比較から

欧陽珊珊 Shanshan Ouyang

立命館大学大学院 先端総合学術研究科
一貫制博士課程



青少年の自発的な
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比較分析

マルテ・シェーネフェルト
Malte Schönefeld

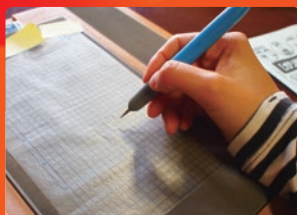
ヴンバータール大学 公共安全・危機管理研究所
嘱託研究員兼博士課程



ヴィーガン — 我々はできます!
ドイツと日本の若者の
ヴィーガンライフスタイルの選択

アンナ・シュラーデ Anna Schrade

元関西学院大学 准教授



日本とドイツにおける
リソグラフ文化の現在

山口遥子 Yoko Yamaguchi

独立行政法人日本学術振興会 特別研究員 (PD)
早稲田大学・成城大学 非常勤講師

はじめに

ヤンマー株式会社を母体に2016年11月に設立された山岡記念財団は、ヤンマー創業者・山岡孫吉の日独文化交流への熱い思いを継承し、日独をはじめ日欧の幅広い文化交流を推進することを目的として、様々な活動を展開している。その一環として、当財団は次世代の日独文化交流に貢献する人材を育成することを目的に、2016年度から毎年1回、日独の若者文化・ライフスタイルをテーマにした若手研究者によるシンポジウムを開催してきた。2018年度からは、当財団の研究助成を受けた若手研究者の成果発表の場を兼ねている。また、2022年度より日独から日欧へと範囲を広げ、幅広く研究助成の募集を行っている。

この『日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究』第4巻は、2024年3月13日にゲーテ・インスティトゥート・ヴィラ鴨川でオンラインを兼ねたハイブリッドで開催した当財団主催の第8回若者文化シンポジウム「国際比較からみる若者のアイデンティティと社会参加」に登壇した5名の研究者による研究報告をまとめたものである。

近年急速に進むグローバル化・情報化により、日本と欧州（ドイツ語圏）の若者文化とライフスタイルはどのように変化しているのか、また両国の文化交流に関して、今後いかなる展開が期待されるのか。読者の皆様には、ぜひ若手研究者たちの自由な創意に満ちた研究成果を読み取っていただき、日欧若者文化・ライフスタイル研究への理解を深めていただければ幸いである。

一般財団法人山岡記念財団

若者の「趣味(Hobby)」に対する認識の日独比較

歌川 光一

聖路加国際大学大学院 看護学研究科 准教授

(共同研究者：Josecar Paja Jr, 株式会社ベネッセビースタジオ)

Comparison of Japanese and German perceptions of young people's 'hobbies'

Koichi Utagawa

Associate Professor, St. Luke's International University Graduate School of Nursing

(Co- researcher: Josecar Paja Jr, Benesse Be Studio inc)

Abstract

It is a common understanding within leisure studies research that 'hobby' is a subcategory of 'leisure' but the kind of leisure occupations are actually 'hobby-like' differs by country, generation, and gender. It is not difficult to imagine that there is a big difference. Similar issues apply to young people in Japan and Germany, and this study conducted a preliminary investigation into their perceptions of 'hobbies.' The interviews revealed that in both Japan and Germany, the term 'hobby' itself is mostly used in formal situations, such as when introducing oneself to someone you are meeting for the first time. On the other hand, there were some differences between young people in Japan and Germany regarding what kind of leisure occupations are considered to be 'hobbies.' Future research should also take into account the following points: It is not easy to categorize solely leisure occupations as 'hobbies,' and when people answer 'hobbies,' they are not only concerned about their own social class, but also emphasize deepening relationships with others.

1. Introduction

In leisure studies, the search for a definition of 'hobby' as a subordinate category of 'leisure' continues. The definition of a 'hobby' is an important issue that affects research fields and policies in areas such as Lifelong learning and welfare, especially when one finds meaning in life and well-being.

According to Gelber's prototypical definition, "A hobby involves voluntarily working alone at home with a few relatively simple tools to make an object(which in the case of collectors in the collection itself)that has economic value"(Gelber1999:29). However, this definition assumes that collecting and handicrafts are prototypical hobbies. Daily (2018) demonstrated that in the United States, four of the five elements defined by Gelber (1999) actually influence the perception of leisure activities as 'hobbies'. In addition to confirming the validity of Gelber's prototypical definition of hobbies, there is also a need to focus on the boundaries between hobbies and other leisure occupations (Daily 2018:375). The Figure below is a simplified illustration of his analysis.

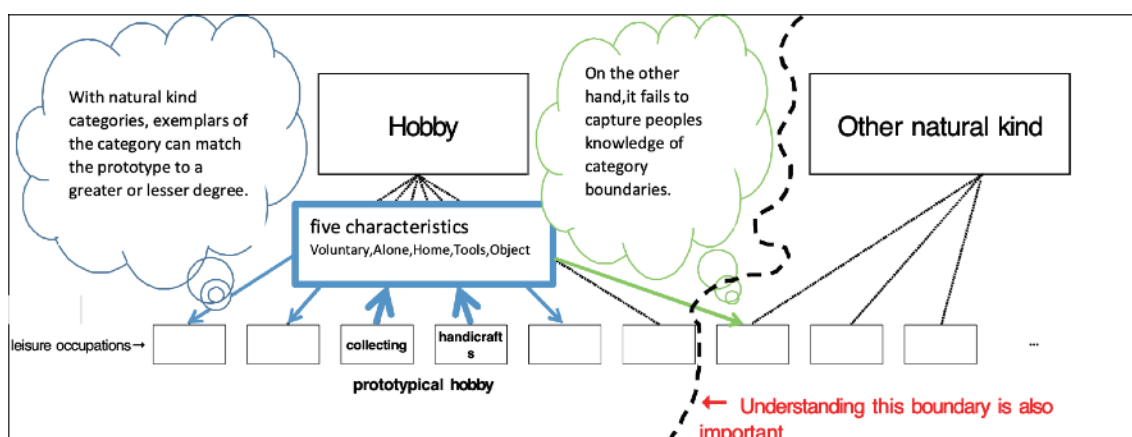


Fig1. Daily's discussion about hobby and other natural kind

While leisure occupations that involve making and collecting are easily recognized as ‘hobbies’, ‘participation’, ‘playing games’, ‘group membership’, ‘learning’, ‘volunteering’, and ‘non-serious leisure’ are considered "hobbies." are difficult to be recognized as "hobbies". True hobbies all have a work-like character(Daily2018:375)

What about Japanese '*shumi*'(hobbies)? By Sugiyama(2020) the ‘hobby’ item used in social surveys on leisure activities in Japan has the following characteristics:1.Among the categories of “leisure activities enjoyed for fun rather than as a job or specialty,”the meaning tends to be leisure activities that do not fall under sports, learning, travel, entertainment, media use, or socializing.2.Because the boundaries between ‘hobby’ and other natural kinds like making, entertainment, and self-cultivation are unclear, it is difficult to determine what kind of leisure activities fall under 'hobbies.'

Thus, there are issues in research trends surrounding the definition of ‘hobby’. Firstly, examination of each country's view of ‘hobby’. It seems that there is a situation similar to Daily's point regarding Japan's view of ‘hobby’ but there has been no progress in research examining the general public's view of ‘hobby’. Secondly, examination of differences in views on 'hobby’ depending on generation and gender.

In light of the fact that the definition of ‘hobby’ is being reconsidered in the research community, comparisons between Japanese and German young people's views on hobbies and their perceptions of leisure activities that fall under ‘hobby’.

2. Surveys and Method

For our research aim,we conducted preliminary survey (Collection of literature in Japan and Germany, brief interview in Germany, inspection of Hobbyroom), research review and interview survey. In this short paper, we report about qualitative semi-structured interviews.The interviewees were chosen based on four criteria: 1) ages 20-39 with work experience, 2)lived in Japan,or Germany from birth to attainment of final educational attainment,3)be able to converse in Japanese or English, and 4)online interviews are possible.We used snowball sampling(Table1) and interviews were conducted in Japanese or English.

Table1. Interview Data-General information of the interviewees

Name (Code)	Age	Sex	Current occupation	Origin
A	29	male	self-employed	Aichi,Japan
B	24	male	company employee	Tokyo,Japan
C	28	female	company employee	Aichi,Japan
D	30	female	teacher	Osaka,Japan
E	27	male	graduate student	Osnabrück,Germany
F	28	male	company employee	Wissenbach,Germany
G	34	female	company manager	Baden-Württemberg,Germany
H	34	female	teacher	Baden-Württemberg,Germany

The document requesting for research cooperation included the research objectives, research content, ethical considerations, and a statement that research cooperation was voluntary and that no disadvantages would arise if participants did not wish to cooperate in the research or declined to cooperate midway through. This research was conducted with the approval of the St. Luke's International University Research Ethics Committee (No. 23-A112).

The length of interviews varied from 60 to 90 minutes. The questions are the following:

- 1)What comes to your mind when you hear the word 'hobby'?
- 2)In what specific situation do you use and hear the word 'hobby'?
- 3)Tell us about your hobbies, what are they? When and how do you them?
- 4)Tell us about the hobbies of the people around you. What are their typical hobbies?(family, friends,loves and etc.
- 5)Tell us about your hobbies before, during and after COVID 19. Were there any changes in your hobbies and/or the way you engaged in them?
- 6)Which one is closest to the image of a 'hobby room'?(Semi-outdoor space,Workshop,Man's hideout)
- 7)Please rate on a 6-point scale whether you think the following activities¹ in your free time are appropriate to be called 'hobbies'.(A.Strongly agree B.agree C.somewhat agree D.somewhat disagree E.disagree F.strongly disagree)
- 8)Tell us the reasons for items you did not consider appropriate as 'hobbies' (those rated D, E, or F) in 7).

In this paper, we will discuss answers related to questions 1, 2, 7, and 8, and obtain suggestions for future quantitative researches.

3. Results and Discussion

3 – 1 . Meaning and Usage of Hobby

About the meaning of ‘hobby’ there are certain criterias considered as basis for an activity to be considered as hobby/ies. Primary factor considered is the time when the activity is done. It must be done outside work/ job. Secondly, the activity must provide a feeling of enjoyment and relaxation as an effect. The hobby must be spontaneous and requires a certain level of commitment that includes actions that go beyond just seeing and hearing. As a result, continuity was created.

A : Hobby is “activities you do in your free time” , “favorite time other than housework”

H : Hobby is “a kind of free time activities, so that means things you normally do when you don’t go to work or university or school . Basically something you like to make in your free time , activity that you like.”

It is assumed that the perception of hobby is almost the same in Japan and Germany, and there is no big difference. Furthermore, Japanese interviewees said that it is different from 'stress relief' and 'habits' and German interviewees said that it is different from 'self-care.'

¹ The selection was based on prior research, Japan's Leisure White Paper, and Statista's 'Most popular hobbies & activities in Germany as of December 2023'. We created it by mixing typical ‘hobbies’ and non-typical ‘hobbies’. As a result, the following activities are listed.

