A Study of Homelessness and Social Policy in Contemporary Japan:
With a Special Reference to the "Sasashima Problem" in Nagoya

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ABSTRACT: This paper is a discussion of homelessness and social policy in contemporary Japan. Homelessness is becoming one of the most important social issues in Japan. The first section provides an overview of homelessness and government response nationwide. The second section focuses on the "Sasashima problem" in Nagoya. This paper examines social contexts affecting homelessness specifically focusing on the yoseba and day laborers. Also, the ways in which the issues of homelessness and the yoseba are defined and framed in public policy and discourse are analyzed.

The Increase of Homeless People

In Japan, homeless street people have rapidly increased, especially in big cities. Homelessness is becoming one of the most important social issues of our day. The government recently announced the number of the homeless based on a survey conducted by municipalities in August 1998 and in March 1999 (Table 1). This is the first case that the government announced the number of the homeless of the entire country.

According to the survey conducted in August 1998, five cities of Osaka, Tokyo, Nagoya, Kawasaki and Yokohama have an estimate of 14,903 homeless people.

According to an additional survey conducted in March 1999, the remaining cities have an estimate of 1,344

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<tr>
<th>City name</th>
<th>Approximate number of Homeless Persons</th>
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<tr>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>8,660</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tokyo metropolitan area</td>
<td>4,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nagoya</td>
<td>758</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kawasaki</td>
<td>746</td>
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<td>Yokohama</td>
<td>439</td>
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<td>Total of five major cites</td>
<td>14,903</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kobe</td>
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homeless people. The total is 16,247 homeless people. About 90% of homeless people are concentrated in five big cities from Osaka to Kawasaki. The number of the homeless in Osaka and Tokyo are exceptionally high.

On the other hand, several community-based organizations for the homeless have attempted to grasp the number of the homeless through activities such as supplying food and night patrol in each area. These groups estimate the number of homeless people in the entire country to be about 20,000 people. While it is essentially difficult to grasp the number of the homeless precisely, it can be assured that there are homeless people over the number suggested in the administration's surveys. Taking into consideration the trend it is clear that the homeless have rapidly increased across the country after the collapse of "bubble economy" especially in the past few years.²

The Government's Response to Homelessness

In Japan, no comprehensive public policy with respect to homelessness existed at the national level until last year. The national response to homelessness has developed rapidly since autumn of last year. On October 7, 1998, a homeless benkyō kai (the Study Meeting of Homelessness) was held by members of the National Diet from the Liberal Democratic Party. Homeless Mondai Renraku Kaigi (Liaison Conference on Homelessness) was organized on February 12, this year. It included the participation of representatives from major municipalities and national offices such as the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Liaison Conference established the guideline for immediate policies addressing the homeless problem, including a plan for the creation of Jiritsu Shien Center ("self sufficiency" center for homelessness) on May 26.

Conventionally, responsibility for the creation of public policy on homelessness has been given to each municipality by the national government. This is the first case that the government has announced a guideline of policies addressing homelessness. Major municipalities appear to be planning specific measures following the national guideline.

This national guideline divides the homeless into three types. The first type of homeless person is one who is in a difficult position of unemployment but has a desire to work. The second type is a homeless person who is unable to work because they need medical treatment and/or welfare to treat a mentally or physically illness including alcoholism. The third type is a homeless person who
"dislikes" mainstream social life and social constraints. The national guideline asserts the necessity to establish a policy suitable for the specific conditions of each type, that is job consultation for the first type and welfare consultation for the second type. The guideline states the need to promote socialization of the third type through patrol mobile by welfare offices, crime prevention by the police and evacuations conducted by managers of public facilities. This classification of the homeless is very problematic.

