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Homelessness in Osaka: Globalisation, *Yoseba* and Disemployment

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Summary. Homeless people have increased and become visible socially in Japan since the mid 1990s. There has also been a corresponding increase in sociological studies of homelessness. These studies have sought to analyse the unique characteristics of homeless people: rough sleepers, ex-day-labourers, single men, the elderly and so on. The life conditions of homeless people have also been analysed: how they get jobs, foods and shelter; how they make networks among themselves; how they resist violence from the mainstream citizenry and so on. However, in order to understand the observed situations of homeless people correctly, the economic, institutional and structural backgrounds of homelessness in Japan must be analysed on a macro and historical level. To date, no such study has been undertaken. This paper seeks to fill that gap. It analyses the processes through which homelessness has appeared in Japan. It has three specific aims. The first is to analyse the economic background of homelessness by focusing on two phenomena brought by globalisation to Japan: deyosebisation, which means the gradual disappearance of day-labourers from *yoseba* (the day-labour market); and the disemployment of casually employed unskilled workers in the general labour market. The second is to analyse the institutional background of homelessness to regulate the homeless population, especially by focusing on social welfare. The third is to analyse the structural background of homelessness to regulate the homeless population by focusing on two affiliate groups: company and family/relatives. The research field of this paper is Metropolitan Osaka in the 1990s.

1. Introduction

The effects of economic globalisation are apparent in Japan. It brings a shift from manufacturing industry to services in the industrial structure and the intensification of intercorporate competition. These changes lead to the deyosebisation of day-labourers from the day-labour market and the disemployment of casually employed unskilled workers in the general labour market. And both of deyosebisation and disemployment result in an increase in the number of homeless people. Homeless people have increased steadily in Japan, especially in the second half of the 1990s. They were 16 247 in 1998, 20 451 in 1999 and 24 090 in 2001 (homepage of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2001). How can this fact be explained? We will analyse the relationships among deyosebisation, disemployment, homeless policy, affiliate groups and home-

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lessness in Japan. This paper has three claims.

(1) globalisation brings deyosebisation of day-labourers and disemployment of casually employed unskilled workers in Japanese cities and forces many to become homeless. 'Deyosebisation', a term coined by the author, means the process in which day-labourers flow out of the *yoseba* (the urban day-labour market) and become homeless;[1] 'disemployment' is used here to mean job loss by the casually employed unskilled worker in the general labour market.
(2) Japan has social policies to support homeless people and to prevent people from becoming homeless but these policies are insufficient to solve the problem.
(3) Japanese company welfare systems and family kinship networks help to prevent people from becoming homeless but these institutions are weakening under the impact of globalisation.

All of these can be summarised as follows: globalisation positively causes homelessness; and, the homeless population is regulated by three backgrounds: economic, institutional and structural.

Thus this paper has three specific tasks. The first is to analyse the economic background of homelessness in Japan: deyosebisation and disemployment. The second is to analyse the institutional background of homelessness: social policies concerning jobs, shelter and social welfare. The third is to analyse the structural background of homelessness: exclusion from two affiliate groups: company and family/relatives. The field of study is Metropolitan Osaka, a global city where the central and managerial functions of the global economy are concentrated (Friedmann 1986/1995, pp. 25, 40) (OCEA, 2000, p. 7) and which has Japan's biggest homeless population and is home to Kamagasaki, the biggest *yoseba* in Japan.

2. Theoretical Overview

Globalisation is proceeding apace in Japan. Metropolitan Osaka is becoming a global city. This process has been particularly apparent in Japan during the 1990s. Globalisation itself is an inclusive concept with various aspects: economic, institutional, social and cultural. However, this paper refers only to its economic aspect. We have many studies of globalisation and many discussions about its character in the US: generalisation and nationalisation, or localisation of globalisation in a particular country. Most opinions about globalisation seem to concur on two points. First, after the 1980s, globalisation changes its character under new historical conditions: the appearance of literally global capitalism caused by the collapse of Soviet Russia and the shrinking of the world in time and space caused by the revolution in information technology. Many studies have emphasised deindustrialisation, the intensification of intercorporate competition and economic informalisation especially in the last three decades of the 20th century (Wilson, 1987; Rossi, 1989, p. 32; Wagner and Cohen, 1991, p. 544; Blau, 1992, p. 10; Sassen, 1996/1999, p. 98; Schwartzman, 1998, p. 167; Castells, 1999, p. 110; Wacquant, 2000, pp. 110–111; Kano, 2000, p. 2152). Secondly, although the term globalisation was originally used to mean the process of constructing a unitary world market in the capitalistic system, it necessarily has a nationalised and localised form whenever and wherever it penetrates each country—hence the nationalisation of globalisation (Castells, 1999, p. 79), the interpenetration of the universalism and the particularism of globalisation (Robertson and Khondker, 1998, p. 28), globalisation as the hybridisation of supranationalism and sub-national regionalism (Pieterse, 1994, p. 166), the crucial role of the nation-state's economic policy in globalisation (Sassen, 1996/1999; Fulcher, 2000, pp. 522, 529) and the contextualisation of globalisation in urban regions (Komai, 1994, p. 40; Machimura, 1994, p. 32; Tasaka, 1998, p. 4; Nishizawa, 2000, pp. 30, 32; Kano, 2000, p. 2149).

We have many studies about homelessness too. Although they have some differences

one from another, they seem to agree that a new type of homelessness appeared in the US after the 1980s (Rossi, 1989, pp. 39–44, Elliot and Krivo, 1991, p. 113, Castells, 1999, p. 236), and that deindustrialisation, the intensification of intercorporate competition and economic informalisation are the main underlying causal factors (Harrington, 1984, p. 102; Hopper and Hamburg, 1984, p. 126; Wagner and Cohen, 1991, p. 544; Hopper and Milburn, 1996, p. 126; Castells, 1999, pp. 110, 206; Osawa, 1999, p. 327; Elliot and Krivo, 1991, pp. 115, 122; Blau, 1992, pp. 10, 42; Koegel *et al.*, 1996, p. 27; Wacquant, 2000, p. 110).