Amateur baseball, Attending concerts, Do-it-yourself carpentry, Domestic travel, Drawing, Games (computers and home game consoles), Gardening, Jigsaw puzzle, Karate, Knitting, Literary creation (novels, poems, etc.), Making sweets, Meeting and chatting with friends and lovers, Model making (building) , Overseas travel, Pets (play with/take care of), Participation in liberal arts courses (literature, history, language, etc.), Photography, Piano practice, Reading, SNS viewing, SNS post, Stamp collection, Surfing, Video viewing (including rental/subscription services), Visiting beauty salons, Volunteering at an art museum, Walking, Watch a movie at a movie theater, Watching rugby at the venue, Watching soccer on TV, Watching TV, Window shopping, Yoga, Pilates.

The word ‘hobby’ is mainly associated to introduction of one-self, resume and first meeting. It is considered as a formal word to ask someone’s profile. On the other hand, majority of the people with established relationships (friends, family and etc.) rarely use the word . The activities that are being shared as ‘hobby’ are constantly changed depending on the situation and the person involve in the conversation. Some people use the phrase ‘as a hobby’ for modesty, in situations that the ability and enthusiasm of certain activities are enough to turn into a job.

B : I use the word 'hobby' when introducing myself at work. After name, school name, affiliation, aspirations at work, etc., I mention my hobby to let people know about my private life. In addition, when I want to convey that "I don't take this seriously" at work, I may use "It's just a hobby."

C : I am sometimes asked about my 'hobby' in surveys, etc., but I never use it myself. I say things like "I like ××." I've never heard of it in conversation recently.

H : when I'm at work, talk to my colleagues includes hobbies just conversation, I would say or usually use the word is commonly us in formal situation. They use what do you like to in your free time/ activity. Conversation is not often using hobby, we also use the word hobbie. there's no english translation but we use the phrase what do you in free time.

The usage of the word 'hobby' is roughly the same in Japan and Germany, and there is no significant difference in the usage of the word 'hobby', with the understanding that it is a word used in a formal atmosphere when meeting someone for the first time. Assuming that 'hobby' itself is not often used in daily life, and that the content is also situation-dependent, it is necessary to focus on the relationship between the subject who is trying to obtain information about 'hobby' and the object being asked. There are anecdotes (such as when someone asked me about my hobbies at work). In this sense, the results of 'hobby' obtained in social surveys are asking people about 'hobby' in a flat state, and we may need to be careful in how we read the results.

A : When I mention something that looks like a hobby, I answer what suits the person at the time.

Also, when I look at other people's hobbies as a profile, I sometimes associate other hobbies with that combination of hobbies.

B : When I was job-hunting, I had the experience of not being able to get a conversation going based on the hobbies I listed, so I spent about six months adjusting the content of my self-introduction until about the time I joined the company. Specifically, instead of saying "games," I answered something like "mahjong," which would be something I would have in common with my boss at work (I don't really like it that much). I once saw a co-worker who said, "My hobby is golf," talking to his boss, and I felt like "I don't want to make a difference because of the way I introduced myself."

D : "There was a time when I was addicted to online games, but I didn't say anything because I didn't think people thought of me as someone who was into online games, and I didn't want to play with them (I didn't say it because my self-image I didn't want to make any bumps.)"

G : "I usually talk about my cosplay hobby, but if people get confused about it, I would just change it to other hobbies that I do. Like arts and crafts, board games, and walking. Basically, the most common hobbies."

3 – 2. Hobby and other leisure occupations

About both countries, leisure activities, such as going to concerts and traveling (domestic and overseas), which in previous studies were thought to be difficult to recognize as hobbies because they involved ‘participation in an occupation’ were also recognized as hobbies. Is it due to the fact that people are becoming more independent in how they participate in these activities? In an interview with Japanese hobby Life, he also talked about ‘*Oshikatsu*,’ a way to enjoy the live performance itself even if you are not a fan of a particular artist. And changes in the way of travel, diversification of tourism, might progress in communication technology.

A German interviewee mentioned DIY carpentry, jigsaw puzzles, knitting, and stamp collecting as leisure activities that ‘older generations do’ (None of the Japanese interviewees rated it as “not like a hobby”). As mentioned in introduction, previous research has cited production and collecting as *hobby-like* activities. It is necessary to carefully observe the number of people who are active in their leisure time, but is there any kind of media influence in Japan that will make young people think that this is a hobby? (e.g. B mentioned the name of the TV program)

Some leisure activities that are controversial as to whether they are appropriate to be called hobbies in Japan are as follows:

- Socializing

Is it because you don't have the impression that 'meeting people/ engaging in the same leisure activities' or 'it doesn't seem like a hobby'? (It was evaluated as a hobby even if 'Socializing' was not used for German people)

- Lessons

It is different from a hobby because parents have the impression that it is something that parents send their children to, and it is not voluntary, so even when asked about hobbies, it does not come up as a topic. Self-evaluation of the skills acquired as a result of learning is also somewhat ambiguous.

- Pets

It is a personal choice whether or not to keep a pet, but do you feel aversion to labeling it as a hobby or introducing it to others?

4. Conclusion

Although we await full-scale quantitative research in the future, this survey suggests that it is not easy to understand the leisure activities of young people in particular in the category of ‘hobbies’. Even if ‘hobby’ is a subcategory of ‘leisure’, we need to reconsider to what extent it is a concept that defines serious leisure (Stebins 2015). In particular, the fact that young Germans answered that they had no image of their generation doing hobby activities, which are considered typical in research, suggests that the validity of the ‘hobby’ category itself will be reexamined in the future.

Furthermore, ‘hobby’ is mostly used in formal contexts, such as when introducing oneself to someone you are meeting for the first time, and the hobby activities that people say may change depending on the relationship to the other person or depending on the situation. It should also be noted that the fact that ‘hobby’ has the aspect of serious leisure which causes the speaker to develop

strategies when having conversations related to hobbies in everyday life. In society, including self-introduction in the workplace, asking people about their ‘hobbies’ rather than ‘leisure activities’ may not be said to be authoritative, but it does give the person the initiative to formulate ‘hobbies’ that are appropriate for the occasion. It seems that we should focus not only on the representation of social class as pointed out by Bourdieu, but also on aspects that include the appeal of ‘sociability’ that would not be considered as ‘*otaku*’.

Acknowledgments

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「障害のある性的少数者」の若者がいかに社会運動に参加しているか —日本とドイツにおける LGBT 運動の比較から

欧陽珊珊

立命館大学大学院先端総合学術研究科 一貫制博士課程

How young “disabled queer/LGBT people with disabilities” participate in social movements

: A comparison of LGBT movements in Japan and Germany

OUYANG Shanshan

PhD student at the Graduate School of Core Ethics and Frontier Sciences of Ritsumeikan University

Abstract

In recent years, there has been attention to the situation of LGBT people with disabilities. However, challenges remain insufficiently examined regarding the mechanisms by Disability and LGBT community can raise their voices and engage in social movements or solidarity. This research conducts a comparative analysis of how young “disabled queer/LGBT people with disabilities” in Japan and Germany to participate in LGBT movements and unearth the potential of small-scale local social movements. This report is based on surveys conducted at Pride Parades across Japan from 2021-2023 and a survey in Berlin in July 2023, where the author participated in local parades and interviewed organizers and participants. The comparison revealed Germany is more advanced than Japan in terms of visibility of disabled queer members and community supporting. Comparing the largest pride parade in the country, accessibility is also better in Berlin more than Tokyo. In Japan, smaller local parades demonstrate inclusive mechanisms and unique features, creating environments conducive to participation by disabled LGBT individuals. This study suggests activism for social justice is not necessarily limited to direct actions or demonstrations and indicates the potential for local and small-scale communities to serve as flexible spaces for youth involvement and activities.

1. はじめに

本研究の目的は、障害者であり、かつLGBTを自認する日独の若者たちが、どのようにマイノリティが主体となる社会運動（とりわけLGBT運動）に参加しているのかを比較し、地方の小規模な社会運動の可能性を掘り起こすことにある。

これまで社会的マイノリティが問題にされる時には、マジョリティによる差別や排除が中心に議論されてきた。80年代のフェミニズムは、マイノリティ内部にも属性の組み合わせによって権力関係が働いていることを問題提起した。その後、人種、階級、性別、宗教、障害、性的指向などは個別的、排他的な存在ではなく、それらが交差し、相互に作用している「交差性（intersectionality）」の視点が多種の研究で強調されてきた（Crenshaw, 1991; Collins and Bilge, 2016; 飯野, 2019）。障害とセクシュアリティの問題も個別に議論するのは

なく、各々を交差させて捉える研究が欧米を中心に始まっている。これらの研究は、二重のマイノリティ性を抱えた当事者には複合的な差別経験があることを明らかにした。さらに、当事者は自分のニーズや期待に合致するコミュニティを見いだすことが難しいと指摘されてきた。一般的にゲイやレズビアンコミュニティは、能力主義、身体的健全性の規範を強調する場合が多い。他方、障害者コミュニティまたは障害者運動では、性の問題をそもそも矮小化する傾向があり、性規範や異性愛規範が強く働いている（cf. Shakespeare et al, 1996; Leonard and Mann, 2018）。両方のコミュニティから疎外されている当事者が、いかに自分の声をあげられるのか、マイノリティ運動への参加や他集団との連帯は可能なのか。そのような課題はまだ十分に検討されていない。

ドイツにおける障害のある性的少数者の実態調査によると、「プライド・パレード（Pride Parade）」は、障害とクィアという二つのシーンを結びつけるための重要な仲介役であると指摘されている（Sülzle and Rudek, 2019）。プライド・パレードとはLGBT運動によって組織されたもっとも可視しやすい、強力な取り組みであり、1960年代に始まった「新しい社会運動」のひとつにみなされている（Stammers, 2009）。現在では世界中で開催されるLGBT運動を代表するイベントとなっている。ドイツのベルリンパレード（Christopher Street Day Berlin）は1979年から開催され、現在では欧州最大規模の同種のパレードとなっている。日本では1994年から東京で開催されている。そこで、本調査では、プライド・パレードに焦点を当て、障害のある性的少数者の若者における運動参加の障壁と実践の多様性について考察し、特に従来から注目されてきた大規模パレード以外の運動の可能性を考察する。

2. 社会的状況の差異

国際的な統計である「LGBTI世界受容指数」を参照すると、2020年の時点でドイツは7.73、世界では20位の受容指数である。日本の場合は5.26、世界では53位で、シンガポール、タイの後となっている（Flores, 2021）。

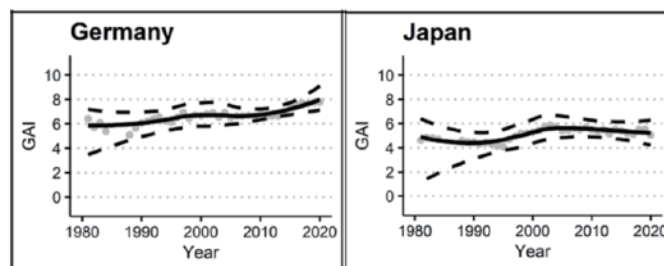


Image: TRENDS IN ACCEPTANCE FOR EACH COUNTRY, the Global Acceptance Index of LGBTI (Flores, 2021, p.38; p.40)

ドイツでは2001年に生活パートナーシップ法が制定され、2017年に同性婚法を導入し、現在ドイツ政府は「LGBTIインクルージョン戦略」を採用している。OECDの調査は、「ドイツでは、反LGBTI+差別と暴力が何百万人の幸福を妨げ続けている現実があるが、LGBTI+の平等に向けての法的・政策的成果はかなりのものである」と報告している(OECD, 2023)。それに対して日本では、いまだに国会議員からさえもLGBTの人々に対する差別的発言がなされており(岡田, 2019)、社会全体においてLGBTフレンドリーとは言い難い状況が問題化されている。近年の運動では、性的指向や性自認を理由とした差別からの法的保障の確立や同性婚の合法化を認めることが重要な活動とされている。

