



universität
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MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„The impact of the Japanese homeless self-sufficiency
support policy on social networks

An alternative evaluation of the *jiritsu shien sentā* as a tool for social inclusion“

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2012

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 066 843

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Japanologie

Betreuer:

o. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Sepp Linhart

Acknowledgment

This work could be realised through a scholarship of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology that financed my stay from October 2010 to March 2012 at the Ōsaka City University. Most of all I want to thank my academic supervisor, Professor Sepp Linhart, whose kind advice was crucial for the success of this work. Furthermore I want to thank Professor Mizuuchi Toshio, from the Ōsaka City University who not only supported me during my stay in Japan but also introduced me to a lot of people who became important informants and gave me also many important pieces of advice.

I'd also like to extend my thanks to all the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentās* whose cooperation was important for the success of this work, especially to Kanesaka Keizō of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 1, Ishizu Kenji of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2, Takeuchi Toshihiro and Tsujioka Hiroaki of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari, Okumura Ken and Tabuchi Katsuhiko of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo as well as Kunieda Toshirō and Furukawa Eiichi of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Yodogawa. I'd also like to thank Brendan Arnott, who found the time to read this paper and correct my grammatical mistakes. If the reader finds some mistakes, it is very likely that they were caused by corrections I made myself following the proofreading process.

I also want to thank my parents, Anna Maria Kiener and Bernhard Schwarzenlander, who supported me morally and financially during my time as a student and contributed to the success of this work. Finally, my thanks goes to all other people who helped me in academic matters and supported me through their friendship.

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1. Introduction

Throughout the 1990s and late 2000s, homelessness could be seen very frequently in Japanese cities. Homeless people appeared in public places like around stations, in shopping streets and parks, under bridges and at riversides. But after attracting notable attention from the media, their numbers have decreased noticeably in 2011, although they are still visible throughout the streets. Behind this changes is a series of efforts the Japanese government has made to reduce homelessness, accumulating in the enactment of the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless (*hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien nado ni kan suru tokubetsu sochihō*) in August 2002.

This law provided the financial resources for the foundation of different countermeasures dealing with homelessness, executed by the municipal governments in cooperation with NPOs or the private sector. In addition to financial resources, guidelines for the homeless countermeasures were provided as well. Although the term “self-sufficiency (*jiritsu*)”, which describes the desirable outcome of the countermeasure, is not further defined, the text of the law suggests that it essentially means employment. Through support to find jobs and the creation of new jobs, the homeless should be enabled to sustain a life in appropriate homes again. This interpretation is bolstered by the fact that nearly half of the money provided by this law was used for job support (Yamada 2009:49).

Although the law covered many different kinds of countermeasures, the innovation forming the core of the homeless countermeasure strategy is the *jiritsu shien sentā* (self-sufficiency support centre). In these facilities the homeless receive assistance in finding employment and a new apartment during a short term stay. The first facility of this kind was erected in 2000 in Ōsaka and was followed by many others in major cities throughout Japan. Some of them were intended to be temporary facilities, and in 2009, 17 facilities of this kind existed in Japan (Yamada 2009:111). They play an important role in the homeless countermeasure strategy and approximately 19% of all people who try to escape homelessness use them, especially in urban areas (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:110-111).

The general approach of evaluating the success of the *jiritsu shien sentā* is to focus on two parameters: securing employment and a fixed residence. This method of evaluation is used not only by the *jiritsu shien sentās* themselves, but also by some of the research (Mizuuchi/Hanano 2003, Yamada 2009) on them. Therefore a focus on social networks can be considered as an alternative way of analysing the *jiritsu shien sentā*.

This research deals with the former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka, and asks how the stay in the facility and the support they received there forms their personal relations to other people? Is the *jiritsu shien sentā* an institution that is capable of rebuilding social networks or providing the clients with the necessary skills to do so? Does it support the formation of social networks that are strong enough to prevent people from slipping back into homelessness?

The hypothesis this work is built on is borrowed from Joel F. Handler, who did research about workfare in Europe and the USA: “[...] [I]nclusion through workfare obligations is contradictory. Positive acts of inclusion necessarily result in exclusion – those who can not negotiate the barriers (Handler 2004:8).” In the case of the *jiritsu shien sentā*, this suggests that those people who are not able to fully live by their own work are unable to rebuild their social networks.

The basic idea behind this approach is to find a method of evaluating the homeless countermeasures that goes beyond the institutions of work and home. In order to do so, the terms social exclusion and social inclusion are applied, based on the theoretical framework of Tania Burchardt, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud from the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics. They define six different areas in which social exclusion can occur. The different areas influence each other and it is not just one single cause who leads to any outcome or behaviour (Burchardt et al. 2002:7). A job and a fixed home, which are primarily focused on by the homeless countermeasure policy, lead to changes on the national, local and community level, described by Burchardt et al.. They provide not only the basis for social security, participation in politics and the labour market, but bring also changes in the physical and social environment.