**Basic Perspectives to Understand Homelessness**

This section examines two perspectives to understand homelessness in Japan. First, the people who are persistently homeless in big cities are, overwhelmingly, men and the aged. This phenomenon is closely related with the fact that many of Japan’s homeless are/were day laborers in the *yoseba*. *Yoseba* are primarily street labor markets for day laborers. There are four major *yoseba* in Japan: Sanya in Tokyo, Kotobuki in Yokohama, Sasashima in Nagoya and Kamagasaki in Osaka. Day laborers in the *yoseba* are no longer finding jobs as easily as before. In Japan, the unemployment of day laborers in the *yoseba* has a direct link to the increase of the homeless.³

However, the rapid increase of the homeless is not simply a reflection of the economic recession after the collapse of the bubble economy. Day laborers in the *yoseba* have primarily been employed by the construction industry. The needs of construction industry for day laborers did not decrease much until 1997 despite of the economic recession which began in 1991. Even after the collapse of the bubble economy, the construction industry has served as the safety net for the unemployed who have been laid off from other industries. The critical point is that the employment routes for day laborers have branched out from the *yoseba* and now include such routes as *eki tehai* or *kōen tehai* (recruitment of laborers in the parks and stations by illegal labor brokers) and the use of newspaper and magazine advertisements. It is said that labor conditions for those employed through *eki/kōen tehai* and newspaper/magazine advertisements are much worse than for those employed through the *yoseba*. Day laborers who have been employed through *eki tehai* or *kōen tehai* frequently receive lower wages than those hired out of the *yoseba*, and there are many cases that salary are not paid at all. Thus, the recent increase of the homeless among day laborers is attributable to both the decrease of jobs in the *yoseba* and the worsening of laborers conditions of day laborers in general. Additionally, it seems that
young homeless persons has been become gradually more visible. This phenomenon might be related to the fact that the number of employed persons by construction industry has started decreasing since the beginning of 1998. To understand the background behind the increase of the homeless in Japan, special attention should be paid to the changing situation of the industrial structure and labor market for day laborers.

Second, homelessness is in part a product of social policy. The pillar of day labor policy in Japan is the provision of job introductions to day laborers. The number of the jobs that public employment agencies in the yoseba have introduced has decreased constantly after the collapse of the bubble economy. The unemployment of day laborers in the yoseba is a normal state because of the small number of job introductions. With regard to welfare policy, the application of the Seikatsu Hogohō (Life Protection Law) is problematic. The Life Protection Law states that the state must insure a means of livelihood to all the Japanese nation who are suffering from poverty. However, it is in reality very difficult for able-bodied homeless persons (those who are physically able to work) to receive welfare benefits even if they are suffering from homeless. The increase of the homeless and the insufficiency of this policy is closely related.

The ways in which homelessness is defined and framed in public policy and discourse must be analyzed. The administration have traditionally lacked consideration of the political, economical and social contexts affecting homelessness. A common reaction to homelessness has been a tendency to attribute problems to individual failures. Such viewpoints emphasize the characteristics, attributes, and behavior of homeless people, and tend to divert attention from serious structural problems in the economy and social system.

The classification of three types of the homeless by The Liaison Conference on Homelessness, especially the third type are fundamentally flawed. The biggest problem prows out of who decides this classification with what kind of criteria. It is likely that public officials have created this classification system from the viewpoints that homelessness is a result of the personal character and detect without a consideration to the social contexts affecting them. Homeless persons labeled as the third type will be the object of social exclusion, being viewed as the undeserving poor. Needless to say, it is not adequate to differentiate between the deserving poor and undeserving poor arbitrarily from the viewpoints of the administration.

It is not until the 1990s that homelessness began to collect wide social interest
in contemporary Japan. Until recently homelessness has been largely invisible and hidden from mainstream society, because most homeless people were concentrated in the areas around the yoseba. New trends in homelessness are emerging in 1990s. At present, homeless people is observed in wider areas not limited to the areas surrounding the yoseba. And, it seems that “new” homeless who do not have any experience working day labor is increasing. However, homelessness is neither a new phenomenon nor a new problem. The excessive emphasis of “new” homelessness distorts reality as if new problems emerged for the first time in 1990s. It also hides the problem in conventional social policy related to homelessness. Therefore, it is necessary to try to explain the social contexts affecting homelessness specifically focusing on the yoseba and day laborers.