このような社会的状況を反映し、LGBT支援や当事者の可視化においても日本とドイツの間には違いが見られる。たとえば、ドイツでは多様な支援組織と運動組織が存在し、人種、移民、障害など複合的なマイノリティ問題に取り組んでいる。障害のある性的少数者への支援において、Jugendnetzwerk Lambda (ユースネットワーク・ラプダ)は「インクルーシブ・プロジェクト」を展開しており、RuT (ラッド&タット)は障害者であるレズビアンへのニーズを重視している。他にも多数の団体が当該問題に取り組んでいる(Sülzle and Rudek, 2019)。さらに、ベルリンでは性的マイノリティの歴史と文化に焦点を当てたミュージアムとリサーチセンターであるSchwules Museum (同性愛ミュージアム)が1985年に開設され、2023年には世界初の障害とクィアの交差をテーマにした展覧会¹が開催された。日本では、支援組織や運動組織が比較的少なく、東京や大阪のような大都市にはLGBTのコミュニティ・スペースがあるものの、ミュージアムのような公的施設はない。近年では、コミュニティの歴史におけるアーカイブの重要性が認識されつつあるが、障害のある性的少数者に関する文献資料や状況調査は不足している。

ドイツの障害のある性的少数者の生活状況調査によれば、偏見や差別を減少させるためには、障害のある性的少数者をより多くの人に知ってもらう必要があると指摘されている(Sülzle and Rudek, 2019)。自分のアイデンティティや差異、自己決定を祝う場であるパレードは、可視性の向上に寄与する重要な手段と考えられる。そこで本研究では、ドイツと日本のパレードを比較し、当事者の若者の運動参加について考察する。

3. 調査概要

本報告は、報告者が2021年から2023年にわたって実施した日本全国のパライド・パレードの調査と、2023年7月に実施したベルリンでの調査²に基づいている。報告者は現地のパレードに参加し、主催者と当事者の参加者に対してインタビューを行なった。

4. 考察

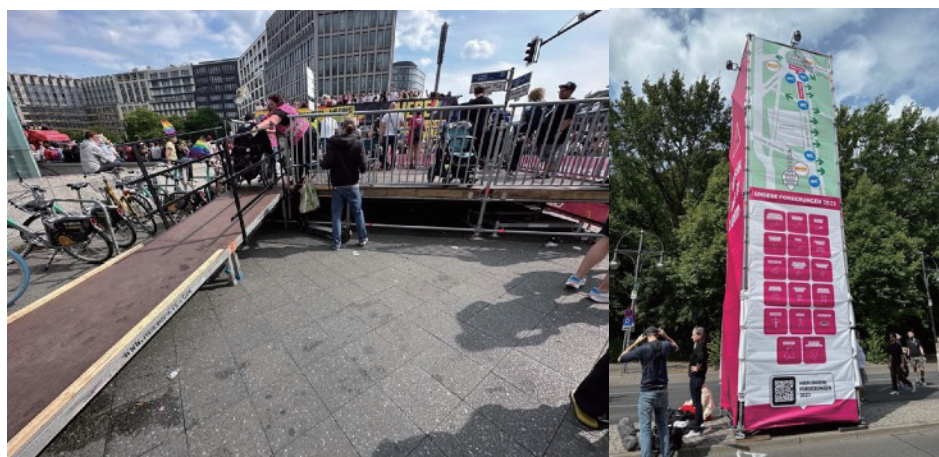
4.1 大規模なパレードイベント

まず世界中で知られている、国のなかで一番大規模なパレードイベントであるベルリンプライドと東京レインボープライドを比較する(表1)。

表1 ベルリンプライドと東京レインボープライドの簡概

	ベルリンプライド 2023 (Christopher Street Day Berlin)	東京レインボープライド 2023 (Tokyo Rainbow Pride)
開催日	イベント 6月-7月 パレード 7月 22日、約 7km	イベント 4月 22日-23日 パレード 4月 23日、約 3km
参加者数	約 50 万人	来場数 25 万、パレード参加 1 万
スローガン	Be their voice - and ours! (かれらの声になり、私たちの声になろう！)	変わるまで続ける Press on till Japan changes

ベルリンプライドの参加者の中では車いすユーザーがかなり多く観察された。友達や両親と一緒に参加者だけでなく単独の参加者もいた。パレードルートは交通が制限され、誰でも自由に行進に参入退出ができた。さらに、道が狭く非常に混んでいる場所では車いすユーザーや障害者のための休憩スペースなどが用意されていた。また、ゴール会場の周辺には、トイレや注意事項が書かれた地図が設置されていた。このような光景は日本のパレードではなかなか見られない。



ベルリンパレードの休憩スペースとゴール会場周辺 (写真は筆者が撮影したものである)

実際、東京レインボープライドには車いすユーザーの参加者の姿はドイツに比べて少数であった。資料によれば2018年に「まぜこぜの社会」を実現しようとする車いすユーザーのチームがあったとされ、また2022年には主催側のゲストとして著名人である乙武洋匡氏が先頭を歩くことになったという。しかしパレードの行進は、通常の交通と同じ道路を利用しているため、基本的には事前登録をした人々だけが行進に参加する。限られた一般参加の車いすユーザーからは「会場がとても混んでいて、車いすで入れない」「ホームページで調べても車いすにとって便利なルートとかアクセスの情報が出てこない」「一人でパレードに参加するのは無理ですね」という感想が聞かれた（2023年4月インタビューより）。

これらの比較から当事者コミュニティ、複合的なマイノリティ性の可視化とパレードの参加のすべての面において、ドイツは日本よりインクルージョンを重視していることや、障害のある性的少数者の若者がパレードに参加しやすい状況が作られていることがわかる。

ただし、本報告は先進的なドイツに対する日本の現状を指摘することのみを企図したわけではない。これまで比較してきたのは大都市の目立った主流の活動、すなわち運動が組織化されており、イベント性の強い大規模なパレードである。こうした大規模パレードが商業化しているという問題はこれまでも批判の対象となってきた。ベルリンプライドではこうした批判への反省から、連帯意識やアクセシビリティの向上が見られている。東京レインボーパレードでは近年、商業化が過剰ではないかという批判も受けており、この点において、ドイツの事例は日本の参照モデルとなる可能性が考えられる。一方で、あまり注目されていない、より小規模なパレードや資源が少ない地方での運動は、日本においてもインクルージョンを重視した姿勢が見られる。

4.2 小規模な運動と地方での実践

約1000人が参加した東京トランスマッチ2022は、「ありえないデモ」³という若者を中心とするグループとも連携して、多様なマイノリティとの連帯意識を強調し、反トランス差別に抗議するデモが行われていた。進行の中で、手話通訳が付けられる場面もあり、LGBTのチームが手話通訳を通してデモに参加した。ドイツにおける類似するデモとして、ベルリンプライドのパレードの終了後、インターナショナルクィアプライド（The Internationalist Queer Pride For Liberation）が開催された。約12,000人が参加したこのデモの特徴は、反植民地主義、反人種主義、反資本主義を強く訴えていた。行進の先頭は、障害者のチームであった。このチームに参加する人はマスクの着用を要求された。さらに、スタッフはロープを使用して特定のエリアを確保していた。

日本の地方でも、主流のパレードと異なる実践が存在する。例えば、宮崎市で2022年に開催されるパレードは、十日間にわたり毎日少人数が参加する形態であった。歩く距離は市役所から県庁までわずか700メートルであり、障害者や体力のない者も参加しやすい。実際、障害女性のグループが参加していた。住路はプライド・パレードをし、復路はごみ拾い活動を行うというプログラムとなっており、少人数制の参加であることもあり、参加者同士が親しくなり、地域社会との密接な協力を感じることができたという声もあった。

また主流のパレードでは「happy pride」というマイノリティの誇りやプライドを前面に押し出す方針がよく見られるが、それに違和感を抱く者もいる。彼らは悩みや葛藤を抱えた自身の感情を無視せず、「ハッピー」な雰囲気無理やり演出することをやめ、代わりに「陰気なクィアパーティ」というイベントを開催していた。例えば、東京ではレインボープライドの会場の隣の代々木公園で、静かにZine（小規模グループが作成した雑誌）や本を読んだり、または音楽を聴いたり、ぼんやり座ったりする集会が行われた。これらの実践はクィアという集合的なアイデンティティに基づき、承認を求めるために何か特定の行動を起こすよりも、特定空間での身体的・感情的な個人の経験を共有することを目的としており、McDonald（2004）が提示した経験運動的な実践として捉えられるものである。

4.3 主流の運動に居場所をもてない交差性をもつ個人の活動経験

最後に、ドイツと日本の3人の若者の語りを取り上げ、交差性を持つゆえに主流の大規模な社会運動には居場所が持てない個人の活動経験を示したい。

ベルリンに在住のアリスさんは、パレスチナにルーツを持つトランスジェンダーで、有色人種のトランスジェンダーコミュニティで活動している。このコミュニティはトランスジェンダーである人々の安全のためにクローズドな活動を行っており、主にSNSを利用して連絡を取り合っているが、対面交流スペースも設けられており、DIYイベントや自炊会などが行われている。アリスさんは「どこに行けばいいかわからないとき、とりあえずこのコミュニティに行けばなんとかなります」、また「障がいのある人が、どこかに行きたい、イベントに参加したいと思ったら、コミュニティ全員が協力してそこに連れて行ってくれます」と語った。このコミュニティは毎週日曜日にチャリティイベントを開催し、寄付やお互いの手助けで活動を支えている（2023年7月フィールドノートより）。

東京に在住の肢体障害がある銀河さんは、フェミニズム、クィアとディサビリティをテーマとしている芸術専門の大学生である。彼女は「障害の場所にもなじめないし、クィアな場所にもなじめなくて、どこにも居場所がないみたいなのはずっとある」「自分の

障害を考えるようになって、車椅子とクエアであること、どこにも行けないこと、なかなかバーとか行けないとか、考えて作品を作るようになった」と語る。彼女は、現在3DプリントやARなどデジタルテクノロジーを使った作品を中心に、SNSを活用して活動をしている（2023年11月インタビューより）。

北海道の車椅子ダンサーのユキノシタさんは、脳性麻痺かつトランスジェンダーであることで受けた多重的な差別経験についての講演や、LGBTユースの支援プロジェクトの企画などを行っている。自身の経験をパレードの主催側に伝え、パレードを変化させたいと思いで、昨年から札幌レインボープライドのボランティア活動も始めた（2023年10月インタビューより）。

3人の活動はそれぞれ異なっているが、3人とも複合的なマイノリティ経験に基づいた実践を行っている。障害をはじめ他のマイノリティ性をもつ性的少数者の中には、商業化された大規模運動のような場ではない小さなコミュニティや、SNSなどを通じた企画などにおいてポジティブな活動経験を持っている。そうした実験的な営みの重なりを通じて、今後ドイツと日本の当事者の若者が交流し、国境を超えるネットワークを構築し、若者への支援や様々な活動の可能性が期待される。

5. 結論

LGBT運動を比較検討する際には、主流の大規模であり組織化され、商業化された運動に焦点を当てられがちである。本研究では、「障害のある性的少数者」の若者の社会運動への参加を検討することで、むしろ小規模な運動や地方での実践の可能性が示唆された。