Homelessness in Japan closely resembles that of the US, although the population began to increase in Japan a little later than in the US—that is, in the first half of the 1990s. An increase in sociological studies of homelessness followed (Nishizawa, 1995; Nakane, 1997; Shima, 1999; Aoki, 1999 and 2000). These studies traced the new type of homelessness appearing in the 1990s to the worsening economic recession afflicting Japan at that time, but we have very few studies that specifically identify the positive relationship between globalisation and homelessness. Shima wrote that homeless people in Osaka increased just after the collapse of the bubble economy in 1993 (Shima, 1999, p. 92). This recognition was shared by other analysts (Iwata, 1997, p. 115; Fukuhara and Nakayama, 1999, p. 25; Nishizawa, 2000, p. 27; Morita, 2001, p. 33; Tamaki and Yamaguchi, 2000). Kasai labelled such homeless people of the 1990s as the 'new homeless', differing in character from their predecessors (Kasai, 1995, p. 11). According to him, chronic structural unemployment and insufficient low-cost housing led to the appearance of numerous homeless people after the collapse of the bubble economy in Japan.

The *yoseba* plays a special role in the dynamics of homelessness in Japan. Almost 60 per cent of homeless people in Osaka come from the Kamagasaki *yoseba*. A *yoseba* is a segregated district in a big city, where labour recruiters deliver jobs to day-labourers. It might be compared with the skid row of the US before the 1960s and, especially, before World War II (Wallace, 1965, pp. 23–24; Rossi, 1989, pp. 39–44)[2]. There are four big *yosebas* in Japan: San'ya in Tokyo, Kotobuki-chô in Yokohama, Sasajima in Nagoya and Kamagasaki in Osaka. In the case of San'ya, Kotobuki-chô and Kamagasaki, the *yoseba* is also a *doya-gai*, which means a town of *doya*—cheap, single- room-occupancy hotels (SROs) for day-labourers. The labour recruiter goes to the *yoseba*, negotiates with day-labourers and takes them to work sites. There are ethnographic studies of San'ya (Nishizawa, 1995; Fowler, 1996), Kotobuki-chô (Gill, 2001) and Kamagasaki (Aoki, 1989).

Finally, the concept of homelessness must be explained. The definition of homelessness is widely discussed in the US (Jencks, 1994, pp. 1–7), and, indeed, the definition is important when counting numbers of homeless people and understanding the theoretical and practical problems of homelessness. In the US, homeless people are generally thought to include not only rough-sleepers, but also people staying with friends and relatives on a temporary basis and those living in hostels or bed-and-breakfast hotels (Kennedy and Fitzpatrick, 2001, p. 2001). There are also some Japanese discussions of the definition of homelessness (Kasai, 1995, p. 6; Nakane, 1999, pp. 209–210; Aoki, 2000, pp. 98–105; Nishizawa, 2000, p. 27). The definition of homeless people is much narrower in Japan than in the US. In Japan it is common to confine homeless people to the visible rough-sleepers or the shelterless—that is, "the most extreme manifestation of homelessness" (Third, 2002, p. 448). Rough-sleepers in Japan are people who literally sleep on the roads, who live in the makeshift shacks made of cardboard or vinyl at the parks, the riverbeds and the station yards and who are accommodated only temporarily in shelters managed by city government. There is one reason why the definition is so narrow in Japan. It is that only these immediately visible forms of homelessness are regarded as being important socially and politically—not only by the citizenry, but also by city govern-

ment. But the problem of latent and invisible homeless people, who are now excluded from the definition of homeless people, is getting more serious at present.

3. Methods of Data Collection

The data used in this paper include primary and secondary sources about *yoseba* and homelessness. They were collected by various methods, mainly in Osaka. Surveys took place intermittently during the 1990s. The primary sources were collected through participant observation at informal meetings, political assemblies, rallies, collective bargaining with the city government and volunteer activities for homeless people, and through intensive interviews with day-labourers, homeless people, labour activists and public officials. The secondary sources include statistical publications, reports of surveys, books, papers, pamphlets, newspapers and information gathered from e-mails and websites. The main survey field was Kamagasaki and its surrounding areas in Osaka. San'ya and Kotobuki-chô were secondary survey fields.

The fieldwork aimed to maximise personal contacts with day-labourers and homeless people—for example, by befriending them, by staying at SROs and by participating in the activities of labour unions and various groups for supporting homeless people. Thus, the main method of collecting data may be summarised as the life-history method. Those data were used in interpreting the inner worlds of lives of day-labourers and homeless persons. They helped the author to interpret the actual meanings of the macro and objective aspects of homelessness in this paper, too.

4. Homelessness in Osaka

Unfortunately, only one large-scale survey of homeless people in Osaka has been made so far: the *Report of General Survey Concerning Homeless People in Osaka*, published by the Osaka City University's Study Group of Urban Environmental Issues (OCUSG) in 2001, which was sponsored by the Osaka City Government. Let me begin by drawing the picture of homelessness in Osaka as revealed by this report.

4.1 The Picture of Homeless People

There were 8660 homeless people in Osaka in 1998 (Shima, 1999, p. 20)—a greater number than the 5800 recorded in Tokyo that year.[3] The population of Osaka Prefecture was 8 805 081, which was smaller than the figure for Metropolitan Tokyo (12 064 101) in 2000. Mizu'uchi states that the size of the labour market in Tokyo is about four times bigger than in Osaka and that the service industry especially absorbs more labourers in Tokyo than in Osaka (Mizu'uchi, 2001, pp. 34–35). This helps to explain why homeless people in Osaka are more numerous than in Tokyo. Although we do not have any material by which we may know the number of homeless people in Osaka before 1998, it seems certain that they increased markedly in the 1990s. Kamagasaki is the main centre of Osaka's homeless population. The number of homeless people around Kamagasaki was 422 in 1990, 939 in 1992, 1641 in 1994, 1125 in 1996 and, very strikingly, 4579 in 1998 (Shima, 1999, pp. 19–22). OCUSG interviewed 672 homeless people in 1998 (OCUSG, 2001). The results are summarised as follows.