What is the “Sasashima Problem”? Nagoya’s Sasashima is one of four major yoseba in Japan. Sasashima is located in the area around Naka Shokuan (Nagoya Central Job Placement Office: A Branch Office of the National Ministry of Labor) near Nagoya Station. Unlike Sanya, Kotobuki and Kamagasaki, Sasashima has no doya-gai (flop house). There was a doya-gai in Sasashima until the former half of 1980s. The doya-gai in Sasashima was damaged by several fires in 1970s and then dismantled by planning efforts of the City of Nagoya. It is estimated that approximately 500 day laborers are seeking jobs in the streets of Sasashima every morning. On the other hand, the number of day laborers who are registered with the Naka Shokuan has consistently increased over the past ten years. The number of registered laborers was around 800 in March, 1987. As of March, 1997, the number of registered laborers has exceeded 3,500. Approximately 100 companies or labor brokers come to Sasashima in order to employ day laborers in the streets when they need them. Many day laborers are faced with the severe situation of unemployment as jobs in Sasashima are very few.

Like the current nationwide situation, homeless people has increased very rapidly in Nagoya. Nojuku rōdōsha no jinken o mamoru kai (the Group to Defend Human Rights of Homeless Laborers) has estimated the number of the homeless by conducting a nighttime patrol once a week. According to the group’s data, homeless people began to increase sharply from about April, 1998. Homeless people increased from 600 in May, 1997, to 900 in July, 1998. Considering the homeless was only 212 in May, 1992, it is a remarkable rapid increase. It is important to note that the group only counts the homeless in the central part of Nagoya.
It is obvious that there are more homeless people in other areas of Nagoya. There are few homeless living around Sasashima. This is very different from the other major yoseba of Sanya, Kotobuki and Kamagasaki where homeless people is very visible.

This difference is likely related to the fact that there is no doya-gai in Sasashima. However, most of the homeless in Nagoya have the experience working day labor in Sasashima. In December, 1994, Sasashima no genjō o a kirakani suru kai (The Ggroup to Investigate the Present Condition of Homelessness in Nagoya) conducted interview research of 64 homeless persons with the intention of understanding who is homeless, and basic conditions confronting them. 34 of the interviewed were actively working day labor, and most of them were looking for jobs in Sasashima. It is noteworthy that no day laborers were looking for jobs in the Naka Shokuan. 24 of the interviewed were not working day labor due to sickness, injury and advanced age. They had an experience working day labor in the past.

A variety of factors have contributed to the increase of the homeless. The biggest economic factor is the decrease in demand for day labor in Sasashima. This paper uses the term “Sasashima Problem” to indicate the various problems that homeless people and day laborers in Nagoya are faced in terms of labor, residence and life in general.

**Outline of The Policies Related to the “Sasashima Problem”**

The most important social policies addressing the “Sasashima Problem” are labor policy for day laborers in Sasashima and welfare policy for homelessness in Nagoya. Here, the fundamental problems of these two policies are described briefly.

The basic characteristic of social policies related to the “Sasashima Problem” is that they are carried out in the framework of the general administration. In contrast, social policies in other yoseba are designed and complemented by special administrative bodies to address specific issues related to the yoseba.

Labor policies related to day laborers in Sasashima is being conducted under the authority of the Naka Shokuan with the cooperation of Labor Department of Aichi Prefecture. The Naka Shokuan has created labor policies: job introduction, payment of unemployment allowance, and guidance/supervision to labor brokers who employ day laborers in the streets of Sasashima. Among these, the first two policies target day laborers who are registered with the Naka Shokuan.
The single policy of the *Naka Shokuan* targeting day laborers in the streets of Sasashima is limited to the third policy.