商業化に抵抗する意識を持つ小規模な運動、または資源が少ない地方の運動は、多様な資源を動員するため、マイノリティ間の協力を強調している。このような活動と運動は、ほぼ組織化されていない段階であり、それゆえ障害のある参加者は主催者側との間で対話する余地を持ちやすくなり、これがアクセシビリティの向上や運動への参加の物理的、心理的な容易さをもたらしている。

さらに、本調査から、SNSを利用した活動や芸術作品を通じた既存の規範に対する批判、またポジティブな運動に対抗するための多岐にわたるアクティビズムの手段が存在することが示された。社会正義のアクティビズムは、必ずしも直接の行動やデモに限定されない。地方や小さなコミュニティは若者の運動参加と活動において、豊かで柔軟な発想をもつ場としての可能性を持っている。将来的には、障害、LGBT、地方での交差する視点に焦点を当てた考察を進めていきたい。

注

- 1) 2022年9月2日—2023年5月29日にSchwules Museumで障害/クィアの歴史、アクティビズムと文化に関する展覧会「Queering the Crip, Crippling the Queer」が開催された。
- 2) ベルリンで盗難があったため、一部の調査データが紛失した。
- 3) 「ありえないデモ」は国が生殖や性別のあり方に介入する現状を人権侵害とし、法改正訴える団体である。東京トランスマーチ2022への参加事情は公式サイトご参照 (<https://arienaidemo.bitfan.id/contents/95022>)

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青少年の自発的な防災活動への参加 — 日本とドイツの比較分析

マルテ シェーネフェルト

ヴッパータール大学 公共安全・危機管理研究所 嘱託研究員兼博士課程

(共同研究者：筋野 哲央, 学校法人 工学院大学 ものづくり支援センター)

Voluntary Engagement of Young Adults in Disaster Management

-A Comparative Analysis between Japan and Germany

Malte Schönefeld

Research Associate, Institute for Public Safety and Emergency Management, University of Wuppertal

(Co-researcher: Tetsuo Sujino, Manufacturing Support Center, Kogakuin University)

Abstract

Events like the Tohoku Earthquake (JAP) and the Ahrtal Floodings (GER) show that voluntary engagement strengthens the overall performance of disaster management efforts. Vital volunteer work is an important part of resilient societies, especially in times of crises. Our research addresses voluntary engagement in disaster management in both Japan and Germany by aiming to better understand motivational aspects of young people. The reliance on volunteering youth is under pressure: the proportion of young people in the total population is declining in both countries, and traditional ways of recruiting the young generation for long-term engagement in voluntary organizations may not fit anymore. The study looks at motivational aspects of young people for engagement in disaster management from a comparative perspective (Japan / Germany).

1. Introduction

The role of volunteers in civil protection systems is critical for fostering a culture of resilience and preparedness within communities (Pani et al., 2019). The role of young people is of particular interest here, because only by adapting to their motivational aspects, civil protection will be able to sustainably engage a new generation. This comparative analysis aims to explore and understand the varying dynamics of youth volunteer engagement in the civil protection systems of Germany and Japan. Both countries have robust and well-developed emergency management frameworks, yet they differ significantly in their cultural, social, and governmental approaches to disaster management and volunteer involvement.

By comparing and contrasting statements from interviews with young volunteers in Japan and Germany, the study aims to better understand motivational aspects for youth volunteer engagement in civil protection. This analysis does contribute to the academic discourse on disaster management and provides practical insights for emergency response organizations striving to enhance youth participation in disaster preparedness and response activities globally: These organizations should constantly check whether their offerings still resonate with the motivations of young volunteers.

Otherwise, it is questionable to what extent they can attract new members and retain existing ones (Max, 2021; Randle/Dolnicar, 2009).

2. The role of volunteering young adults in the German and Japanese civil protection systems

2.1. Germany

Germany's civil protection system, involving federal, state, and local agencies, coordinates emergency responses. The Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance (BBK) leads at the national level, while the 16 states manage their agencies, applying federal policies locally. Key components of Germany's civil protection include the Federal Agency for Technical Relief (THW) for technical and disaster response, the German Red Cross (DRK), volunteer fire departments, and NGOs, all vital for community-level efforts.

One of the features of the German civil protection system is its collaborative approach, fostering cooperation between governmental bodies, NGOs, and volunteer organizations. The THW, for instance, relies heavily on volunteer engagement (86.000 people or 98 % of THW personnel are volunteers; Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat, n.d.), with citizens trained to provide technical and logistical support during emergencies. Fire departments in Germany are almost unthinkable without volunteers, too: As of 2021, 1,014,155 volunteers were active in Germany's 23,977 volunteer fire brigades (in comparison to 35,875 professional firefighters in 111 professional fire brigades; Deutscher Feuerwehrverband, n.d.). Agencies like the German Red Cross (DRK) and the German Life-Saving Association (DLRG) share similar structural characteristics.

Youth groups blend social activities with playful civil protection elements in their regular meetings. Membership starts young and ends at a set age, leading to either a transition to the main organization or dual membership for a while.

2.2. Japan

Japan's civil protection system is a top-down approach. In the event of a large-scale disaster such as the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami, the Prime Minister (Central Disaster Management Council) makes the final decision based on information from government agencies such as the Japan Meteorological Agency and consultation with the Cabinet Office (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2011). Following the Prime Minister's directive, the Cabinet Office informs prefectures and municipalities to mobilize disaster response teams, including self-defence forces and emergency services, to address the situation. In response to initial water-related disasters like floods and tsunamis, local volunteers, including fire brigades, play a key role in proactive measures like closing floodgates and evacuations. In fires, they assess and organize the scene until professional firefighters arrive, sometimes actively extinguishing fires (Takizawa, 2016). In Japan, without a THW equivalent, fire brigades handle technical support, with advanced technology tasks falling to specialized teams like the self-defence forces.

Volunteer teams from the Japanese Red Cross (JRC) and similar groups support disaster relief through rescue efforts and public disaster prevention education, enhancing community preparedness. (Japanese Red Cross Society 2022). In addition, local residents play an important role in developing district disaster prevention plans adopted as district policies. District disaster prevention plans are

developed with the participation of disaster response specialists from various fields, such as NPO volunteers, fire brigades, and the JRC, focusing on the local branch in charge of disaster prevention. Because this is a bottom-up approach, it plays a major role in establishing a support system that fits the characteristics of the community (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2014).

In Japan, volunteer fire corps are established in every municipality. In 2022, Japan's volunteer fire corps had around 783,600 members, marking the lowest count in the last ten years. This figure has been consistently declining over the years. In contrast, the total number of professional firefighting personnel has been on the rise, reaching approximately 167,500 in 2022.

3. Method

The empirical data has been gathered in semi-structured interviews with young volunteers in disaster management in Germany and Japan. In total, 9 interviews with 15 interviewees were conducted, thereof five interviews in Germany (4 individual interviews, 1 group interview with 4 participants) and 4 in Japan (1 individual interview, 3 group interviews with 2 participants each). Table 1 shows the composition of interviewees in this research.

Table 1: List of interviewees.

Age	Gender	Organization	Country
23	m	German Red Cross & German Life Saving Association (DLRG)	Germany
23	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Germany
21	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Germany
21	f	Volunteer Fire Department	Germany
18	f	Volunteer Fire Department	Germany
18	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Germany
19	m	Federal Agency for Technical Relief (THW)	Germany
21	f	German Life Saving Association (DLRG)	Germany
22	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Japan
22	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Japan
22	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Japan
22	m	Volunteer Fire Department	Japan
21	f	Volunteer Fire Department	Japan
22	m	Japanese Red Cross	Japan
20	f	Japanese Red Cross	Japan

The interviewees were between 18 and 23 years old. The total average age of interviewees is 21.03 (Germany 20.5 years, Japan 21.6 years). The organizational affiliations represent the diversity of disaster management – including technical, medical and social tasks, as well as the operational and management level.

Interviewees were first asked for self-reports to understand their background, including the duration and nature of their volunteering, and the time they dedicate to training and deployment. The key focus was on their motivation for volunteering, explored through open-ended questions: Was there a specific reason to choose exactly this activity? What did motivate to join and what does motivate to stay involved (Clary et al. 1998)? Is there any specific gain that the volunteer gets out of the engagement?

The voluntary functions index (Clary et al., 1998) lists 6 main motivational factors: Protection, Values, Career, Social, Understanding, and Enhancement. By analysing motivational factors in both countries, a deeper understanding of the variety of motivational factors and their cultural embeddedness may evolve. Using identical interview and coding guidelines ensured comparability, revealing key insights into disaster management volunteering. The next section will detail these findings.

4. Results

4.1. Germany

Despite their young age of between 18 and 23 years, six out of seven interviewees already have spent a long part of their life in civil protection organizations. With one exception of having started nine months ago (at the time of the interview in August 2023), all other volunteers have joined a civil protection organization at least eight years ago and have been part of the youth units of their respective organizations. Since leaving their youth groups, all interviewees have joined the main unit, focusing on civil protection operations. Their motivations varied from seeking belonging, skill development, to an interest in risky professions:

I always found that quite fascinating, whenever they jetted off to the mission. (Fire-Ger-01)

The diverse sample includes various ranks from officers-in-training to squad leaders, with tasks tied to their organization's specialization. Despite different "career paths", responsibilities like participating in exercises and operations, and ensuring mutual support, are common. Interviewees view themselves as part of a dynamic system, always open to further training in both social and technical skills:

[T]he personal development, my further development of becoming a group leader. [...] That is, I believe, individually, but that is a point, which motivates me to continue with training, to also develop the personality. (RedCross-Ger-01)

When analyzing the results with regard to the voluntary functions according to Clary et al. (1998; also Clary/Snyder, 1999), a clear dominance of the social function can be seen among the interviewees from Germany. One characteristic that is traditionally associated with voluntary civil protection units appears to continue to be of particular importance for young people as well.

Regardless of the specific organization, fellow members are repeatedly described as “a second family”, even across organizational boundaries.

Civil protection volunteering involves facing unique, sometimes hazardous situations, making camaraderie crucial. Social activities play a key role in fostering unity among volunteers.

That's definitely [...] one of the aspects why I'm still there. Exactly, you rely on each other in the classic way during operations. You experience both good and bad things together. (Fire-Ger-01)

It's the beer and the bratwurst after the service, I think. (Fire-Ger-05)

Recognition plays a key role in volunteering, involving both internal appreciation and external acknowledgment from citizens and politicians. (Voluntary) leadership also requires recognition to effectively perform their voluntary roles. Out of the various voluntary functions (Clary et al., 1998), the protective aspect has not been mentioned at all. The career function seems more dominant here: Volunteering acts as a trial for those considering a professional career in the field, testing if it aligns with their interests and skills.

For me, it's also a very good preparation: What can I expect in the job and also the first basic courses are like: "OK, is this really what I want?" (Fire-Ger-05)

4.2 Japan

Most joined the JRC or fire brigade through referrals from close acquaintances, with a keen interest in disaster volunteer work.

At that time, the teacher in charge of the Japanese class was a volunteer who often went to volunteer like that, so he took me with him. (RedCross-Jap-01)

I was thinking of joining the club because I've been invited by my former soccer coach. (Fire-Jap-03)

Japanese voluntary firefighters emphasize training and competition preparation, blending physical exercises with tool use for a sporty approach to disaster readiness. Given that none of the interviewees in either groups have actual experience in real disaster response, their primary focus appears to be on preparedness.