The period of homelessness was short in general. Four out of 10 of respondents were homeless for less than 8 months (41.1 per cent) (OCUSG, 2001, p. 29). People homeless for 8 months to 1 year accounted for 34.2 per cent of the whole. That is, more than three-quarters of respondents were homeless for less than 1 year and 8 months. Almost all respondents were men (97.0 per cent) (OCUSG, 2001, p. 23). Seven out of 10 of respondents did not have any contact with families or relatives (69.2 per cent) (p. 56). Seven out of ten of respondents had experience of marriage or co-habitation (69.7 per cent) (p. 56). Seven out of 10 of respondents that had been married before were now divorced (69.2 per cent). Most respondents

lived alone at the time they were interviewed (87.9 per cent) (p. 31). Most homeless people were middle-aged or elderly. More than 4 out of 10 respondents were between 50 and 60 years old (45.0 per cent) and more than 3 out of 10 respondents were more than 60 years old (34.5 per cent) (p. 24). Only one-fifth were below 40 years old (20.3 per cent). They were 53.4 years old on average.

Jobs that the respondents had before becoming homeless were mainly manual and low in the job hierarchy. Former construction workers constituted 44.5 per cent of the whole, factory workers 22.0 per cent, workers in the service sector 10.9 per cent (p. 259). Their employment status was unstable. The full-timers made up only one-fifth of the homeless (19.1 per cent) and the casually employed were 7 out of 10 of respondents (71.0 per cent) (p. 260). Jobs which the respondents had just before becoming homeless were more manual and lower in the job hierarchy than before. Seven out of 10 respondents had manual jobs mainly in the construction industry (69.2 per cent) (p. 164). The majority of them were employed on a daily basis (85.6 per cent). The respondents became homeless because of no job (69.6 per cent), no money (18.1 per cent), dismissal (11.4 per cent) and other reasons including business failure, loan, loss of will to work and so on (21.4 per cent) (p. 293).

There were two reasons for becoming homeless according to the respondents. The first was the chronic economic recession in the 1990s. Many labourers lost their jobs and could not get any other job. Among them, people who did not have any safety resource to survive—such as monetary help from another, savings or a pension—were rendered homeless. Secondly, it was difficult for many labourers to do heavy work such as digging and rock-breaking because of old age and/or physical handicap. Eight out of 10 respondents had jobs when interviewed (80.0 per cent) (p. 31). The majority of them did light work such as the collection of unwanted materials (79.7 per cent) (p. 32). Less than 1 out of 10 did heavy work such as construction-site labouring (9.1 per cent). Finally, more than half of respondents had previous job experience in Kamagasaki (57.9 per cent) (p. 48), and more than 4 out of 10 respondents were seeking jobs at Kamagasaki when interviewed (44.3 per cent) (p. 51).

This picture of homelessness in Osaka largely applies to Tokyo too (RCHHR, 1998, pp. 2–10; SGUL, 1999; Tamaki and Yamaguchi, 2000; Hagiwara, 2001) and, indeed, to provincial cities like Hiroshima (GSSL, 1998, pp. 2–33)—except for one characteristic. That is, the ratio of homeless people who had been construction labourers was bigger in Osaka than in any other cities. Likewise, the size of the *yoseba*, a barracks for what Karl Marx called the 'reserve army' of labour serving the construction industry, was bigger in Osaka than in Tokyo. Homeless people in Osaka have a closer relationship with the *yoseba* than those in Tokyo. The ratio of homeless people with job experience at San'ya (Tokyo's main *yoseba*) was 41.5 per cent of the whole in 1999 (SGUL, 1999, p. 95). That compares with 57.9 per cent of Osaka homeless people who had previous job experience in Kamagasaki in 1998 (OCUSG, 2001, p. 48).

Osaka's homeless people settle down together in villages of makeshift shacks made of cardboard or vinyl at the terminal station (Osaka Station and Tennôji Station), the parks (Nagai Park, Osaka Castle Park and Ôgimachi Park), the riverbeds (Yodo River and Tenma River) and the business districts (Nanba and Kita). They have come to be regarded as an eyesore by pedestrians and neighbouring residents and often are violently harassed by them. They organise themselves in order to resist the demolition of their shacks by policemen. So the clashes between homeless people and policemen sometimes happen. The biggest clash was between about 200 homeless people and about 1000 policemen at Shinjuku Station in Tokyo in 1996 (Nakajima, 1996). In December 1998, there was a confrontation when policemen evicted 70 homeless people from the road near Kamagasaki (Nonomura, 2000, p. 54). These clashes were televised all over Japan. Homeless people got the public's at-

tention because of their social visibility. Their existence itself was constructed as one of the most emergent problems in contemporary Japan.

4.2 The Characteristics of Homelessness

Homeless people in Osaka are characterised demographically by this 1998 survey as follows. Their uniqueness becomes clearer when compared with the homeless in the US (Rossi, 1989, pp. 39–44; Blau, 1992, p. 10; Koegel, 1996, p. 27; NCH, 1999). First, the homeless population in Osaka is relatively small in comparison with that of the US.[4] Secondly, homeless people increased markedly in the second half of the 1990s in Osaka, while they increased before the first half of 1990s in the US. Thirdly, most homeless people were men in Osaka. Homeless people were men, women and children in the US, although men were most numerous. Fourthly, homeless people in Osaka had been separated from their families and relatives and were living alone. Homeless families with children have particularly increased in number over the past decade in the US. Fifthly, most homeless people in Osaka were more than 50 years old. In the US, they are children, youths and middle-aged people. Sixthly, homeless people in Osaka had been unskilled manual workers and their employment status had become unstable. They were day-labourers, especially in the construction industry, at the time of being interviewed and they became homeless because they had lost their jobs due to the economic recession and ageing. Homeless people were often victims of domestic violence, veterans, persons with mental illness and persons suffering from addiction disorders in the US. Seventhly, homeless people did light work such as the collection of unwanted materials in Osaka. In general, homeless people were jobless in the US. Some were employed sometimes, but their income was insufficient to afford one- or two-bedroom apartments. Eighthly, many homeless people in Osaka came from *yoseba* and sought jobs there even after becoming homeless. Homeless people did not have any *yoseba* in the US. And, ninthly, homeless people in Osaka comprised one ethnicity—Japanese. In the US, homeless people were of various ethnicities: African-American, Caucasian, Hispanic, Native American and Asian.