The biggest problem of labor policies is that the number of job introduction is very small. It is more accurate to say that job introductions are almost non-existent. The following figures indicate the annual total of daily job introduction for day laborers by the *Naka Shokuan* in recent years, 377 in 1995, 815 in 1996, 737 in 1997 and only 5 in 1998. It is obvious that the *Naka Shokuan* has lost the function of providing job introduction. Another big problem is there is no labor policy designed especially for day laborers who are not registered with the *Naka Shokuan* and primarily looking for jobs in the streets. In Sanya, Kotobuki and Kamagasaki, apart from a *shokuan* or public job placement office, there is another public labor employment agency created as part of a special policy for day laborers in these *yoseba*. In these special public labor agencies even those who are not registered at the *shokuan* can receive job introductions. It should be kept in mind that the number of day laborers in the *yoseba* who can’t register with a job placement office because they have no fixed address is not small. Fixed address is requested to register at any *shokuan*. Also, there are many day laborers who don’t register at these *shokuan* for other reasons.

Welfare policy for the homeless falls under authority of the City of Nagoya. These policies are divided into the *seikatsu hogo* (Livelihood Protection) and the *hōgai enjo* (extra-legal assistance). While in Nagoya I often went to the welfare office to accompany homeless persons seeking aid. The welfare office determines who is eligible for benefits under the *seikatsu hogo* by taking into consideration their basic physical conditions. The crucial point here is that only homeless persons who is judged to be physically unable to work can receive the *seikatsu hogo*. Recipients of the *seikatsu hogo* must have specific conditions that prevent them from working: an illness, an injury and/or being old. In other words, able-bodied homeless persons basically can’t receive the *seikatsu hogo* even if he/she is homeless because of unemployment.

Extra legal assistance provided by the City of Nagoya is only supplemental to support recipients of the *seikatsu hogo*, therefore it does not provide able-bodied homeless persons with any aids related to the *seikatsu hogo*. The content of extra legal assistance vary widely in municipalities throughout Japan. For instance, the City of Yokohama provides unemployed day laborers with coupons called *pan-ken* (bread tickets) and *doya-ken* (room tickets). In Nagoya, homeless persons can receive livelihood and housing aids as extra legal aid only
at the end and the beginning of a year. This policy is implemented in consideration of the circumstances that day laborers who make up the most of the homeless population face the severe unemployment during that period.

In sum, (1) day laborers in Sasashima can rarely find jobs through the Naka Shokuan, (2) homeless persons who are judged to be physically able to work basically can't receive the seikatsu hogo. (3) extra legal assistance (livelihood and housing aid) provided by the City of Nagoya for homeless persons is limited to the end and the beginning of a year.

The Starting Point of the Policies to Yoseba

It is not very difficult to understand the problems with the current policy regarding the "Sasashima Problem". It is important to examine the logic and structure behind those policies. One method to approach this subject is to examine policies regarding the yoseba and homelessness from historical viewpoints. Under what kind of situation were yoseba policies created? How has the administration recognized the issues regarding the yoseba and homelessness? It seems that basic policy regarding yoseba and homelessness that was established in each area in the 1960s and 1970s have fundamentally continued to dictate the character of those policies until today. Thus I shall focus here on the situation in 1960s and 1970s.

To understand the case of Sasashima, it is necessary to examine the structure and logic of the policies related to the yoseba from a national perspective, taking into consideration policies regarding other yoseba to some degree.

Sasashima and "Main Districts"

What made the central government recognize the need of comprehensive yoseba policies was the series of uprisings in Sanya and Kamagasaki in the beginning of 1960s. "Shokugyō Taisaku Nenkan" (The Unemployment Policy Yearbook) of the Ministry of Labor states that these uprisings enhanced social interest in the yoseba widely. The central government started to develop policies to address the issues of yoseba with cooperation of local government after those uprisings. 1960s were a period of high economic growth in Japan when the demand for day labor increased rapidly in the construction, port and heavy chemical industries. The yoseba expanded more in 1960s than any other period associated with high economic growth.