The state of homelessness is not only the absence of a home, but also the absence of a social network (Morita 2009:11). The absence of a social network or a reduced one leads to a lack of benefits it normally create. Inazuki Tadashi points following three benefits out: Source of information, source of mutual support, source for motivation in life and will to live (Inazuki 2008:5); Therefore a social network is here defined by the flow of information and mutual help. The relations who provide this benefits are located on the community and family level defined by Burchardt et al.. This research deals with the impact of changes on the national, local and community level, caused by the support of the *jiritsu shien sentā* on the social network located on the community and family level.

The city of Ōsaka relies very strongly on *jiritsu shien sentās* and hosts four of them. Alone in the five year period from 2006 to 2011, there are 3845 recorded cases of homeless individuals using these facilities. In addition to the four *jiritsu shien sentās* Maishima 2, Nishinari, Ōyodo and Yodogawa, there is also one assessment centre (*asesumento sentā*), Maishima 1. All people who want to use a *jiritsu shien sentā* in Ōsaka have to go to this assessment centre. This research was carried out between December 2010 and October 2011. The analysis of the *jiritsu shien sentā* itself is based as well on the existing literature, informations received from the facilities and interviews with the directors and one social worker. The final analysis concerning the social networks of the former clients is based on two surveys – one from current clients and one from former clients – and four interviews with former clients. The results were compared to other research in the same field as frequently as possible.

The second chapter introduces the terms social exclusion and social inclusion. It also introduces the concept of social exclusion by Burchardt et al., explains the role of social relations in it, and puts it in the context of the *jiritsu shien sentā*. Furthermore, the problems that stem from social exclusion are analysed. The research process is introduced and an overview on the literature about homelessness in Japan is provided.

The third chapter deals with characteristics of the phenomenon of homelessness in Japan. The analysis starts with an overview of the term “homeless” and provides a historical overview of the phenomenon. Questions about which parties hold responsibility for homelessness are raised and sociological characteristics of homelessness in Japan are explored. Special patterns of social institutions like family and workplace that benefit homelessness are analysed as well.

The fourth chapter deals with the topic of homelessness in the Japanese welfare system and the different kinds of countermeasures it has produced. Alongside detailing the legal background of the countermeasures, different approaches to dealing with homelessness are introduced. Many of these approaches differ also according to regional differences that come into effect when dealing with the homeless in Japan.

The fifth chapter provides a detailed description of the *jiritsu shien sentā*. It describes the selection process of the clients and the characteristics of the homeless who use the facility. A common day at the *jiritsu shien sentā* is reconstructed and the obligations of the clients as well as the restrictions they have to face are analysed. This chapter also focuses on the support that the *jiritsu shien sentā* provides for its clients. Finally, the data of all former clients who

have finished their time at three *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka is compared to research conducted at other facilities.

In the sixth chapter, two surveys as well as the four interviews with former clients are introduced. The results of the survey on former clients of the *jiritsu shein sentā* is analysed according to the type of people they have relations to. The relations to family members, work colleagues, other former clients, the staff of the *jiritsu sien sentā*, people from community activities and other people are discussed. To explain the results, the interviews with former clients and an extensive base of literature on this topic was used.

2. Social exclusion as a topic in studies about homelessness

2.1. Conceptional designing of social exclusion

The term social exclusion (*shakaiteki haijo*) and its opposite social inclusion (*shakaiteki hōsetsu*) are today frequently used in the Japanese academia in the context of homelessness (Iwata 2008, Yuasa/Sekine 2009, Shima 2009, Aoki 2010). Therefore, they are here applied as well to put this work in a theoretical context and to make it easier to evaluate the results in comparison to other research in this field.

The modern usage of the term “social exclusion” originated in France in the 1970s and referred to those who slipped through the social insurance system (Burchardt et al. 2002:2). The reason for the appearance of such people was due to ongoing globalization and changes in the industrial structure described by the term post-industrialization. These changes were accompanied by others in the socio-economic structure and in the labour market, leading to new problems that enhanced the ongoing inequality in the French society. The existing system of social welfare could not respond adequate to these changes and excluded different groups of people from the welfare system. While the social welfare state which accumulated more and more debts faced an impending collapse, the relationship between the people and the state started to become unstable. New policy measures became necessary, and the debate started to focus on social exclusion (Morita 2009:4-5). The excluded (*Les exclus*) who fell through the net of protection were disabled people, single parents and the uninsured unemployed, especially young adults (Burchardt et al. 2002:2). The term started to become popular in Europe from the beginning of the 1990s (Iwata 2009:21).

After the bubble economy at the beginning of the 1990s burst and under the ongoing globalization, Japan as well underwent some structural reforms while also easing certain regulations. Combined with a bad financial situation and a widening gap in Japanese society, new social problems emerged. This doesn't mean that suddenly Japan had to face a series of problems that did not exist before, but only that these problems now appeared on a bigger scale. In recent years this made the concept of social exclusion also in Japan popular for political ideas (Morita 2009:3-4).