Homeless people in Osaka are in stark contrast to those in the US, as we have seen. But what is the cause of this? This is the next problem. But, before analysing it, we must consider the processes that lead to homelessness in Osaka by using the data of the OCUSG survey.

4.3 Two Types of Homelessness

According to the OCUSG survey, the respondents who had previous job experience in Kamagasaki were 57.9 per cent of the whole (672 persons) and the respondents who had not were 42.1 per cent (OCUSG, 2001, p. 48). These are the two main groups of homeless people. And there are two processes creating homelessness in Osaka. The first process is deyosebisation which pushes day-labourers out of the Kamagasaki *yoseba*. This forms the first type of homeless people—those who had been the ex-*yoseba* labourers (labourers getting jobs in the *yoseba*). Almost all of them had been construction labourers. More than 1000 homeless people stay in Kamagasaki now and more than 3000 homeless people have left Kamagasaki to go to other parts of Osaka. This category of homeless people amounted to almost 60 per cent of the total homeless population in Osaka (Shima, 1999, pp. 34, 89, 95). The second process is disemployment which pushes casually employed unskilled workers out of the general labour market. This forms the second type of homeless people—those who had been casually employed unskilled workers. They were construction labourers, factory workers and retailers (OCUSG, 2001, p. 283). Almost 60 per cent of them became homeless after 1996 (OCUSG, 2001, p. 107). This contrasts with 42.2 per cent of homeless people coming from Kamagasaki. Homeless persons coming

from outside Kamagasaki tended to have been homeless for shorter periods.

Which economic conditions gave rise to Osaka's unique type of homelessness and to these two specific types of homeless people? We shall answer this question by next focusing on the economic background of homelessness.

5. The Economic Background of Homelessness

5.1 Deyosebisation of Day-labourers

Yoseba. We begin by analysing deyosebisation as the cause of the first type of homeless people. A brief history of Kamagasaki *yoseba* must first be given in order to do so (NCDLU, 1985, Honma, 1993). But before that I will explain the *yoseba* a little. A *yoseba* is a segregated district where labour recruiters deliver jobs to day-labourers who are mostly single men. Kamagasaki is the biggest *yoseba* in Japan.[5] The labour recruiters are usually agents of companies who are the actual employers or employers with small-sized enterprises, themselves mostly in the construction industry.[6] Day-labourers who use the *yoseba* are divided into two groups. First, there is the fundamental group of day-labourers who can get jobs regularly. They belong to the core group of active day-labourers. Secondly, there is the peripheral group of day-labourers, who cannot get jobs because of ageing and/or a physical handicap. They are the core population of unemployed labourers and homeless people. The positions of both groups are fundamentally interchangeable. When the active labourer cannot get a job, he must become homeless because he cannot pay the rent of the *doya*. Conversely, when an unemployed labourer can get a job, he goes back to the *doya*. Thus these labourers can be called the 'fluid overpopulation' in the labour market, according to Marx's terminology (Marx, 1867, p. 670).

Kamagasaki's history. Kamagasaki has been through four stages since the start of the era of high economic growth in Japan. The first stage was the high-growth period in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. The high economic growth was led by two industries: heavy industry and manufacturing industry. Many people were pushed out from stagnant industries such as agriculture and absorbed in both the prosperous industries. The number of day-labourers increased markedly and Kamagasaki grew steadily too. It was in this era that Kamagasaki became the biggest day-labourers' district in Japan. Kamagasaki was transformed from a traditional type of slum, which had included many women and children among its residents, to a *doya-gai* whose residents were predominantly single men working as day-labourers. Many young labourers flowed into Kamagasaki. Day-labourers worked in such industries as construction (33.8 per cent of the whole in 1967), manufacturing (26.9 per cent) and transport (6.1 per cent) (NLWC data; quoted by Shima, 1999, p. 59).

The second stage was the era of lower economic growth and the so-called bubble economy in the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s. In the first half of this era, the economic growth rate declined continuously. Heavy industry and manufacturing both declined. Manufacturing was further mechanised and the system of production was rationalised. On the other hand, the service sector expanded. The construction industry also continued to grow because of increasing orders from the service industry. These trends gave way to the bubble economy in the 1980s, when overspeculation in business occurred, led by land speculation and a policy of financial expansion among the banking agencies. Many day-labourers of Kamagasaki were pushed out from manufacturing industry and absorbed in construction. More recruiters were sent to Kamagasaki by the construction companies. In this era, more than 80 per cent of day-labourers of Kamagasaki worked at construction sites (NLWC, 1999, p. 6). The employment of day-labourers became more unstable in consequence because it depended on the construction in-

dustry, which is highly sensitive to movements in the business cycle.

The third stage was the era of the immediate post-bubble economy in the first half of the 1990s. The bubble economy collapsed in 1993. Business activities decreased throughout the industrial sector. Many employees were laid off, resigned or retired from companies. The unemployment rate went up steadily. During this era, the construction industry played a role in employment adjustment and absorbed workers excluded from the other industries. Public investment by the national and local governments was stepped up in an attempt to spend the economy out of recession. Demand for new buildings from the service industry increased too. Construction orders from private business amounted to 60.6 per cent of all orders, with non-manufacturing business accounting for 82.5 per cent of the whole of private business (MCA, 1999, p. 328). The number of construction workers increased as a result. However, day-labourers decreased markedly because technical innovations cut the demand for them (Hippo, 1992, pp. 61–71). Day-labourers in Kamagasaki decreased as well. The number was 18 836 in 1995—that is, a 27.1 per cent decrease from 1990 (KRC, 1999). Most day-labourers (96.0 per cent in 1995) continued to engage in construction or civil engineering jobs introduced by the NLWC (NCDLU, 1999).