The Ministry of Labor recognized the most crucial problem in the yoseba as
the existence of violent illegal labor brokers. There were day laborers who could not find jobs through government agencies because they had no fixed address. Also, many day laborers found jobs through illegal labor brokers because these brokers gave day laborers higher wages than government agencies in general. However, trouble often emerged between day laborers and labor brokers due to reasons such as insecure labor contracts.

The Ministry of Labor insisted that the need for an improvement of a job placement office should be the basic policy to pursue for the normalization of day labor market and the elimination of illegal labor brokers. It is interesting to note that the yoseba was classified into two categories: "main districts" and other districts by the Ministry of Labor. According to a survey of the Ministry of Labor in 1967, there were approximately twenty yoseba in the entire country. "Main districts" were Sanya, Kotobuki and Kamagasaki to which the Ministry of Labor paid much attention. According to the recognition of the Ministry of Labor, "Main districts" were yoseba which had a large scale doya-gai (streets composed largely of flophouses) for day laborers and differed from the surroundings areas with respect to labor, welfare, education and peace and order. Apart from a basic policy, the Ministry of Labor recognized that a special policy was required to deal with issues in these areas. The Ministry of Labor did not admit the need for the special policy for other yoseba including Sasashima.

The special policy towards "main districts" include the establishment of foundations such as Nishinari Rōdō Fukushi Sentā (Nishinari Labor and Welfare Center) in October, 1962, Sanya Rōdō Sentā (Sanya Labor Center) in October, 1965, Airin Sōgō Sentā (Airin General Center) in October, 1970 and Kotobuki Sōgō Rōdō Fukushi Kaikan (Kotobuki General Labor and Welfare Building) in September, 1974. These foundations have paid attention to the fact that there were many day laborers who had no fixed address in the yoseba.

Sasashima had not become of the interest to the administration as a main district, when the nationwide yoseba policies was created. It can be pointed out that two factors are deeply related to this fact. First, as "The Unemployment Policy Yearbook" states, both the labor and welfare policies for the "main districts" was started essentially for the purpose of the restoration of peace and order. From a viewpoint of peace and order by the administration, the "main districts" was considered as dangerous areas without effective policy intervention. Second, the interest of the administration regarding the yoseba contained another concern: for the mobilization of the labor force. "Airin Sanya Chiku
no Jittai to Rōdō Taisaku no Hōkō" (The Actual Condition in Sanya and Kamagasaki District and The Direction of Social Policy) published in 1966 by the Ministry of Labor stated that the central government would positively intervene in these areas by recognizing Sanya and Kamagasaki as important labor markets to support national development. This contrasts with the previous approach that prescribed them as the slums and discussed from the viewpoints of peace and order or beautification only. This indicates that the central government had a strong interest in the mobilization of day laborers in the yoseba in the era of high economic growth. A primary concern of the central government was how to mobilize effectively the manpower of day laborers. The yoseba was considered by the central government as places to mobilize labor forces for national development, as well as places to isolate the potential antisocial forces for the sake of peace and order.

Sasashima has played an important role as the supply base of the day laborers in Nagoya and the Tokai area. Also, Sasashima had specific problems similar to the "main districts" such as the existence of illegal labor brokers. However, Sasashima has not attracted much attention from the central government and local government. This can be explained by the fact that the yoseba policies have been basically formed and regulated by two concerns of the administration: peace and order, and mobilization of the labor force. In other words, Sasashima was not worthy of note in terms of the importance of labor market and the threat of antisocial forces from a national perspective.

The Welfare Policy for Homelessness in Nagoya

The current welfare policy of the City of Nagoya for homelessness has its origin in "Jūshō Futeisha Taisaku Kihon Hōshin" (The Basic Policy for Homelessness) enacted in December 1978. The structure of welfare policy for homelessness has not changed fundamentally since then. What was social background behind the enactment of this "Basic Policy"?