The term social exclusion itself is nowadays very contested and defined in different ways by different authors (Millar 2007:2). Sometimes it is just used as a more fashionable way to speak about poverty, or as a subset of the poor. But on the other hand it is used as a broader

concept that focuses not only on low income but includes also polarization, differentiation, and inequality (Burchardt et al. 2002:3). Tania Burchardt, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud from the Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics provided a differentiation of the concepts for social exclusion on the basis of agency and fundamental causes. This is a key feature of the debate, because it leads to different answers of the question, “who is doing the exclusion (Burchardt et al. 2002:3-4)?” Three differing schools of thoughts can be found in the literature:

1. placing individuals' behaviour and moral values at centre stage (as in the underclass debate),
2. highlighting the role of institutions and systems – from the welfare state to late capitalism and globalization,
3. emphasizing issues of discrimination and lack of enforced rights (Burchardt et al. 2002:3);

The first two approaches especially respond to political ideologies. An emphasis on moral values and behavioural explanations assumes that the exclusion is the fault of the socially excluded. On the other side the assumption that civic and economic institutions constrain opportunities for some people suggests that the exclusion is the outcome of the system and ignores the opportunities of the socially excluded to remedy their situation (Burchardt et al. 2002:4).

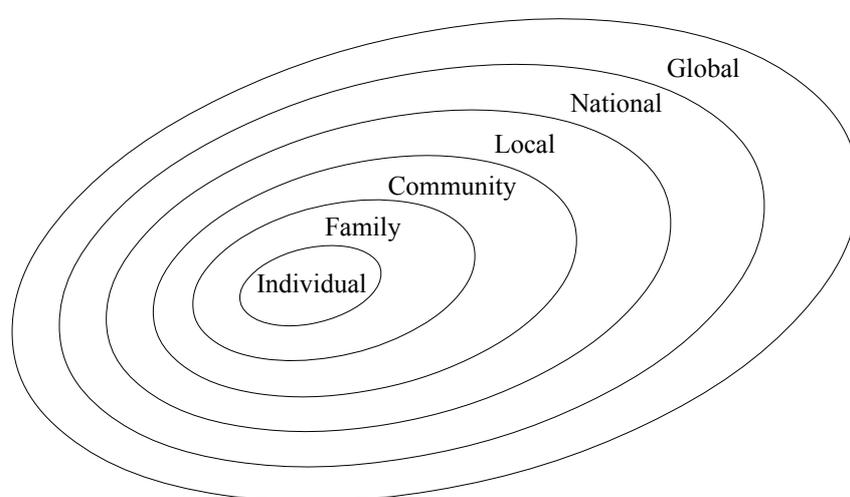
This notion is similar to what David Clapham refers to as minimalist and maximalist discourse. The minimal discourse focuses on personal shortcomings. In the case of homeless individuals, policy following this argumentation is oriented towards changing their behaviour once their immediate problem has been alleviated. Only people who accept certain behavioural norms are regarded as deserving help. In contrast, the maximalist discourse includes a wide variety of situations defining what constitutes homelessness. The cause of homelessness is seen in the structural forces of the provision and regulation of housing and social services by the state. Policy measures do not seek for personal guilt and concentrate on the wider policy issues (Clapham 2007:81).

2.2. The role of social networks under a concept of social exclusion

To describe homeless people who were reintegrated into society requires a concept that describes a process. One of the most useful approaches for this purpose is from Burchardt et al. because social exclusion is not only divided into different levels on which exclusion oc-

curs, but also distinguishes its reasons chronologically. The different levels shown in figure 1 – individual, family, community, local, national, global – influence each other and it is not just one single cause who leads to any outcome or behaviour. This is the same for single individuals as well as for communities. It means also that a community is not only influenced by national and global factors, but also by its members, the families and individuals who form it (Burchardt et al. 2002:7).

Figure 1: Levels on which social exclusion can occur



Individual: e. g. age, gender, race, disability, preferences, beliefs, and values

Family: e. g. Partnership, children, caring responsibilities

Community: e. g. Social and physical environment, schools, health, and social services

Local: e. g. Labour market, transport

National: e. g. Cultural influences, social security, legislative framework

Global: e. g. International trade, migration, climate change

Source: Burchardt et al. 2002:7

Causes for social exclusion are always multiple but they can be further divided into past and present causes. Past causes are relevant due the capital that could be collected before a particular event that has structured the individual's present situation. This capital represents the starting point of the present and may be divided into three components:

- Human capital: genetic inheritance, childhood circumstances, education etc.
- Physical capital: ownership of housing, land, equipment, etc.
- Financial capital: ownership of financial assets or liabilities

More or less, all present causes are products of the past. Although a decision may be the product of the past, it affects some outcome and is therefore better considered as the present. The same can be said about government decisions. Present causes can be divided into two categories:

- External influences: current constraint facing an individual or a community

- Internal influences: Choices individuals or communities make

Past and present causes can operate on any level shown in figure 1. These levels interact as well and produce outcomes, which themselves become present causes that affect the constraints and opportunities available (Burchardt et al. 2002:8). Depending on the desired outcome, the analysis can be conducted in different ways. The analysis of the past and its relation to the present gives a framework for a dynamic analysis which is characteristic for research on social exclusion. For analysis that highlight the interaction between individual and family, family and community and so on, it has to be focused on the relations between the layers. By concentrating on past influences, attention can be drawn to the success or failure of previous strategies. Insights into required responsive policies can be produced by analysing outcomes (Burchardt et al. 2002:9).