The fourth stage was the second era of the post-bubble economy in the second half of the 1990s. The recession continued. Business activities remained stagnant. But the amount of public investment shrank markedly. Many construction companies including some general contractors consequently went bankrupt. Over 5000 construction companies went bankrupt in Japan in 1997, a 32 per cent increase from 1996 (*Asahi*, 6 June 1998). Day-labourers decreased from 550 000 in 1975 to 300 000 in 1997 (NLWC, 1998). Day-labour contracts transacted by the NLWC were 3740 per day in 1995, 3225 in 1996, 2351 in 1997 (NLWC, 1998) and 1864 in 1998 (KDLU, 1999). A day-labourer in Kamagasaki could work only 6.5 days monthly on average (Shima, 1999, p. 72). The construction industry lost its ability to absorb the unemployed from other industries. Not only the unskilled, but also the skilled day-labourers such as scaffold constructors, plasterers and carpenters were excluded gradually from the day-labour market. On the other hand, unskilled jobs in service areas such as cleaning, building maintenance and security guard work increased. Many labourers transferred from civil engineering and construction to services.

Present-day Kamagasaki. Kamagasaki's history offers clues as to the cause of the increase in homeless people—predominantly single and middle-aged men—in Osaka. This history can be summarised as deyosebisation of day-labourers. The number of single-day cash-in-hand labour contracts (*genkin shigoto*) transacted yearly by the NLWC at Kamagasaki changed spectacularly in the last 20 years of the 20th century: 589 982 in 1981, 868 519 in 1985, 1 874 507 in 1989, 889 731 in 1993 and 775 740 in 1997 (data from NLWC; quoted in Nakane, 2002, p. 86).[7] The sharp increase at the end of the 1980s and the sharp decrease in the 1990s bear eloquent testimony to the historical transformation that I call deyosebisation. And it changes the method of management of day-labourers in Kamagasaki in four ways. First, as the demand for day work in the construction industry decreased, the labour recruiters retreated from Kamagasaki. The number of recruiters registered at NLWC was 2764 in 1991 and 1860 in 1997 (Fukada, 1998). Secondly, the method of labour delivery has diversified. Day-labourers used to get jobs mainly within Kamagasaki. But now many labourers get jobs through the 'help wanted' ads of newspapers and magazines and at places outside Kamagasaki such as train and subway stations, parks and riverside areas where many homeless people live together and so the recruiters go there to look for day-labourers. Thirdly, many day-labourers and homeless people get jobs in the service sector, working as baggage carriers, packers and security guards because of

difficulty in finding construction jobs. Fourthly, many day-labourers go to their work places without any arrangement with recruiters by negotiating with the employers directly. Thus the number of recruiters decreases (Aoki, 2000, pp. 41–42).

Given the decreasing demand for day work, many day-labourers cannot get jobs at all now. The unemployment insurance for a day-labourer becomes useless because he cannot register as an active labourer. Even if he can register, he cannot get the benefit if he cannot work for 26 days over a period of 2 months. Additionally, the employer sometimes refuses or is unable to pay the day-labourer's wage. Labour disputes in Kamagasaki have increased markedly.[8] But the day-labourer has to go to work even under poor conditions in order to get money for day-to-day food and lodging. Thus the status of the active day-labourer and that of the homeless person are no longer interchangeable. Only a very few skilled, healthy and young labourers can get jobs regularly. Most unskilled, disabled and elderly labourers cannot get jobs. Now the labourers are not homeless temporarily, but permanently. Thus, they can be called the 'stagnant overpopulation' in the labour market, Marx's terminology (Marx, 1867, p. 672).

5.2 The Disemployment of Casually Employed Unskilled Workers

Some economic trends in Osaka. Globalisation has hit Osaka, especially in the 1990s. Various economic trends in Osaka can be attributed to globalisation. For example, globalisation has brought a shift from manufacturing industry to services. The percentage of workers in manufacturing industry was 29.7 per cent of the total workforce in Osaka in 1985, 27.8 per cent in 1990 and 23.8 per cent in 1995 (OPCILD, 2000, p. 112). The percentage of workers in service industries was 20.2 per cent of the whole in 1985, 22.1 per cent in 1990 and 25.1 per cent (OPCILD, 2000, p. 112). The decrease in the share in manufacturing industry was brought about not only by the reduction in manufacturing industry itself, but also by the mechanisation of manufacturing processes and the rationalisation of labour management caused by the intensification of intercorporate competition. The intensification of intercorporate competition has had two results. First, there has been a decrease in the self-employed and an increase in company employees. The self-employed were 12.4 per cent of the employed labour force in Osaka in 1992 and 6.2 per cent in 1997 (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). Employees comprised 89.5 per cent of the whole in Osaka in 1992 and 91.2 per cent in 1997 (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). Secondly, labour has been casualised by companies' attempts to reduce employment costs. Full-timers were 80.4 per cent of all employees in Osaka in 1992 and 74.3 per cent in 1997 (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). The proportion of casual employees composed of day-labourers and part-timers was 19.6 per cent of the whole in 1992 and 25.7 per cent in 1997 (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). One in 4 employees was a causal worker in 1997.

Globalisation accompanied the chronic recession of Japan's economy. Osaka, with its large number of small-sized companies and casually employed unskilled workers, was hit seriously by globalisation and recession. The intensification of intercorporate competition was accelerated by the recession. This had two results. The first was the increase of business failure. There were 19 164 companies bankrupted with more than 10 million yen debt in Japan in 2001—a 29.2 per cent increase over the number in 1996 (TSR, 2002). The bankrupted companies in Metropolitan Osaka comprised 23.0 per cent of the whole in 2001. The second was the increase in the unemployment rate. The unemployment rate was 4.7 per cent in Japan in 1999 and 5.2 per cent in 2002 (MCA, 2001, p. 85; *Asahi*, 1 June 2002). It was 7.5 per cent in Osaka in 2001 surprisingly (*Asahi*, 1 June 2002).