It is in the latter half of 1970s that welfare policy of the City of Nagoya began to hold an interest in the issues related to Sasashima. The latter half of 1970s was when the unemployment problem became very serious due to the energy crisis after the end of a period of high economic growth. Due to the recession, the scale of the yoseba as labor markets shrank throughout the country. At this time the systematic support activity for the homeless started in Nagoya.

It is estimated about 150 homeless laborers were going to work via Sasashima
from Nagoya Station where they were sleeping. Homelessness in Nagoya station was beginning to become the center of public interest as a social problem to be resolved. In the year prior to the enactment of the “Basic Policy”, a big conflict arose between the administration and the support group with respect to homelessness in Nagoya station. The national railway company planned to evict the homeless from Nagoya Station with the cooperation of the City of Nagoya. The support group deployed a violent campaign to oppose against the eviction, insisting that the homeless have no choice but to stay there, and the administration has to provide alternatives to reply to the needs of the homeless.

Although the removal of the homeless from Nagoya Station was enforced forcefully in October 1977, the support group won several policies from the City of Nagoya, including extra legal assistance for the homeless at the end and beginning of a year. The start of this assistance was linked with the enactment of the “Basic Policy”, namely the “Basic Policy” is the product that was born from the negotiation between the City of Nagoya and the support group. Under the condition that homelessness was becoming visible, the City of Nagoya needed to establish institutionally the main point of the immediate policy to address homelessness in correspondence to the intense demand and protest from the support group.

According to the newspaper dated December 15, 1975, although no conventional survey by the administration has been done at regarding “Suisha Chiku” (a name of former Sasashima), the nakamura office of Nagoya city decided to form a project team of policemen to investigate the actual condition of Suisha Chiku in terms of the life of day laborers, and peace and order. The office said they needed to clarify the actual condition of Suisha Chiku as they had an information that “extremists” were aiming to organize the unorganized day laborers there. This demonstrates another concern of the administration to Sasashima developed from an interest in peace and order, which was very similar to the case of main districts where uprisings attracted a special attention from the administration.

As mentioned above earlier, the main characteristic of the “Basic Policy” is that it limited the application of the seikatsu hogo to only homeless persons who are judged to have difficulties working. It should be emphasized again that the judgment of this application is based on the consideration of not an opportunity to work but only on the physical condition of the homeless.

Nagoya’s postwar welfare policy of those who did not fixed address was started as “Furōsha Taisaku” (policy for the “vagabonds”). It can be confirmed that
Nagoya's welfare policy was giving livelihood aid to "vagabonds" by putting them into an institution. "Vagabonds" who have become homeless due to primarily unemployment were the main targets of this welfare policy, joining those who have become homeless due to illness, injury and being old. The fact that the City of Nagoya has provided some relief is worthy of our notice though it is also true that the policies had some discriminative contents against these "vagabonds". Therefore, the enactment of the "Basic Policy" indicated a big turning point of welfare policy of the City of Nagoya, meaning a retreat in terms of contents of the protection of the homeless. The "Basic Policy" admitted that most of the homeless were day laborers and the comprehensive reform of day labor system by the cooperation of local and the central government were necessary to address the issues. However, the "Basic Policy" did not admit the need of livelihood aid to those who became homeless primarily due to unemployment. What is the logic behind this policy?

It seems that two factors are related to this matter. First, like yoseba labor policy nationwide, the "Basic Policy" was fundamentally started as a measure to maintain peace and order. Second, this policy was formed, in part, on the basis of the discrimination against the homeless. The "Basic Policy" describes the homeless as follows: "In general, the homeless are lacking in the ability needed for planned life and money management, and the desire to work and live faithfully due to the drinking habits, and the vagrant life style. Also, the homeless are generally filthy and untidy which causes them to be alienated from hospitals". The homeless was labeled negatively with such a generalization. The discriminative viewpoint that emphasizes the defect and problem of the personal character of the homeless is connected to the viewpoint that lays the root of the problem in homeless people themselves. The "Basic Policy" states that "excessive protection prevent the homeless from working hard to stand on their own feet". The policy that does not admit the need of the seikatsu hogo is justified by such a discriminative viewpoint.