The Japanese interviewees mentioned several functions of their volunteer engagement. Some of the responses were psychological, such as the fact that their voluntary activities help them feeling good and being proud of themselves:

I'm part of a firefighting organization, so I don't feel lonely after all. They always make me feel welcome. (Fire-Jap-03)

Almost all interviewees felt a strong responsibility for society, not only in disaster situations. It seemed that their own preparation for an actual disaster is a perceived obligation in helping individuals or communities in need:

I was thinking about whether there was anything that would be beneficial, and in that aspect, yes, it's for the people in the event of a disaster, well, it's for me, and it's for the people. (Fire-Jap-01)

It is interesting to note that for young people, the disaster relief efforts have had enough impact to actually lead to a job. For students in particular, this activity seems to have more or less influenced their job choices:

My motivation for joining [the voluntary fire brigade] was that I could use it to get a job. (Fire-Jap-02)

All respondents recognize the significance of possessing skills and knowledge in disaster preparedness to effectively handle natural disasters. Additionally, they appear to derive a sense of achievement from developing these skills through practical hands-on training.

I feel gratified when members tell me that I have improved in areas I previously struggled with. Hearing that I can now do things that I couldn't do before is what makes it all feel worthwhile to me. (Fire-Jap-03)

Fire brigades emphasized the social benefits of their involvement, such as meeting diverse community members and forming friendships, with social gatherings after training being a key aspect of their experience.

Well, every time, after the training is over, we all go out to eat. Yes, I enjoy that time. [...] I don't think I would have had the opportunity to interact with local seniors or older people if I hadn't had a place like this. This is the reason why I keep doing it. (Fire-Jap-04)

5. Discussion and Outlook

Young German volunteers often start their engagement through youth groups of civil protection organizations – which nationwide do have a remarkable number of members. Commonly, they experience some real work experience during emergencies and disasters at a young adult age. The Japanese youth, on the other hand, are undoubtedly familiar with natural disasters, but actual experience as a responder in emergencies and disasters is rare – training focuses rather on disaster preparedness, not so much on everyday emergencies.

In Japan, skill enhancement through competitive activities is favored over structured progression, unlike in Germany where competitive firefighting events are present but less emphasized. German volunteers focus on fitness and sportiveness, especially in water rescue, and are quickly introduced to emergency situations. Japan prepares for sudden, large-scale disasters with prevention-oriented training, whereas Germany's training is reactive, aimed at immediate responses to smaller emergencies. This reflects the distinct training and volunteerism approaches shaped by each country's unique context.

Volunteering provides social benefits, with Japanese respondents highlighting its role in reducing loneliness. Both German and Japanese youths value the social connections made through volunteering, likening it to a second family and counteracting the isolation intensified by the pandemic.

The German respondents showed a greater focus on aligning the benefits of participation with their personal goals, whereas the Japanese interviewees displayed a more general motivation towards

preparing for natural disasters and assisting others. In Germany, attracting young people to civil protection activities seems more feasible if these activities align with their individual needs and if this aspect is emphasized and promoted within the organization. Conversely, in Japan, where the threat of natural disasters is a constant, promoting activities and campaigns that highlight the triple benefits of contributing to the welfare of others while also enhancing one's own disaster-related skills as well as safeguarding oneself from loneliness and isolation could be particularly effective. These insights aim to contribute also to the scientific discourse on “crisis management in transition” (Max 2019), in which “unaffiliated responders” and “informal citizen responses” (Lorenz et al., 2018) seem to continue to be phenomena that have not been satisfyingly addressed. Understanding the motivational factors of young people is one important factor for adapting existing structures. As Lorenz et al. (2018: 363) put it, “existing hierarchies and structures of professional rescue services prevent unaffiliated responders from being incorporated (Barsky et al., 2007; Helsloot & Ruitenbergh, 2004; Skar et al., 2016).” If this does not happen, young people may stay out of the traditional organizations but engage in civil protection anyway, e.g., as an unaffiliated responder, which may not be in the interest of those organizations.

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VEGAN – WE CAN!

Vegan lifestyle choices among young Germans and Japanese

Dr. Anna Schrade

Former Associate Professor at Kwansai Gakuin University

Abstract

This paper analyses the reasons why an ever-growing number of youngsters between 15 and 29 go vegan in Japan and Germany, and why differences in these two countries exist. While in Germany, around 8% of university students are vegan (in addition to around 25% vegetarian university students), their number is much less significant in Japan. Is it because animal rights and the impact of beef on climate change are less discussed in Japanese society? Or because the Japanese diet tends to be healthier and less meat-based than in Western countries, thus reducing the need for complete veganism? Or because of social pressure to eat what everyone else eats, such as at school lunches or at *nomikai* (social gatherings)? This paper looks at push- and pull-factors why young Germans and Japanese go vegan. Interviews conducted with 53 vegans aged 18 to 29 between September and December 2023 in Japan and Germany show that major differences exist both regarding their motivation and the hurdles they are facing.

Whilst in Germany, around $\frac{3}{4}$ of young vegans forgo animal products to mitigate climate change, young Japanese do it for health reasons or do not have a clear motivation. Regarding the obstacles in their daily life as vegans, it will be highlighted that young Japanese vegans perceive society less accepting of their vegan diet as compared to Germany.

1. Introduction and hypothesis

Imagine throwing a dinner party for 25 people somewhere in Germany. Statistically, three of your guests would not eat meat – including one person that forgoes animal products at all. Would you host that social gathering in a bigger city, or would the guests be below 30, the number of people not touching meat would be even significantly higher: a whopping 6% of all Germans aged 15 to 29 are said to be vegan! As vegan/vegetarian lifestyles are often correlated with education, nearly 8% of all university students are vegan, with an additional 25% following a vegetarian diet. Considering that around 70% vegans are female, a group of 35 female university students translates into roughly into 4 vegans and 9 vegetarians. That's quite a thing, as it does not even include the many pescatarians (who eat not meat, but fish) and flexitarians, who only eat meat occasionally.

Now, imagine having lunch at a Japanese high school. (Nearly) without fail, the dishes prepared for all students would contain fish or meat. Yet, in general, all students eat it – and finish everything that is on their plate. If you look for vegetarians or vegans at the average Japanese high school, you will have a hard time finding anyone. According to statistics, only around 3-7 percent of Japanese are vegetarian or vegan. This is surprising, as the Japanese cuisine with its focus on soybeans in all variations (e.g. tofu, atsuage, yuba, soy milk and okara) would make it easy for people to prepare a tasty, filling, cheap and nourishing meat-free meal. In addition, Japan has a history of eating only vegan food. When Buddhism entered Japan in the 6th century, a plant-based lifestyle spread amongst the monks, who were not allowed to eat products derived from animals.

So why are there more vegetarians/vegans in Germany, where meat products have a high prevalence, than in Japan, where tofu-based products are part of the staple? There are different possible explanations for this stark difference, which will be discussed in the following.

I. Overconsumption of meat and relatively unhealthy traditional diet in Germany

One explanation could be that it is not *although* the German diet is largely based on meat and sausages, but *because* meat plays an important part in the average German diet that millions of Germans stopped eating it. This could be because a growing number of especially young and/or health-conscious people have realised that the high consumption of meat poses a health risk as it could lead to overweight, high blood pressure and heart diseases, among others. The average German ate, on average, 57 kg of meat in 2020 – this figure also includes the over 20% of Germans who do NOT eat meat, which translates into over 70 kg of meat amongst those who eat meat. This is more than double the amount of food consumed per person in Japan, which stands at 34 kg per person. Although meat consumption has been declining and is on a long-term low (currently standing lower than at any time during the last 30 years in Germany, Germans still eat too much meat. Studies show that the overconsumption of fat, salt and sugar has contributed to 160.000 deaths in 2016, which could have been averted had the person eaten more healthily. Since most salt comes from just three products – meat/sausages, cheese and bread – a vegan diet can translate into a diet with lower salt consumption. In addition, foregoing meat, cheese, and dairy also means lower fat consumption, especially the unhealthy saturated fats (and often also trans-fats). In other words, because the traditional German diet with its focus on meat, cheese, and other high-fat dairy products (and a relatively low consumption of beans and legumes) is considered rather unhealthy, a high number of Germans switched to a purely plant-based diet, which is considered considerably better for people's health and fitness. Especially vegans above the age of 60 cut out all animal products from their diet because of health reasons. In fact, nearly two thirds (64%) of all vegans aged 60 to 74 do so for their health.

To sum it up, it can be argued that differences in traditional diets – a high consumption of unhealthy products like meat, cheese and cream/butter in Germany instead of a relatively healthy fish- and soy-based diet in Japan – can be considered a major factor for the higher number of vegans in Germany.

II. Environmental awareness

A second potential reason for the stark difference regarding the spread of veganism in Japan and Germany can be different levels of environmental awareness and a desire to reduce CO₂ emissions to mitigate global warming. As previously mentioned, especially amongst younger vegans – also referred to as generation Z –, environmental reasons are most prevalent. A whopping 80% of German vegans aged 15 to 29 refrains from animal products for environmental reasons. Considering that 26% of global CO₂ emissions come from agriculture and food production, choosing food which needs little energy to produce and which emits fewer greenhouse gases is favourable to the environment. Cutting out meat from our diets has a big impact on reducing greenhouse gas emission, as livestock production amounts to as much as 15% of global carbon dioxide-equivalent emissions per year. This is not only because, for example, it takes 25 kg of grains to ‘produce’ 1 kg of beef, but also because the conversion of, for example, rain forest to cattle ranches or soybean farms (which are largely used to feed cattle) emits large amounts of CO₂. Methane emissions from cattle (through farting and burping during the digestive process) are a further climate killer, as they are significantly more potent in trapping heat than CO₂. In fact, the potential of methane and nitrogen (used in fertilizers) to damage the climate is about 25 to 300 times higher than that of CO₂. Whilst some people joke about the effects ‘cow farting’ has on our climate, nearly one third (31%) of CO₂-equivalent in livestock production are released during the digestive processes of cows, sheep, and mutton. This translates into 5% of global CO₂ emissions.

Producing 1 kg of beef emits nearly 100 kg of greenhouse gases and requires approximately 500-700 liters of water. Whilst other meat products are not quite as climate-damaging, they still have a high CO₂ footprint. In fact, the top 8 products listed in ‘Our World in Data: Environmental Impacts of Food’ are animal-based (beef, sheep/mutton, prawns, cheese, pork, poultry meat and egg). In contrast, food that stars in a traditional vegan diet, such as vegetables, nuts, soybeans and beans/legumes, have a low footprint. Potatoes and nuts, for example, have a footprint below 0.5 kg per kg, which is 200 less than that of beef. This shows the high potential of vegan food to contribute to lower greenhouse gas emissions and its positive impact on the climate.

Whilst most Japanese people consider themselves environmental-friendly, much of it is related to recycling. However, much less attention is devoted to mitigating climate change, also because the issue is harder to grasp and tackle, and because the government does not push this agenda as fervently a recycling in the 90s. As a result, there is often a lack of interest in, and understanding of how people’s diet impacts the climate. As a result, the number of people going vegan to protect the environment in Japan is significantly lower than in Germany.