Picture of workers just before becoming homeless. These economic conditions seem to have brought about the disemployment of the casually employed unskilled worker from

the general market and to have established the right kind of economic background for creating the second type of homeless people in Osaka. According to the OCUSG survey, the respondents without previous industrial experience in Kamagasaki (the second type of homeless people) had, just before becoming homeless, worked in the construction industry (55.6 per cent of the whole), the manufacturing industry (18.9 per cent) and the retailing industry (10.8 per cent) (OCUSG, 2001, p. 283). This contrasts with the figures for the respondents with previous industrial experience in Kamagasaki (the first type of homeless people): 91.4 per cent had worked in the construction industry, 2.2 per cent in the manufacturing industry and 1.7 per cent in the retailing industry (OCUSG, 2001, p. 283). The respondents without previous occupational experience in Kamagasaki had worked as construction workers (47.6 per cent of the whole), factory workers (18.7 per cent) and workers in service sector just before becoming homeless (OCUSG, 2001, p. 284). Workers in the service sector included clerks of *pachinko* parlour, factory guards, traffic guards, hotel cleaners, distributors of fliers and carriers of signboards (OCUSG, 2001, p. 294). This contrasts with the figures for the respondents who had previous occupational experience in Kamagasaki: 80.9 per cent were construction workers, 3.2 per cent were factory workers and 2.6 per cent were workers in service sector (OCUSG, 2001, p. 284). The respondents without previous job experience in Kamagasaki had been labourers employed on a daily basis (34.6 per cent of the whole), part-timers (36.0 per cent) and full-timers (15.8 per cent); 9.6 per cent were self-employed (OCUSG, 2001, p. 285). This contrasts with the respondents who had previous job experience in Kamagasaki: 90.6 per cent were labourers employed on a daily basis, 7.2 per cent were part-timers (OCUSG, 2001, p. 285). Finally, the respondents of the OCUSG survey said that they had become homeless due to no job (69.6 per cent), no money (18.1 per cent), dismissal (11.4 per cent) or other reasons including business failure, loan, loss of will to work and so on (21.4 per cent)(OCUSG, 2001, p. 293). Among them, some of the respondents who answered 'no job', 'no money' and 'other reasons' and all of the respondents who answered 'dismissal' seem to have been disemployed and to belong to the second type of homeless people. These figures can be summarised as follows. First, although the respondents without previous job experience in Kamagasaki and who had been construction workers in the construction industry were most numerous among them, there had been many factory workers and workers in the service sector, including in the retailing industry. Secondly, their status in the job hierarchy had been lower wholly.[9] Thirdly, each trend becomes clearer when the respondents without previous job experience in Kamagasaki are contrasted with the respondents with previous job experience.

Thus these trends seem to be the results of disemployment among the casually employed unskilled workers in the general labour market and thus a product of globalisation in Osaka.

Minor groups of homeless people. The respondents of the OCUSG survey include some minor groups of homeless people: youths (3.2 per cent of the whole), former white-collar workers (18.1 per cent), elderly over 70 years old (3.9 per cent) and women (3.0 per cent) (OCUSG, 2001, pp. 24, 259). Each group is minor in number but increasing steadily. There are few data on their professional backgrounds, but most of them seem to belong to the second type of homeless people—those without previous job experience in Kamagasaki. Homeless youths tended to have dropped out of school and/or adopted the life style of free workers (*frieter*) who had no regular job. But in fact, they were unable to get any decent jobs. Former white-collar workers became homeless because of the business failure of their companies or dismissal from them.[10] The elderly had escaped or had been excluded from the family, hospital or welfare accommodation because of personal troubles. Finally, some

women tended to have worked as cooks or maids at bunkhouses (*hanba*) and to have lost their jobs because of the closure of the bunkhouses.[11] Only these women belong to the first type of homeless people. Other homeless women had often escaped from the consumer-financing firms and had become homeless with their husbands.

Thus, these minor sub-groups of homeless people composed of youths, former white collar workers, the elderly and women have been disemployed in the general labour market and belong to the second type of homeless people in Osaka.

6. The Institutional Background of Homelessness

The next task is to analyse the institutional background of both the first type and the second type of homeless people in Osaka. The government's social policies to save homeless people have alleviated the severity of homeless people's life conditions and have made homeless people decrease in number. Since homeless people increased in the second half of the 1990s, there have appeared many groups supporting homeless people, especially in Kamagasaki.[12] Among them are nine supporting groups led by the Kamagasaki Day-labours' Union (KDLU), which organised day-labourers in Kamagasaki and founded the Kamagasaki Conference for Security of Job and Life of Homeless People (KCSJL) in 1993. Next, the KSSJL founded the Kamagasaki Organisation Supporting Homeless People (KOSHP) as a non-profit organisation in 1999. The KOSHP has forcefully asked the Osaka City Government (OCG) and Osaka Prefecture Government (OPG) to implement policies for the homeless. As a result, three measures were adopted by both the Governments.

First, the OPG started to deliver jobs to the elderly over 55 years old in 1994. The task was passed to the KOSHP in 1999. Registered on the project were 2821 persons in 2002 and the KOSHP delivered jobs to 218 of these per day (KOSHP, 2002). A registered person obtained a job only three times a month on average. There were too few jobs for those registered to get work constantly in order to survive. The KOSHP has asked the OPG to create more jobs and at the same time has asked the older registered persons—those over 65 years old (422 persons)—to apply for Social Welfare in order to decrease the total number registered for work. But it is not easy for the elderly to get welfare benefits, due to the institutional problems discussed below.

Secondly, the OCG started to construct temporary shelters for homeless people. It gave permission for homeless people to use the ground floor of Nishinari labour and Welfare Centre as a night shelter in 1994 (KCSJL, 2001). The OCG constructed a tent shelter in 1998, another tent shelter in 1999 and a prefabricated shelter in 2000 at Kamagasaki. And it constructed another prefabricated shelter at Nagai Park in 2000. Moreover, it constructed three more shelters enabling homeless persons to get both shelter *and* a job. Thus, homeless people have some kind of shelter in Osaka at present, but even these are very few in number. Each shelter can accommodate a few hundred persons at most, but there are almost 10 000 homeless people in Osaka in 2002. Consequently, many homeless people are not able to enter shelters. Moreover, all shelters are short-stay facilities and so homeless people must leave them after a temporary stay. Finally, it is difficult for homeless people to find jobs while staying at shelters, due to job scarcity, although the OCG asks them to look for jobs during their stay at shelters. Eventually, most homeless people end up becoming rough-sleepers again, without any resources for survival.