Summary

To understand the nature and complexity of the phenomenon of homelessness, it is necessary to examine the political economy of the state and decisions made regarding social policy. Making a summary of the two points of the discussion, (1) The policy related to the yoseba was started in 1960s as a measure to maintain peace and order after riots in Sanya and Kamagasaki. Also, it aimed to
mobilize the labor force of day laborers in the yoseba for national industrial development. The administration have paid much attention to the yoseba that are designated as "main districts", especially Sanya and Kamagasaki, because of the importance in terms of both of peace and order, and the mobilization of the labor force. The administration have not paid much attention to Sasashima because of the relative unimportance compared to the "main districts". This is one of fundamental reasons why no special labor policy existed in Sasashima until today. (2) The welfare policy of the City of Nagoya for homelessness has a fundamental limitation because it doesn't provide the seikatsu hogo with those who are homeless primarily due to unemployment and the extra legal assistance of livelihood and housing aid by the City of Nagoya for the homeless is limited to the short period of the end and beginning of a year. This paper examined two factors related to this matter from a historical viewpoint. The crux of this matter is the "Basic Policy" which is the starting point of the current welfare policy for homelessness was formed, in part, as a measure to maintain peace and order with a discriminative stance against homeless people.

This paper does not discuss the quality of social policies in other yoseba. The purpose of this paper is to clarify the differences of social policies between Sasashima and other major yoseba, and to examine the social background of the difference from a historical viewpoint. In consideration of the problems of conventional policies, it will be necessary to examine homelessness and social policy in contemporary Japan from various perspectives.

Note
1 This paper focuses on homeless people who are sleeping rough. In a broader definition, homeless people include all those who lack adequate accommodation.
2 After the draft of this paper was submitted, the Ministry of Health and Welfare announced the latest number of the homeless on a basis of the data of the end of October, 1999. Number of the homeless in five big cities of Osaka, Tokyo, Nagoya, Yokohama and Kawasaki is 17,174. Number of the homeless in the remaining cities is 3,227. The total is 20,451 people. Comparing the number of the end of March, it increased by 26%.
3 It might be said that a close relationship between the homeless and day laborers is very specific to Japanese society. For instance, Valenzuela conducted a survey on 481 day laborers in Los Angeles during a six week period in February and March, 1999. According to the survey, day laborers who were homeless were very small.
4 There are seven kinds of seikatsu hogo: seikatsu fujo (livelihood aid), jūtaku fujo (housing
aid), kyōiku fujo (education aid), iryō fujo (medical aid), shussan fujo (childbirth expenses aid), seigyō fujo (occupational training aid) and sōsai fujo (funeral expenses aid).

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"Nakamuraku jūsho futeisha taisaku siryōshū (Materials on Welfare Policy for Homelessness of Nakamura Office in Nagoya City) by Nagoya-shi shokzin rōdō kumiai nakamura kuyakusho shibu (Nakamura Ward Office of Labor Union of Nagoya City).


日本語要約

日本でホームレスが急速に増加している。増大とその可視化のなかで、ホームレスは重要な社会問題となりつつある。本年5月に「ホームレス問題連絡会議」がホームレスに関する当面の対応策をまとめたが、国が具体的な対策を示したのは初めてのことである。本論は、まずホームレスの全国的な概況と当面の対応策の問題を踏まえ、ホームレス問題を考える基本的な視点に言及する。次に、名古屋における状況に焦点を当て、寄せ場の箇所に関する労働対策と名古屋市の「住所不安者」対策の不十分さがホームレス問題に直接していること、およびそうした行政施策の背景にある構造や論理を検討している。

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