In favour of going beyond a perception of social inclusion solely derived from the two parameters work and home that are focused by the support activities of the *jiritsu shien sentā* (compare to Nishinari 2011a:1), the role of a social network for homeless people in a concept of social exclusion has to be examined here further. Social networks are constituted by the two elements; actor and relation. Actors can be individual natural persons or collectivities like informal groups or formal organisations. In this work actors are defined as individual persons, who are either former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* or all other people they have relations to. A relation is defined as “[...] a specific kind of contact, connection, or tie between a pair of actors [...]”. (Knoke/Yang 2008:7).” This relations can be of directed nature or non-directed nature. In a directed relation, one actor initiates and the second actor receives and a non-directed relational mutuality occurs. Relations are not the same as attributes, because they are always shared by two actors and exist only as long as both actors maintain their association. Around one actor an enormous variety of relations occur that can be relevant to represent network structures and explain their effect (Knoke/Yang 2008:6-7).

The homeless are often considered as the epitome of social exclusion. The fact that they have no roof over their heads leads to the assumption that they are so cut off from society that they cannot enjoy the type of life most people take for granted (Clapham 2007:79). Yamada Sōshirō refers to three major shortcomings constituting homelessness. These include the lack of proper employment and home and also the lack of social relations (*kankeisei*). In the process of becoming homeless, contact with their families, relatives, friends and neighbours is cut off. An element of homelessness that has been widely ignored by the countermeasures

who are mostly focusing on helping the homeless find a place to stay (Yamada 2009:20-21).

Morita Yōji goes one step further and perceives social exclusion caused primarily by a lack of social relations: “Social exclusion is not only the exclusion from active other persons or groups, it is more the problem of social isolation, brought up under a state of loosened social bonds, caused by an ongoing privatization, that exacerbates and deepens the dimension of the problem [...] (Morita 2009:11).¹” He perceives social exclusion not primarily as exclusion from the welfare state, like the first concepts of this term employed in France, but more as the exclusion from one's community, social groups, organizations, unions, the intermediate space built by NPOs, voluntary organisations and other support organisations. In short, Morita sees exclusion as stemming from relations to all other human beings, aggregating the exclusion from the welfare state (Morita 2009:14). In other words, he is arguing that social relations, which can be found in Burchardt et al.'s definition on the family- and community-level, have an impact on all other levels as well. But David Clapham points out that the relationship between homelessness and social exclusion, including also the lack of social relations, is very complex. On one side homelessness is a consequence of social exclusion and on the other side it is also creating it. Social disadvantage is one predisposition of homelessness but it does not mean, that all disadvantaged people become homeless (Clapham 2007:83).

Although the role of social relations is unclear in the process of becoming homeless – does homelessness lead to a lack of social relations or is a lack of social relations leading into homelessness – they are an important factor accelerating this process. Therefore they can be considered as an important factor in the reverse process of escaping homelessness as well. They may accelerate this process and protect individuals from reentering homelessness.

2.3. Social exclusion in the context of the *jiritus shien sentā*

The first chapter has shown, that the discussion about social exclusion has a political dimension, focusing on its reason. This discussion tangles between the two poles: Individual failures, and system immanent failures. To look for the reasons for social exclusion on the individual level makes it possible to understand the phenomenon and design appropriate countermeasures. But since the purpose of this paper is to evaluate the countermeasures, it makes more sense to focus on the system itself, because this is the mechanism that is most likely to

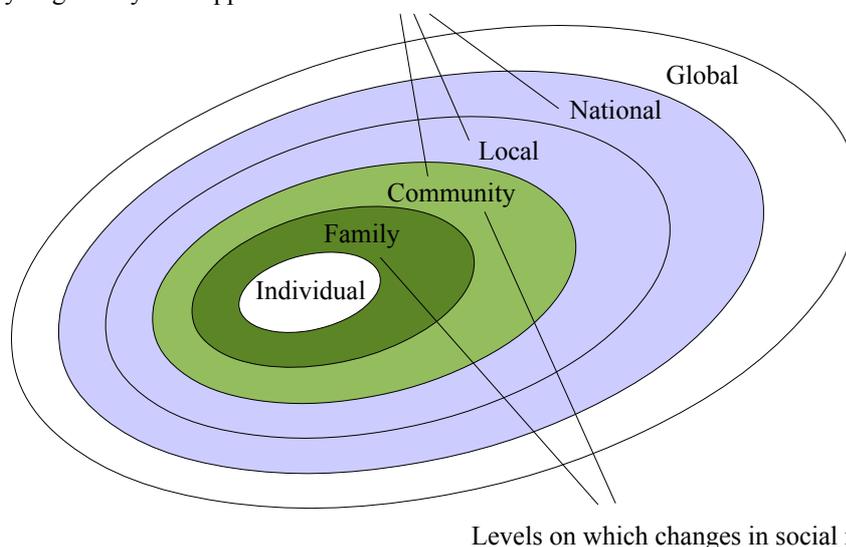
1 *Shakaiteki haijo wa, sekkyokuteki na tasha ya shūdan kara no haijo dake de naku, mushiro shijika ga motarasu “shakaiteki na tsunagari (sōsharu bondo)” no bundan jōkyō no shita de okiru shakaiteki na koritsu ga mondai o hikiokoshi, mondai no yōsō o zōfuku shi shinkokuka sasete iku koto [...].*

be changed.