The third measure is Social Welfare. It is, in effect, the final measure to prevent a person from becoming homeless. But the welfare system is very inadequate for homeless people in Japan. Two requirements must be fulfilled if any person wants to get welfare benefit. First, the Daily Life Security Law (DLSL) specifies that only a person who registers a dwelling place with the city government can get the benefit. But a home-

less person cannot do that. They are homeless because they have no dwelling place. Also, the DLSL specifies that only a person who is physically or mentally unable to work can get the benefit. But the person who can work but who cannot find a job because of job scarcity cannot get benefit. Moreover, the DLSL often is not available to a person who is less than 60 or 65 years old because he/she is regarded customarily by city officials as being too young to get the benefit. The method of operation of the DLSL is different from city to city. In 2001, in 28 out of 80 cities in Japan, only a person who had a resident's card, who could not work *and* who was more than 60 or 65 years old could obtain benefit (Yomiuri, 1 January 2001). In Tokyo, the *doya* (SRO) is regarded as a dwelling house for administrative purposes. Therefore, more than 5000 former day-labourers and ex-homeless persons living in the *doyas* in San'ya get the benefits.[13] But in Osaka the *doya* is not regarded as a dwelling house. This is one reason why homeless people are so numerous in Osaka. In Osaka, a homeless person can get the benefit only when he/she enters hospital or a facility for senior citizenry and the disabled. Moreover, homeless people are 53.4 years old on average (OCUSG, 2001, p. 24). They cannot earn a wage because it is too hard for them to be engaged in heavy day labour, but they are regarded by city officials as being too young to get benefit. A typical case may be as follows. One day a homeless person falls ill or gets badly hurt in a traffic accident on the road. A passer-by finds him/her and calls a policeman. The policeman calls the ambulance station. The ambulance takes him/her to hospital. A doctor examines him/her and makes a report to a case worker or a city official. Finally, the latter decides to apply the DLSL to him/her. A homeless person can get the benefit after all–but only after he/she has had a near-death crisis. This gives an explanation of the tragic fact that so many homeless people die on the roads in Osaka. Noguchi wrote that almost 600 homeless persons are estimated to die per year—just in the one Ward of Osaka where Kamagasaki is situated (Noguchi, 1997, p. 51). Among them are many homeless persons who freeze to death in winter—i.e. December, January and February. Such poor operation of the DLSL by the government has been criticised severely (Iwata, 1995; Iwata, 1997, pp. 122–125; Fujii, 1997,. Fukuhara and Nakayama, 1999, p. 34; Yoshimura, 1999, pp. 74–75; Tamaki, 1999, pp. 42–44; Iwata. 2000, pp. 279–296; Sasanuma, 2000, pp. 57–62). And there have been some court cases brought against national and local government by homeless persons themselves asking for an easing of the qualifications to become a beneficiary.[14]

In summary, these governments' social policies have not functioned effectively as measures to save homeless people or to make homeless people decrease in number in Osaka.

7. The Structural Background of Homelessness

The final task is to analyse the structural background of both the first type and the second type of homeless people in Japan. We shall take two structural conditions: company welfare systems and family kinship networks. These regulate the homeless population in Japan directly or indirectly. We had 24 090 homeless people in Japan in 2001. This is not many in comparison with the US (Burt, 1996, pp. 20–21), although homeless people are increasing steadily. This fact is important for understanding homelessness in Japan. I shall analyse the structural backgrounds, but I can only give a brief analyses within the context of this paper.

The first is the company welfare system. They say that Japan's economy is overcoming the difficulties caused by globalisation by using the unique method of labour management called *toyotaism*—a method rooted historically in the Toyota Motor Corporation (Ôno, 1980; Sekine, 1981; Kadota, 1991; Iida and Yamada, 1992; Kamii, 1993, pp. 64–78; Kano, 2000, p. 2149). Toyotaism adopts collectivism in labour management—the method of evaluating the labourer's abil-

ity on the basis of achievement by a small work group. The company motivates the labourer to work hard by making him/her have loyalty to it and then raises labour productivity. Such toyotaism is connected with the method of personnel allocation and recruitment. Regular employment plays the role of welfare to support the employee including his/her family through life-long employment, a family allowance, bonuses and so on. At the same time, the casualisation of labour is taking place in Japan (OLA, 1997). The company cuts employment costs by replacing regular employees with casual employees (Ogoshi, 1992, pp. 39–52). Incidentally, the company does not fire the regular employee directly, even when needed. It fires him/her indirectly by using various methods of employment adjustment: external assignments, dismissal and recontracting, early retirement, temporary lay-offs and suspension of new recruitment. On the other hand, the company effectively treats the casual employee as a regular employee by giving him/her a small bonus and making him/her work at the core of the worksite. This style of labour management includes the employee wholly in the company and creates the closed labour market of Japan, which is segmented vertically in every affiliated company group (Ujihara, 1996, pp. 414–425, IBES, 1992, Tôna, 1993; Tsutiana, 1994, pp. 123–125; Kamitani, 1994, pp. 146–149; Yasumoto, 1998, pp. 140–144; Tominaga, 1998, pp. 89–99). Thus the labour force does not flow freely out of the labour market, but flows within each segmented company group's territory. This is an important point for our discussion. This internal labour market functions as a mechanism regulating the direct exclusion of an employee from the company and thus as a cushion to prevent the employee from becoming homeless. That is why homeless people have not increased vastly even though we have so many labourers with an insecure employment status and a high unemployment rate at present in Japan.