III. Different focuses and expectations regarding food: tasty, Japanese produce vs. environmental-friendly

Tasty. Sweet. Perfect shape and size. Locally grown (or grown in Japan): this is what most Japanese look for when buying fruits and vegetables in Japan. Same for meat: Japanese beef, preferably one of the famous breeds like Kobe beef, Matsusaka beef or Ohmi beef. For most Japanese, eating good food is their hobby, and their focus on culinary pleasures is deeply entrenched in their culture and mentality. A lot of socializing is done over good food, for example when sharing different plates at dinner gatherings, whether it is with friends, family or co-workers. In Germany, good food has a much lower priority. Most Germans are keen to spend money on good alcohol (such as expensive wines), but not so much on food. Food, historically, is a vehicle to survive and be able to work, and not a luxury or reward for one's hard work, as often in Japan. One eats to live, and not vice versa, as in Japan. Thus, the expectations regarding food in Japan and Germany are quite different. In Japan, food should always be tasty. In Germany, people also see food as a vehicle to lose weight, gain muscles, keep healthy or to protect the environment. Because of most Japanese's gourmet traits, they do not necessarily choose food that is good for the environment but that tastes good or purveys a sense of luxury.

IV. Easier access to vegan products and meat substitutes in Germany and higher prevalence of dashi in Japanese

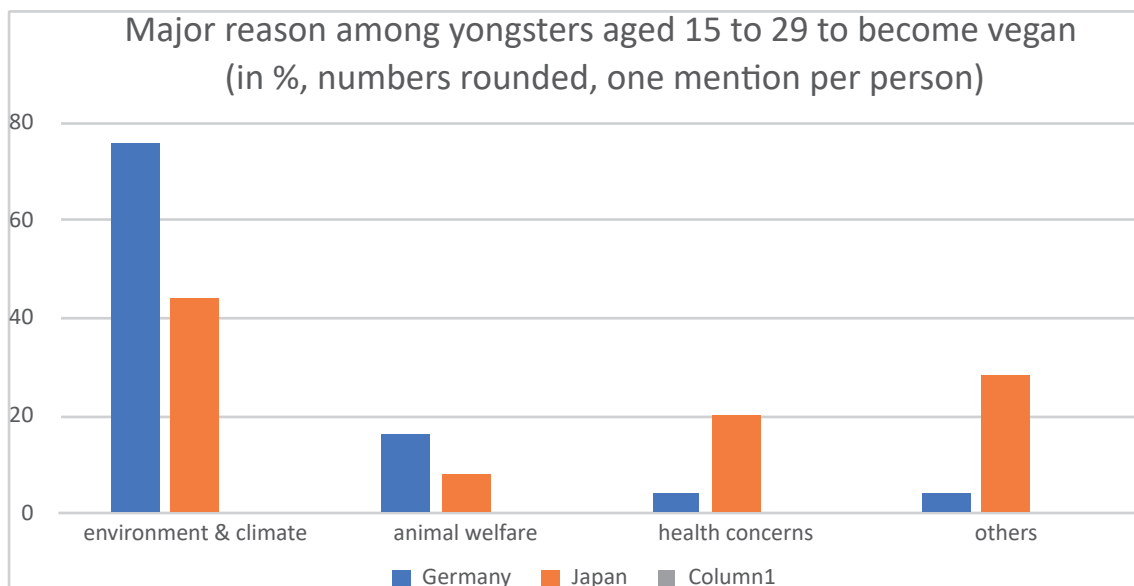
As Germany has a relatively long history of eating vegan food and a high number of flexitarians, a large market for meat substitutes such as wheat- or soy-based 'meat' exists. In fact, Germany has one of the largest and fastest growing markets for (processed) vegan food products in the world. Due to the high availability of milk- and meat-substitutes, at relatively low cost (a liter of cheap oat or almond milk only costs 150-200 yen), millions of Germans buy plant-based 'meat' or 'milk' instead of animal products. Although the market for vegan food in Japan is also growing, the level is still much lower than in Germany, with prices also being higher. Whilst soy milk and tofu-based products are cheap in Japan, processed meat-substitutes are still relatively pricey and can cost between 500 and 1000 yen. In addition, whilst there are many tofu-based dishes as part of the traditional Japanese diet, not all of them are vegan. In fact, numerous prepared soybean-based dishes contain dashi (fish broth) as seasoning, such as in the traditional *agedashi doofu* (fried tofu in broth) dish. This high prevalence of dashi in many otherwise plant-based products makes it relatively hard for Japanese to go completely vegan. Thus, whilst hundreds of thousands of Japanese follow a largely plant-based diet, they are not vegan as such, which lowers the number of official vegans.

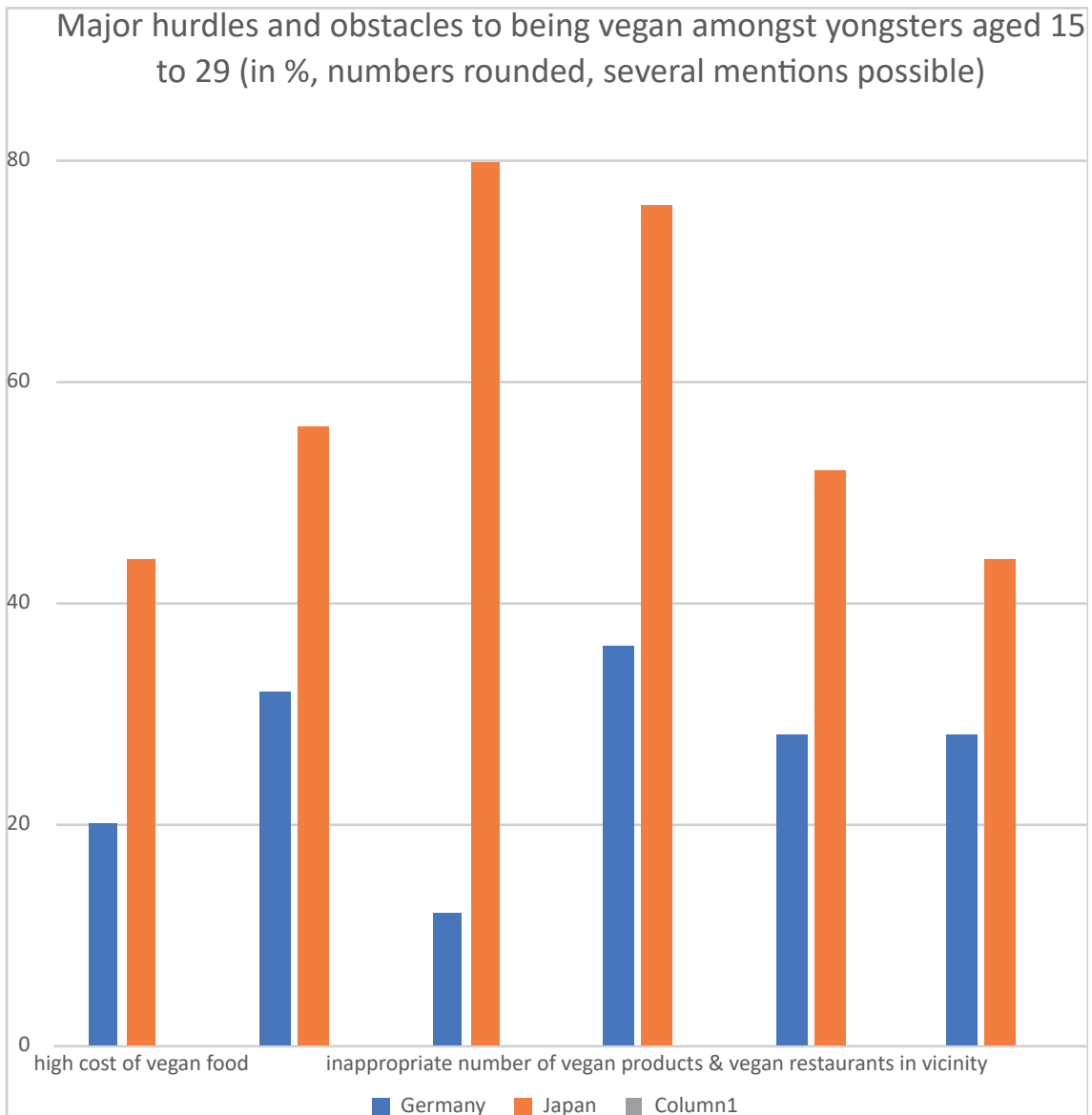
These four main reasons for the stark difference regarding the number of vegans in Japan and Germany are based on general studies on food, meat consumption, environmental awareness, social attitudes towards a plant-based diet and young people's interest in vegan lifestyles, among

others, in Germany and Japan. In order to reveal the explanatory power of these hypothesis, I conducted interviews with 53 individuals aged 18 to 29 in Japan and Germany between September and December 2023, both online (questionnaire-based and face-to-face) and in person. The structured qualitative interviews were conducted in German, English and Japanese in Stuttgart (urban Germany), Munich (urban Germany), Rems-Murr-Kreis (rural Germany), Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe and in semi-rural Hyogo Prefecture. This geographical spread and inclusion of urban, semi-urban and rural areas allowed for more representative results. The focus of the interviews was on the motivation for young people in Japan and Germany to follow a plant-based lifestyle. All interviewees (28 in Germany and 25 in Japan) had been vegan for at least 6 months, some up to 8 years.

2. Results of qualitative structured interviews

In the following, the research results will be disclosed. As the number of respondents from non-urban areas were not representative, as well as due to a lack of significant differences amongst urban and rural vegans in regard to their motivation, the survey only distinguished between Japanese and German respondents.





The survey results show the following trends: When asked for their main motivation to ditch meat and animal-derived food from their diets, over ¾ of young German vegans mentioned the environment and the climate as their No. 1 reason. This stands in stark contrast to Japan, where only around one third (36%) of respondents became vegan due to environmental concerns. While the number is not insignificant, their share is just slightly above those going vegan for health reasons in Japan (24%). Similar to the general trend that health reasons are not amongst the main reason amongst young Germans, only 1 German respondent (4%) declared health concerns as main motivation for a plant-based diet. Similarly, around twice the share of Germans mentioned animal welfare as main trigger compared to Japan (16% vs. 8%). A possible reason for this is that there is less media attention of the living conditions of caged chickens or cattle in Japan than in Germany, where issues such as the killing (shredding) of millions of male chicken babies have received wide media attention and where high emphasis is placed on the inhuman living conditions of most conventional livestock. Surprisingly, the second largest number of answers to

the question behind the motivation to become vegan was ‘other/do not know’ in Japan. This hints to the fact that some young Japanese vegans might not have had one clear motivation, but that a plethora of reasons (e.g. the influence of celebrities) functioned as triggers.

When asked for the main hurdles for becoming/living vegan, the biggest difference between the German and Japanese respondents was that considerably more Japanese youngsters experience(d) difficulties regarding their vegan lifestyles. In total, nearly twice as many young Japanese mentioned difficulties than their German counterparts. The main hurdle for the Japanese respondents were a society that was not understand or tolerate their vegan lifestyle choice. This includes people not realising that vegans do not eat any animal-derived products, including dairy, or people pushing them to eat non-plant-based food for ideas of social conformity. The second most voiced hurdle for their vegan lifestyle was the “inappropriate number of vegan products & vegan restaurants in my vicinity”, which was mentioned by around $\frac{3}{4}$ of Japanese interviewees. More than half of respondents (56%) also mentioned that the presence of animal-based ingredients in some vegetable products (such as dashi in *agedashi doofu* or *okara*) made it hard to eat several foods that would otherwise be vegan. Also social pressure from friends, family and co-workers to eat animal-based products, for example at *nomikais*, was mentioned by over half of the Japanese respondents.