The *jiritsu shien sentās* are designed to respond to the wish of homeless people to participate in society through receiving help to find work. This enables them to keep their pride as workers (Mizuuchi/Hanano 2003:89). Therefore the *jiritsu shien sentās* are designed to help people to be able to live in an own home by assisting them with finding employment (Nishinari 2011a:1). This means that the support of the *jiritsu shien sentā* aims to include the clients on the national and local level as well as partly on the level of the community described by Burchardt et al.. By moving into their own homes they fulfil the preconditions for their civic rights like the right to vote or to receive social welfare benefits, rights which belong to the national level. In addition, this support enables them to return to the labour market. Through income or social security they get access to transportation as well. These two aspects are associated with the local level. The new home and workplace are responsible for changes in the built environment and probably also to a certain extend in the social environment and therefore can be associated with the community level.

Figure 2: Levels influenced by the jiritsu shien sentā and by social networks

Levels primary targeted by the support of the Jiritsu shien sentā



Levels on which changes in social networks can occur

Source: Burchardt et al. 2002:7

Most research conducted on the former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* tries to find out how many people managed to find work, how many subsist on social security and how many failed to benefit or profit in any way from the support they got. The measurements that were used were their living conditions (apartment, home provided by the employer, other welfare facility) and their method of income (stable work, part time combined with welfare, welfare)

(Mizuuchi/Hanano 2003, Yamada 2009). This kind of research is inappropriate to observe changes on the family and community level, associated with social networks.

Therefore in here the development of social networks after the clients leave the *jiritsu shien sentā* will be observed. To study the types of relations which are relevant in the context of Japanese homelessness, Inazuki Tadashi's work is applied here. He describes several benefits that a network creates: Source of information, source of mutual support, source for motivation in life and will to live (Inazuki 2008:5); While the third benefit – source for motivation in life and will to live – can be considered as the result of all relations, the other two benefits, source of information and source of mutual support, can be applied here to define relations. This social relations were recorded by the two surveys taken while participants were living in the *jiritsu shien sentā* and after their departure.

The basic hypothesis of this research is borrowed from Joel F. Handler (2004) who did research on workfare programmes in the USA and in Europe. It can be assumed that the idea of supporting self-sufficiency through work is very much influenced by workfare programs, which have been installed in the USA and in most parts of Europe to improve the welfare system. Workfare is based on the idea that people who want to get social welfare benefits have to go through job training and apply for jobs (Yamada 2009:25). Because visiting the *jiritsu shien sentā* is not a precondition to get social welfare benefits and many apply directly for livelihood protection, this kind of support is by some researchers not considered as workfare (Yamada 2009:64). Nevertheless, the *jiritsu shien sentā* creates winners (those who find work) and losers (those who can not find work), which can be considered as crucial for the development of a social network.

Handler follows this idea when he used the following hypothesis for his research: “[...] [I]nclusion through workfare obligations is contradictory. Positive acts of inclusion necessarily result in exclusion – those who can not negotiate the barriers (Handler 2004:8).” According to him barriers can be structural and individual. Structural barriers, like the availability of jobs or training in a particular area, are many times beyond the control of welfare departments. Most times barriers are related to individual character, such as physical and mental health, lack of skills and education, children and other family care issues and transportation. For Handler, inclusion is equal with social citizenship, referring to welfare provisions, designed to lessen the risk of sickness or disability, old age, unemployment, lack of income (Handler 2004:8-9).

Adapting Handler's hypothesis for the focus of this work – the social network of homeless people who became self-sufficient through the support of the *jiritsu shien sentā* – leads to following hypothesis: Clients who successfully negotiate the barriers and find work also manage to rebuild their social network. Through work they have more contact with other people and it generates self-respect, which enables them to participate in other parts of society as well. These benefits are withheld from former clients who are unable to find employment following their stay. In Burchardt et al. terms, the *jiritsu shien sentā*'s strong focus on work is considered to be an external influence that aids clients in constructing new relations within society.

In order to prove this hypothesis, past causes that lead into social exclusion and form the socio-cultural background under which homelessness occurs in Japan will be observed closely. The *jiritsu shien sentā* and all the support it provides will be examined and its external influences on the clients analysed. Finally the development of former clients relations to other people will be analysed according to Handler's hypothesis.