The intensification of intercorporate competition is making this company employment system collapse. Also, the chronic recession is accelerating this collapse. As noted before, one out of four workers was a casual employee in Osaka in 1997 (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). And the unemployment rate in Osaka was very high (*Asahi*, 1 June 2002). The employment status of the casually employed unskilled worker is very insecure: he/she is fired first. And the unemployed person who does not have any safety resources to survive is forced to become homeless. This is a reason why homeless people have increased in Japan in the 1990s. But, for all of these facts, Japan's labour market still functions as a cushion to prevent the unemployed from becoming homeless.

The second is the family kinship network. The same thing can also be said about family kinship networks. The fact that there are not vast numbers of homeless people in Japan is due to the safety network for mutual assistance among the Japanese. When a poor person asks for financial assistance from the family or relatives, the latter tend to accept his/her request rather easily, as if doing so was a social obligation for them. Such personal networks constitute a kind of system of 'involuted poverty' (Geertz, 1963) and function as a private safety system, preventing poverty from leading to homelessness. Many have written that both family and company in Japan function as private welfare systems (Ujihara, 1966, pp. 273–306; Kamino, 1992; Kinoshita, 1993, pp. 41–51; Mito, 1994; Kimoto, 1995, pp. 84–88; Hirayama, 1995, pp. 198–234; Mori, 1995, pp. 177–178). Castells conceptualises this Japanese phenomenon as the "internalisation of social services" (Castells, 1999, p. 134).

The intensification of competition caused by globalisation and chronic recession, even at the level of the individual person, is also making scarce the safety resources provided by affiliate groups and is loosening the ties of those groups. Morita has said that such systems are collapsing in today's Japan (Morita, 2001, p. 42). A person who is excluded from any personal network and who has no safety resources is becoming a rough-sleeper. Iwata has said that the number of rough-sleepers, the most miserable of all homeless people, is

more numerous in Japan than in the US, although she does not give any data in support of this statement (Iwata, 2001, p. 41). These words can be interpreted in the context of globalisation, at the individual level. But, for all of these facts, the family kinship networks still function as a cushion to prevent the unemployed from becoming homeless.

8. Conclusion

This paper has analysed the characteristics of homelessness and two types of homeless people, caused by two economic processes in Osaka: deyosebisation and disemployment. Three hypotheses were proposed: deyosebisation and disemployment, as the Japanese forms of globalisation, have positively caused homelessness in Japan; company welfare systems and family kinship networks have prevented people from becoming homeless in Japan; and, social policies carried out by the governments have prevented people from becoming homeless. This paper has tried to verify these statements by analysing the economic, institutional and structural backgrounds of homelessness in Osaka. The conclusions can be summarised in three main points. First, deyosebisation and disemployment have caused an increase in homeless people in Osaka. Secondly, governments' social policies on jobs, shelter and Social Welfare have so far been insufficient to support homeless people or to make the number of homeless people decrease. Thirdly, the affiliate groups, such as companies and family/relatives, have prevented people from becoming homeless, although their ability to do so is weakening gradually under globalisation. Finally, the hypotheses have been verified only partly in this paper. They must be developed and elaborated more explicitly, with more data. It is my next task.

Notes

1. The Japan Association for the Study of *Yoseba*, JASY, was founded in 1987. The members are composed of scholars studying *yoseba* and the activists of *yoseba* in Japan. The author is a member of its steering committee. It publishes a journal entitled *Yoseba* every year.
2. Gill has made a detail comparison of the *yoseba* with the American skid row (Gill, 2001, pp. 180–185).
3. The method of counting the number of homeless people differed from city to city then. In Osaka, they were counted on the roads at night (Shima, 1999, p. 45). In Tokyo, on the other hand, they were counted in welfare accommodation and on the roads in the daytime and at night (SGUL, 1999, pp. 2–4). The Kamagasaki's activists estimate that there are more than 10 000 homeless people actually in Osaka in 2002.
4. Each analyst estimated the homeless population in the US with his/her method of counting: 250 000–350 000, 500 000–600 000, 2 million–3 million or 7 million (Burt, 1996, pp. 20–21). Whichever figure is used, the homeless population is much bigger in the US than in Japan.
5. Nakane (1998) wrote that Kamagasaki had 227 *doya* and 218 apartments. They accommodated 22 254 persons in 1996.
6. Almost all recruiters at Kamagasaki are said to be *yakuza*, members of Japan's mafia. The analysis of *yakuza* is indispensable to an understanding of the actual conditions of day-labourers and homeless people in Japan (Aoki, 1987; Yamaoka, 1996, pp. 118, 121; Noguchi, 1997, p. 57; *Mainichi*, 19 August 2000). They exploit day-labourers and homeless people severely, not only through job recruitment, but also by gambling, prostitution and drugs. The case of the US may seem to be similar. but I wonder why no study of US homelessness refers to the problem of gangsters who may abuse and exploit homeless people.
7. The Japanese term *genkin* literally means 'cash', but is also applied to the typical day-labourer who gets a job in the morning and who is fired in the evening every day, since he works for cash in hand.
8. Data from an interview with an activist of Kamagasaki on 25 October 1998.
9. It becomes more clear when the job status ratio is crossed with the dwelling status ratio. The respondents without previous job experience in Kamagasaki mostly had lived in apartments, *hanbas* and company dormitories (OCUSG, 2001, p. 291). Their dwelling status was lower too.
10. Sometimes they are made fun of as the 'necktie homeless' (NOEC, 1999).
11. There are two types of *hanba* in Japan. First, is the bunkhouse where the employer pools day-labourers temporarily and from where he sends them to the work sites (*genba hanba*).

Second, is the bunkhouse where the recruiter pools day-labourers temporarily and from where he takes them to the true employer (*ninpudashi hanba*).

12. The information about groups supporting homeless people was collected by the author in the 1990s.
13. The Yokohama City Government regards the *doya* as the dwelling house. However, the Nagoya City Government has no special measures for homeless people so far.
14. The most famous case is the Hayashi case that a homeless person named Hayashi, Katsuyoshi brought to the Nagoya district court in 1996, demanding that the city government apply the DLSL to him. He died on the way to the Supreme Court and his supporters succeeded it. But the case ended in defeat in 2001 (Fujii, 1997, pp. 78–82; 1998).

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