In contrast, the number of Germans experiencing considerable difficulties in their vegan lifestyle is relatively low, at only around $\frac{1}{4}$ of all respondents. Similar to Japan, the two major hurdles for young German vegans were the low number of vegan restaurants in their vicinity as well as the prevalence of some animal-based ingredients (such as gelatin) in products that might otherwise be vegan, such as in gummy bears. Also the wide spread of cheese and milk in vegetarian dishes is something young German vegans have to battle with. At the same time, high prices for vegan food are not a main obstacle, and also social pressure is far less pronounced than in Japan (only 12% of German vegans mentioned that society was not understanding/tolerating the concept of veganism). This can be explained by the fact that in Germany, people tend to be able to choose more freely for themselves and follow their personal interests, no matter whether it is related to food, lifestyle choices (such children out of wedlock), or sexuality (such as homosexuality). The higher degree of social liberation most likely also has an impact on the number of vegans in Germany, as ‘sticking out’ – such as by foregoing animal products – is not generally regarded as negative. Although some German respondents mentioned that their vegan lifestyle was frowned on or that people make jokes about their food, they, in general, do not feel significant social pressure to eat meat. In contrast to this, there were several mentions by the Japanese interviewees that their family or superiors at work had been trying to make them eat non-vegan products or had ridiculed their eating behaviour.

The survey highlighted that considerable differences among young vegans in Japan and Germany exist not only regarding their motivation, but also concerning the hurdles they have to overcome in their daily life. As German society tends to be more individualistic and more liberal, and because veganism’s relatively long history, society tends to be more accepting of vegans. Young German vegans not only have fewer social pressure to eat what most people eat (namely

meat and dairy products), but they also have more vegan role models, more food choices, and more freedom in their decisions. While in Japan, society is gradually changing, with vegan food in shops and restaurants becoming more readily available, young Japanese vegans still have considerable hurdles in their daily life of being vegan.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I analysed the reasons for the higher number of young vegans (aged 15 to 29) in Germany as compared to Japan. Starting with four main explanations that showed why veganism is more widespread in Germany, the paper moved on to a discussion of the research results of 53 qualitative interviews conducted in autumn 2023 amongst young vegans in the two countries. The interviews showed that the longer history of veganism and the wider spread of vegan lifestyles has increased the acceptance of young Germans' decisions to follow a plant-based diet. As a result, around 8% of German university students are vegans, with an additional 25% being vegetarian. Whilst the number is growing in Japan, the figures remain much below those of Germany, as only between 2 and 3% of young Japanese are said to be vegan. This is not only because of a lack of role models, relatively high prices of and low access to vegan meat-substitutes and the wide use of *dashi*, but also because of social pressure and stigmatism. As the concept of veganism is not widely known in Japan, social acceptance is also lower than in Germany, also because 'sticking out' (e.g. by not eating some food at school lunches or *nomikais*) is considered rude or even socially unacceptable. Thus, social pressure to eat meat and dairy is higher in Japan than in Germany.

Yet, social pressure and less knowledge about veganism are not the sole reasons why fewer Japanese youngsters eat vegan food. As the traditional Japanese diet tends to be healthier than that of Germany, also it contains significantly less meat and dairy, fewer Japanese see the need to go vegan for health reasons or in order to help the climate or protect animal rights. Thus, it can also be argued that because Japan has a lower meat consumption, fewer people feel the urge to completely cut meat and animal products from their diets. Thus, it can be concluded that both lower push- (e.g. annual meat consumption) and pull-factors (eg. vegan role models, social acceptance of vegans, interest in animal rights and climate change) play a major role as to why youngsters in Germany follow a vegan diet at a considerably higher level than in Japan.

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日本とドイツにおけるリソグラフ文化の現在

山口 遥子

独立行政法人日本学術振興会特別研究員(PD)、早稲田大学・成城大学非常勤講師

Risograph Culture in Japan and Germany Today

Yamaguchi Yoko

Research Fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (PD),
Part-time lecturer at Waseda University and Seijo University

Abstract

The term “Risograph” refers to both a stencil duplicator developed by the Japanese company RISO Kagaku Corporation and the prints made with it. This paper explores Risograph's emergence as a new art medium among young people in Germany and Japan. Examining why Risograph has resonated with today's youth leads to an inquiry into what they seek in art. Drawing insights from the activities and statements of Risograph artists in Germany, this paper scrutinizes three perspectives: the constraint of limited ink colors, the ease and imperfection of duplication, and the alignment with ecological concerns. Despite its origins as an office tool, Risograph's constraints intrigue artists, while its simplicity resonates with the democratic principles of contemporary art. This paper underscores Risograph's unique appeal, positioned at the intersection of artistic innovation, accessibility, and environmental consciousness.

1. はじめに

「リソグラフ」(Risographie; Riso [独]/ Risograph; Riso [英])とは、理想科学工業株式会社という日本企業が開発した孔版印刷機、およびこれを用いて創作された印刷物を指す。本論は、現在10-30代の若者世代を中心に、ドイツと日本において新たなアートメディアとして浸透しつつある「リソグラフ」の現状について概説し、またリソグラフがなぜ現在若い世代にアートメディアとして広く受け入れられているのかを検討する。リソグラフが若い世代に広まった原因は、次の三点にまとめられる。①インク色の不自由さが逆説的にもたらず創造性、②複製の容易さとアンコントロールビリティ、そして③エコロジーとの親和性である。

国内ではリソグラフはいまだ学術的調査研究の対象にはなっていないが、国外ではすでにリソグラフの研究拠点やアーカイブが複数存在し¹、ドイツにも「Herbarium-Riso」と名付けられたアーカイブが2010年からベルリンで運営されている。リソグラフに関する先行文献としてはジョン・コムルキによる『リソマニア：印刷の新たなスピリット』(John Z.Komurki, *RISOMANIA. The New Spirit of Printing*. Salenstein: Niggli Verlag/Berlin: Vetro Editions, 2017)

や、スヴェン・ティラックによる『エクスプロリソ：ローテクなファインアート』（Sven Tillack, *Exploriso: Low-tech Fine Art*. Leipzig: Spector Books, 2021）等の単著があるが、何れも日本国内の資料を十分参照しているとは言い難い。そこで本論ではリソグラフ発祥地の観点から、ドイツおよび日本におけるリソグラフ文化の展開を論じたい。

2. 「芸術実践」としてのリソグラフ

「リソグラフ」は、理想科学工業株式会社という日本の企業が1980年に発表した孔版印刷機シリーズに名付けた名称である。とはいえ、国内ではリソグラフよりもむしろ「輪転機」あるいは「ガリ版印刷機」といった一般名詞のほうがなじみ深い。リソグラフはいわゆるコピー機（レーザープリンター）とほぼ同じような外見をしているが、内部機構が異なる。レーザープリンターは、最大4色のトナー粉末をレーザーで熱して紙に付着させることによって印刷する。一方、リソグラフは細かい穴があいたマスターを制作し（孔版）、単色インクが入った回転ドラムからそのマスターを通じてインクを押し出して紙に載せるものであり、都度一色ずつしか刷ることができない。デジタル的に出力されるレーザープリントに比べて、アナログ的な孔版を用いるリソグラフはカスレやズレが生じやすいが、ある程度多くの部数を印刷する場合はより安価で高速である。そのためリソグラフは、印刷品質が低くても構わないような印刷物をつくるための事務機器として、学校、公民館、スーパーマーケットなど私たちの日常生活の隅々で使われている。

さてこうした日本国内でのイメージに反して、ドイツ語圏をはじめとする欧州および米国において「リソグラフ」という語は、単なる一企業が作った日用的な事務機器であるという以上の意味を付与されているようである。その証左として、現在ドイツには「リソグラフ・スタジオ」を名乗るグラフィックアートの創作拠点が72箇所も存在する²。いずれも理想科学工業株式会社とは無関係である。これらは、個人あるいは小規模団体が自ら任意の原稿を持ち込み、そこにあるリソグラフ機器を用いて、自ら印刷物を制作するための空間である。個人や少人数によるコレクティブによって運営されている場合が多いが、公共サービスとして自治体によって運営されている場合もある。個人によって運営されているスタジオの一つ、ベルリンの「we make it/Herbarium-Riso」は、自らを次のように規定している。

これは芸術的・政治的実践を行う場所であり、セルフパブリッシングの根源と向き合う空間である、と私たちは考えています。自己実現を後押しし、芸術・政治・情報を民主化し、可視化し、アクセス可能にすることを後押しします。そしてまた低予算・無予算で、印刷機械を持たず、共同作業を必要としている人の必要にも応えます。³

この言明が示しているように、リソグラフ・スタジオは単なる事務的なコピーセンターではなく、むしろ「芸術実践」「政治実践」を行うための印刷所として捉えられている。「セルフパブリッシングの根源と向き合う」とは、芸術・政治・情報の「民主化」(democratization)のツールとして、あらためて印刷を捉え返すということであろう。リソグラフ・スタジオによって可能になるのは、一人の権威ある美術家が制作し、美術館に飾られているような既存のアートではなく、誰でも自ら制作し、印刷機で複製し、シェアするという民主的なアートのあり方である。あるいは、特権的な少数に主導権を委ねるのではなく、印刷を通じて知識や意見をシェアするという民主政治のあり方である。

では、なぜ「リソグラフ」が芸術や政治の「民主化」のためのツールとしてとりわけ好まれるようになったのだろうか。なるほど、日本でも印刷速度やコストの面から、リソグラフは政治ビラを作るのによく用いられた。リソグラフは、一分あたり190枚の印刷が可能であるという⁴。対して、レーザープリンターは一分あたり20枚ほどの速度である。また、セルフパブリッシングに適した百～数千ほどの部数を印刷する場合には、コストの点でもリソグラフの方が安価である。とはいえ、いくら速くてもリソグラフは単色印刷機であり、複数の版を重ねて印刷すればズレたり掠れたりするしで、政治ビラには足りてもアートの用には適さない、というのが国内における一般的な認識であろう。そのため日本でリソグラフは事務機器の域を出なかった。対してドイツではリソグラフは「芸術実践」に結びつけられ、先に挙げたスヴェン・ティラックの著書のタイトルにあるように「ファインアート」とも呼びうるメディアとして見なされている。一体リソグラフの何が、若いアーティストたちをこれほど惹きつけたのか。それは以下に示すような三点が考えられる。

①インク色の不自由さが逆説的にもたらす創造性

第一に、リソグラフに用いられるインク色の不自由さが挙げられる。リソグラフは日本においてあくまで事務機器としての実用性を追究して開発されたため、通常のフルカラー印刷には不向きであり、その他のフルカラー印刷機と比べて発色のコントロールは不自由である。しかしこの不自由さが、逆説的にアーティストの創造性を刺激したようである。その逆説を論じる前提として、日本におけるリソグラフの開発過程について述べておきたい。

リソグラフの原点は、鉄筆で蠟引きの紙をガリガリと削って版を作り、その版を通してインクを紙に謄写する「ガリ版」である。国内では19世紀末から1960年代にかけて、事務から文化・社会活動まで広い用途に用いられていた⁵。リソグラフを開発した理想科学工業