2.4. What is wrong about social exclusion?

This question is not so easy to answer, especially because system theory has always stressed that there is no outside of society. Every exclusion from one system is an inclusion into another system. People are not passive objects in these systems, they are actors, and most of the time quite competent actors (Steinert 2003:35). Therefore, it is more the exclusion from particular systems than the exclusion from the whole society. According to Brian Barry, social exclusion has two major problems: It violates the value of social justice and social solidarity. Social justice is defined as equality of opportunity, an aim that is extremely difficult to reach and is currently adapted by only a few societies in the world. The idea of equal opportunity conflicts in two ways with social exclusion (Barry 2002:19-20). “[F]irst, social exclusion leads to unequal educational and occupational opportunities; and second, social exclusion actually constitutes a denial of equal opportunity in relation to politics (Barry 2002:20).”

These unequal educational and occupational opportunities are a result of the amount of money people are able to invest in their future. Also, the people in the individual's immediate surroundings influence this exclusion, and not only through the financial support they can give. For example, very few people are engaged in full-time permanent legal employment in socially isolated areas. This results an absence of socially transmitted flow of information about job opportunities such as word of mouth. In schools, social homogeneity is a source of

unequal opportunity. If there is a lack of students with middle-class attitudes and aspirations who constitute a resource for the rest, schools can not provide equal educational opportunities anymore. Political networks also tend to grow out of social networks, which socially excluded individuals have no access to. Especially in more informal politics there is less scope for weakening the link between location in a social network and political efficacy. Therefore, preventing social exclusion is the only way to prevent political exclusion (Barry 2002:21-22).

In the case of social solidarity, social exclusion is always a threat to it, unlike social justice, which can be undermined voluntarily. Social solidarity is defined as a fellow feeling, that extends beyond people with whom one is in contact. “At the minimum, it is the acceptance that strangers are still human beings, with the same basic needs and rights; at the maximum, it is (in Benedict Anderson's terms) an ‘imagined community’ (Barry 2002:23).” The connection to social exclusion is that the experience of shared experiences, particularly those due to common institutions, is a factor that strengthens solidarity. It is easier to realize social justice through politics when the level of social solidarity inside a society is high, especially in a liberal democratic society. If it is not, politicians tend to split the electorate in two unequally sized parts and identify with the majority. This is one of the easiest ways to stay in power. If the level of social solidarity in a society is high, it is hard to demonise and dehumanise minorities. Furthermore the processes that underly social exclusion tend to be the same as those that lead to stigmatization (Barry 2002:23-25).

2.5. Research process

The fieldwork for this thesis was split in three separate periods. From December 2010 to February 2011 the contact to the four *jiritsu shien sentās* and the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 in Ōsaka was established. Interviews were conducted with the directors of the five facilities, and information about the facilities was collected. In addition to general information about the facilities, possible forms of further research were discussed. In this matter it turned out that the relations of the different *jiritsu shien sentās* to their former clients differed slightly. The Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 had frequent contact with a larger number of former clients who are either visited by the staff, or came to the facility from time to time. However, the other *jiritsu shien sentās* stayed in contact with the former clients only through telephone or mail correspondence. They had direct contact with them only in case of emergencies.

Throughout the next step, qualitative interviews with four former homeless and one em-

ployee of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 were conducted in May and June 2011. The interview partners were contacted through the *jiritsu shien sentā*, and selected by following criteria: One person who failed to find an employment (A), one person who was able to find full time employment (B) and one person who was unable to find full time employment and is now living partially on social welfare (C). Because it turned out that B had finished his stay at the *jiritsu shien sentā* about one month before the interview, another former client (D) who matched the same criteria and had left the *jiritsu shien sentā* about eight month ago was introduced. All four clients were selected by the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā*, and were mainly people who had to come anyway to the centre. A was visiting the centre nearly every day to work and C was coming nearly every day as well after finishing his work. B trusted his salary to the *jiritsu shien sentā*, and had to come anyway as well. The reason why D came to the centre is unknown.

The next step was to create two questionnaires for the quantitative survey, one for the current clients in the facility and one for the former clients. The first attempt was tested with two former clients of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari and turned out to be very difficult to answer. Therefore the questionnaire was discussed in a group with other students and rearranged. To create the questionnaire, the “ISSP ‘citizen consciousness’ survey (*ISSP ‘shimin ishiki’ chōsa*)” (NHK 2006:554-558), the *White book of citizen life. The rich national life built by relations* (*Kokumin seikatsu hakusho. Tsunagari ga kizuku yutaka na kokumin seikatsu*) (Naikakufu 2007) and Inazuki Tadashi's (2008) article “The homeless self sufficiency support and social relations. From the results of the Kitakyūshū survey (*Hōmuresu jiritsu shien to shakaiteki kizuna. Kitakyūshū de no chōsa kekka kara*)” were used. The questions were adapted to the purpose of the research and finally corrected by a native speaker.

The quantitative research could be conducted through the help of the three Jiritsu Shien Sentās Maishima 2, Ōyodo and Yodogawa in September 2011. It was planned for the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari as well, but there it turned out to be difficult to conduct a survey with a large number of respondents. Because of the different relations to the former clients, every facility used a different method to contact them. In all three facilities the questionnaire was trusted to the staff who distributed it to the current clients and former clients. In the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2, the questionnaire was handed to the current clients, who had several days to complete it. Because former clients were frequently coming to the facility, they were asked to fill in the questionnaires on these occasions. Through this method, twenty questionnaires from

each survey were collected. In the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo the questionnaires were handed to all current clients during the monthly team meeting and they could submit the questionnaires in the following days. All former clients were contacted through letters which contained the questionnaire and a pre-paid postage envelope. 24 questionnaires of each survey were completed. In the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Yodogawa twenty questionnaires were distributed to the current clients during the monthly team meeting. They were filled out during the team meeting and those who responded were rewarded with small presents. The respondents of the survey about the former clients were people who had to come to the *jiritsu shien sentā* anyway and also such several individuals who were called for this purpose, both parties received a small reward as well. All questionnaires were filled in completely and no answer was missing. In the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Yodogawa, twenty questionnaires from clients and fourteen questionnaires from former clients were collected.

2.6. Literature about homelessness in Japan

The subject of homelessness in Japan has only attracted a handful of mentions in English and German publications since the 1990s. From the research that was conducted throughout this period, subjects such as homelessness under the day labourers (Gill 2001b, Herbert 2004) sudden increase of homeless people (Ezawa 2002, Hasegawa 2005), the homeless movement (Hasegawa 2006, Klinger 2000) and also homeless counter-measures (Gill 2005) were examined. This is especially true in the work of Tom Gill, which ranges from discussing traditional forms of homelessness to modern countermeasures. Gill's body of work is considered as representative of western researchers working on homelessness in Japan.

In Japan the discourse on homelessness has a far wider range. One of the characteristics of this research are large scale homelessness surveys which attempt to document the phenomenon as well as variations in it, resulting in a vast body of statistical data. In 2001 the first nationwide survey was conducted by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (Kōsei Rōdōshō). The survey of the NGO Niji no Rengō (2007) also grasps at documenting the phenomenon of homelessness in Japan and challenges information collected by the government's surveys. Surveys from governmental officials created to count the number of homeless people and to receive insight into their lives have been conducted since the year 1998. The numbers provided from the government have to be examined carefully, because they tend to play the real situation down. The surveys were conducted during the night and only people who could

be seen were recorded. Under these conditions it is difficult to count people who sleep in tents or change the place they sleep at very frequently. Alternately, the numbers provided by volunteer organisations sometimes run the risk of exaggerating the real situation (Iwata 2007:102-104).

The academic fields that acknowledged the homelessness issue before it became widely recognized are the *yoseba*-studies. *Yoseba* are urban areas forming the living space for the so-called urban underclass in Japan. Famous advocates of this field of studies, like Aoki Hideo (2000), started to explain the phenomenon of the rising number of homeless people through the social and economic background in the context of the *yoseba*. Out of this interpretation comes the term “*yosebaka*”, which describes the widening of unstable conditions of work and life over the borders of the *yoseba* (Shima 2009:113-114).

Social work dealing with homeless people became a field in which much research has been done in Japan, and a large body of literature exists. Yamada Sōshirō provides a classification of the literature on the *jiritsu shien sentā* according to their main arguments:

1. Research focusing on the divergence between the diversity of homeless individuals and the support systems failing to accurately support these people. An example of these researchers is a group of researchers around Kitagawa Yukihiro who conducted research on the people who returned back into the streets from the *jiritsu shien sentās*. They concluded that there was a division between these individuals. One group was comprised of people who have abilities needed by the labour market and the other group of people were those who are not considered as labour force by the labour market and who can only find work as temporary labourers. This kind of research demands a diversity of countermeasures (quoted from Yamada 2009:84).
2. Research focusing on the quality of the work the formerly homeless individuals are able to get. An example therefore is Tamaki Matsuo, who criticised in his research that the support offers only normal jobs that can not respond to the special needs people have who became homeless. An other example is Kami Yoshifumi who points out that most of the clients receive only inferior jobs with little security and therefore leave them after a short time. This is one reason why people return back into homelessness although they could become self-sufficient through work. This kind of research suggests a general improvement of the labour conditions is needed (quoted from Yamada 2009: 85-86).

3. Research focusing on aftercare, to support the lives of former clients in the community. An example of this kind of research was conducted through Fujita Hirohito, who focused on former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentā* regarding employment. He found out that after one and a half years, only slightly more than 30% continued to work. He argues that this number can be increased by supporting the former clients to overcome problems like illness and conflicts at work that they have to face after they leave the facility (quoted from Yamada 2009:87).
4. Research focusing on the effects of community life. In this research the negative or positive effects of the *jiritsu shien sentā* are highlighted. For example, Iwata Keiji conducted research on former homeless people who moved to their own apartments from rehabilitation centres (*kōsei shisetsu*) and *jiritsu shien sentās*. He pointed out that they did not easily develop a competitive consciousness and were not forced to assimilate, because the social workers were able to respond to every individual's case. Critics of the community life point to the housing first approach (*haujingu fāsuto apurōchi*) which focuses on helping the homeless people to find a home in the first place in order reducing the harm caused by a life in groups (quoted from Yamada 2009:87-88).