株式会社の創立者である羽山昇も、敗戦後1946年に大学入学と同時に生計を立てるためにガリ版職人としてキャリアをスタートしている⁶。まもなく「理想社」の名前で謄写版印刷業を開業し、しばらくイギリスからの輸入品インクを用いていたところ、船便輸入の不確実さなどからインクの開発も手がけるようになり、1954年に最初の自社製インク「RISOインク」を発表した。さらに1960年代後半からは印刷機そのものの開発に着手し、1977年にB6サイズの家庭用孔版印刷機「プリントゴッコ」を発売したのち、1980年に「リソグラフ」を発表し、翌々年にはハノーファー・メッセにこれを出品している。

以上のようにリソグラフはガリ版を原点として開発された印刷機であり、専用インクもまたガリ版の発想から開発された。したがってフルカラー再現のためにプリンターでよく用いられるシアン、マゼンタ、イエロー、ブラックの四色に対応するようなインクは作られず、あくまで単色ごとのニーズに答える形で、すなわちまず黒色、次に学校用に朱色、葬式用に灰色、あるいは取引企業から大量購入の希望が出ればその色を、といった具合に一つずつインクが開発されていったという⁷。現在リソグラフの「基本色」として販売されているのはブラック、グレー、ライトグレー、レッド、ブライトレッド、リソーマリーンレッド、バーガンディーレッド、ブラウン、イエロー、グリーン、ティールグリーン、ブルー、ミディアムブルー、リソーフエデラルブルー、パープル、蛍光ピンク、蛍光オレンジの17色である。赤が四色、青が三色あるのに対して黄色は一色しかないなど、色数に偏りがあるのはこうした開発の経緯が関わっているのだろう。

さて、このインクのラインナップの特殊性こそ、リソグラフのアート化の重要な契機の一つとなったと考えられる。通常のインク色によるフルカラー再現ができず、なかばランダムに開発された17色のインクの組み合わせで望みの色を表現しなければならないという制限が、却ってアーティストを刺激した。「Perfectly Acceptable Press」という米国シカゴのリソグラフ・スタジオを運営するマット・デイヴィスは、「リソの興隆」と題されたオンラインのインタビュー記事中で次のように述べている。

標準のオフセット色域外にある色の組み合わせを見ることは、我々のCMYKで飽和した視覚に、本質的なインスピレーションをもたらします。⁸

CMYK（シアン、マゼンタ、イエロー、ブラック）の4色の組み合わせによって、理論的には全ての色調が再現できるとされているため、フルカラープリンターの中にはこれら4色のインクが入っており、あらゆる色はこれによって表現される。私たちはこの4色の組み合わせによる印刷物に取り囲まれている。しかし既存の色表現で「飽和した視覚」を持って余していたデイヴィスのようなアーティストたちに対して、リソグラフの単色の組み

合わせの自由は新たな表現の幅を与えることとなった。例えばあるアーティストは、8版を重ねて色を作り出すことによって、通常のCMYKを使用したフルカラー表現を超える重厚さ、絢爛さ、ディテールを出すことに成功している⁹。

なお各リソグラフ・スタジオは、それぞれの懐具合に合わせた数のインクを備えている。基本色17色のうち、5~6色しか持っていないスタジオも、30色近く持っているスタジオもあるが、各々がその制限の中で「視覚の飽和」を打ち破ることに挑戦していると言える。

②複製の容易さとアンコントロールラビリティ

第二に、リソグラフを用いた複製の容易さとアンコントロールラビリティが挙げられる。リソグラフは、レーザープリンターなどのデジタルコピーと同じくらい簡単に製版・複製を行うことができる。扱うために特殊なトレーニングや職人的技術が要らない印刷機である。この点がまず、民主的なアートメディアとして若者たちの支持を得るのを後押しした。

とはいえリソグラフは、デジタルコピーのように正確な原版の再現ができない。しかしその即興性・予測不可能性が、作品の芸術性を損なうのではなく、むしろ高めると理解されていることに注目したい。ドイツのベルリンにあるリソグラフ・スタジオ「Woelfins Risographie」のオーナーは次のように述べている。

私が特に面白いと感じるのは、リソグラフが他のどのデジタル印刷方式とも異なり、芸術的なプロセスそのものに介入するということです。リソでの印刷はまるで、作品の最後に加える一つの材料のようなものです。何が生まれるかをあらかじめ分からないままに行うのです。リソグラフは、デジタルなデザインやオリジナルの作品を正確にコピーするということは意図していません。その逆です。アーティストとして、私はリソグラフに少しのコントロールを委ねてしまいます。そしてその結果、ほとんどいつも、何らかの仕方で私を驚かせてくれます。¹⁰

リソグラフを用いた複製のプロセスにおいては、ズレ、掠れ、色むら、混色、インクが手につくことによって生じる汚れなどが不可避である。これは原版からの逸脱として通常は忌避されるが、リソグラフに取り組む若者たちはこれをむしろ「作品の最後に加える一つの材料」、すなわちクリエイションのプロセスの一部として捉えている。芸術創造における全てのプロセスを自分でコントロールしようとするのではなく、自らの力の及ばないものをむしろ積極的な価値と見るという点で、リソグラフは脱人間中心主義という現代に顕著な思想的動向とも響き合うものである。

③エコロジーとの親和性

第三に、若い世代のアーティストの多くが有するエコロジーへの関心に合致したという点が挙げられる。カールスルーエにある「Buero Nashi」というサステナブルであること（Nachhaltigkeit）をその仕事の中核に据えているデザイン事務所は、現代のデジタル社会において、「触覚的なもの」（etwas Haptisches）が若者世代に語りかける特別な魅力について語りつつ、その一方でインクや紙などの資源を印刷に用いる際にはサステナビリティを最大限に考慮する必要性があると指摘する。そして、その両方の要求を満たすのが、リソグラフであるという。彼らは(1)インク、(2)紙、(3)印刷工程の3点から、他の印刷方法と比べて、リソグラフがとりわけサステナブルな印刷方法だと結論づけている¹¹。

(1)インクについて「Buero Nashi」は、「いずれも食品産業廃棄物である大豆油または米ぬか油をベースにしているため、非常にサステナブル」と評価している。なお実際はこの理解は少し古いものであって、リソグラフインクはかつて黒色以外は輸入大豆を原材料としていたが、現在は全色国産米ぬかを原材料としたライスインクである¹²。また(2)紙についても、リソグラフには「再生紙や、表面がざらざらした紙一般に特に適している」。そのため、例えば彼らはシュトゥットガルトの「Metapaper」というメーカーによる風力発電1000%で作られた再生紙をリソグラフと共に用いて、よりサステナブルな印刷を達成している。(3)印刷工程については、リソグラフは「他の印刷工程と比べてほとんどエネルギーを用いない」とされる。レーザープリンターは一枚一枚印刷するごとに熱を発するが、リソグラフは版を作成する時の一度しか熱を出さない。その上、シルクスクリーン印刷機のように、洗浄に化学薬品や大量の水を必要とすることもない。

以上のような点で、リソグラフはエコロジーへの関心が高い文化的な若者たちの支持を受け、価値化されている。

3. 結論

現在の若者の間でリソグラフがなぜ求められたか、翻って、現在の若者が求めているのは何か。この問いに対して本論ではドイツのリソグラフアーティストらの活動や表明に即して、①インク色の不自由さが逆説的にもたらす創造性、②複製の容易さとアンコントロールビリティ、そして③エコロジーとの親和性という三つの観点から考察した。日本の事務用品を出自とするため、本来はアートには向かないさまざまな制約を持つが、それがかえってアーティストを惹きつけた。また同時に、事務用品として作られたが故の創造工程の容易さが、アートの民主化を求める若い世代の芸術観に合致したのだと言えよう。

日本でも2018年に「Hand Saw Press」というリソグラフ・スタジオが生まれ、国内のリソ

グラフィックを牽引している。本研究の資料の大部分はこのスタジオを菅野信介氏と共同主宰する安藤僚子氏から提供されたものである。ここでは政治、アート、情報の民主化を求める日本の若者たちが毎日足を運び、リソグラフによって発信を続けている。デジタル媒体では見ることのできない若者文化の活発な側面を垣間見ることができる、貴重で刺激的な場所である。

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1 マーストリヒトにある大学院大学ヤン・ファン・アイク・アカデミー (Jan van Eyck Academie) の「印刷出版研究室」 (Printing & Publishing Lab) はオンラインでも研究成果を発表し続けており(<https://www.janvaneyck.nl/>)、2012～2020年には「Magical Riso」と題した主催会合を毎年開催していた。

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編集後記

本論文集は、山岡記念財団主催の「第8回若者文化シンポジウム 国際比較からみる若者のアイデンティティと社会参加」（2024年3月13日、ゲーテ・インスティトゥート・ヴィラ鴨川で開催）に基づくものである。論文集としては第4巻となる。

このシンポジウムは、財団による「日本と欧州（ドイツ語圏）の若者文化・ライフスタイルの研究」への研究助成を受けた若手研究者たち（応募締切時点で40歳未満）の成果発表の場として、毎年1回、年度末に開催されている。例年、多様な文化領域・文化現象にアプローチする自由な創意に満ちた研究成果が報告されているが、その研究領域は、年々さらに多様性と広がりを増しているように感じる。今回の報告内容も、趣味に対する認識、障害のある性的少数者の社会運動、自発的な防災活動への参加、ビーガン（完全菜食主義）、リソグラフ文化と多岐にわたった。しかし全体を貫く軸として、日独比較という従来からの基本的な分析軸に加え、若者のアイデンティティと社会参加をテーマとするという共通項がみられた。こうした研究の趨勢は、グローバル化と情報化が進展する現代社会において、若者のアイデンティティの問い直しや価値観の再構築が、ますます多様な文化領域で展開されていることの反映であろう。若い世代の研究者たちが、柔軟な感性と鋭い観察力によって、同世代の若者たちのそうした活動にまなざしを向けていることが、このシンポジウムを通して生き生きと伝わってきた。本論文集では、そのような新鮮な研究成果のエッセンスを、ぜひじっくりと読み取っていただければ幸いである。

シンポジウムの開催方式は、2020年度から感染対策の必要上、対面とオンラインとのハイブリッドとなり、かつ、ドイツからの参加の便宜（時差）を考慮して、日本時間午後4時開始という、やや変則的な時間帯となっている。コロナ化を契機として導入されたこの方式は、期せずして、日本語圏とドイツ語圏とをつなぐグローバルな研究交流という、研究助成とシンポジウムの趣旨を具体化するうえで非常に有益であることがわかった。他の学会やシンポジウムでも、2020年度以降定着したハイブリッド方式のそうした効用は折々感じることはあるが、とくにこの若者文化シンポジウムは、開催の趣旨と開催方式との高度な一致という点で、最も成功している例ではないかと思う。

この研究助成・シンポジウムが今後ますます継続・発展していくことを期待しつつ、今回の5名をはじめとして、シンポジウムに参画された多くの若手研究者の方々、そして常務理事の雪野弘泰さんをはじめ、新進気鋭の若手研究者たちの研究活動をしっかり支援していただいている山岡記念財団の皆様に謝意を表し、本報告書を閉じることにしたい。

山岡記念財団諮問委員
京都大学大学院人間・環境学研究科教授
吉田 純

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編者 吉田 純・田野大輔

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大阪市北区茶屋町1-32 YANMAR FLYING-Y BUILDING

TEL:06-7636-0219 FAX:06-7636-0212

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