Many researchers in Japan stress the importance of social networks in the context of homelessness (Yuasa/Sekine 2009, Masuda 2010, Iwata 2010, Iwata 2007). Yuasa Makoto describes poverty as the loss of different “savings/accumulations (*tame*)”. These accumulations absorb impacts from the outside and are the source of energy. Examples for this kind of accumulations are of course money, but also social relations like family, relatives or friends as well as psychological accumulations like self-confidence (quoted from Yamada 2009:78).

Research focusing particularly on the social networks of former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* was conducted by Inazuki Tadashi (2008) who examined the changing social networks of homeless people and former clients, showing the effectiveness of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū. Furthermore, Masuda Jin (2010) also analysed data of former clients. He did research about the relation between the size and strength of social networks and the notion of social integration, relying on the same data set as Inazuki.

An important organ for publications about homelessness became the quarterly magazine *Shelter-less* which was published by the Shinjuku hōmuresu shien kikō between 1999 and 2008. This magazine was succeeded by the journal *Homeless and Society (homuresu to shakai)* published in Akashi Shoten since 2009.

3. Homelessness in Japan

3.1. Defining “homeless”

Homelessness is not a phenomenon that appears in every society in the same way. According to Anthony Giddens “[p]overty, unemployment, sickness and so forth [...] are not just givens with which the state has to cope as best it can; they are constituted as part of the process of the state formation, defined not by the state alone, but by conflicts and battles between state agencies and other organizations and groups (Giddens 1998:134-135).” This makes an analysis of the meaning of the word “homeless” in a Japanese context necessary, which this chapter will attempt to define.

Until the middle of the 1990s the term “*hōmuresu* (homeless)” was only used in context of social problems which foreign countries had to deal with. In reports about Japan, other terms such as *furōsha* (vagabond/bum) were used to refer to a homeless person. For example, when a group of homeless people in Yokohama were attacked by teenagers in 1983, the news reported about an incident in which some *furōsha* were killed and injured. Notably, there was no personal identification of the victims (Ezawa 2002:281).

The Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless (*hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien nado ni kan suru tokubetsu sochihō*)² which was enacted in 2002 was the first time the English term “*hōmuresu*” was used by officials in Japan. The appearance of homeless people in public places in Japan's large cities during the 1990s, which turned them into a problem visible to the eyes of the public, became the background for this law. In a survey conducted in 1998 in Ōsaka, 8660 rough sleepers (*nojukusha*) were counted and an other survey conducted in 1999 in the 23 wards of Tōkyō revealed the existence of 5796 rough sleepers. The “visible homeless” who were counted in this surveys became the object of public concern, and the term “homeless” used by the officials referred only to them (Mizuuchi 2009:1). Mizuuchi Toshio describes the view of the public as follows: “The proportion of people living in tents and huts has grown by over one fourth in the last five years and without doubt this style of living is increasingly becoming the central concern among ordinary residents in Ōsaka city. In other words, the rapid growth of people sleeping rough in recent years has become visible and is seen as a problem by residents city wide [...] (Mizuuchi 2003:42).” People who live in shelters and other facilities designed to help them are not per-

2 The Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless will be abridged as Homeless Self-sufficiency Law in the following.

ceived by the public as part of the problem (Mizuuchi 2009:1). The phenomenon began to be called “the homeless issue (*hōmures mondai*)” not only by the mass media, but also by the Japanese state and local authorities (Tsutsumi 2010:3).

Through the usage of the English term “*homuresu*”, the rough sleepers were openly and legally defined as a new urban problem. Although the rapid rise of homeless people was a new phenomenon, rough sleeping itself has existed long before. The people described with this new-sounding term were partly day labourers (*hiyatoi*) who since a long time ago live in special places called *yoseba*. These places are equipped with several facilities who respond to their special needs. These people, when out of work and money, used to sleep rough frequently while looking for new work. Therefore the term “*homuresu*” is misleading, because it does not describe a new phenomenon (Mizuuchi 2009:1). The notion that the term “homeless” highlights the novelty of the phenomenon is also shared by Ezawa Aya. She as well points out, that “[...] the adoption of the term ‘homeless’ by the media, activists and government officials, [...] highlights the discursive rise of homelessness as a new social problem, originally only associates with the west (Ezawa 2002:281).”

Because of the narrow definition, the usage of this word has changed in recent years. The media and intellectuals showed that through the liberalization of the employment law the number of people in irregular employment, which often included a residence for the duration of the contract, and the number of people in unstable conditions of resident was on the rise. An extreme form of these people are the so called *nettokafe nanmin*, people who sleep in internet cafes that are open twenty four hours a day. They were also described as “invisible homeless (*mienai hōmures*)” in media reports, and in 2009 this term was also used in the white papers of the government. At this point the term homeless started to be not only applied to rough sleepers (Tsutsumi 2010:2). The basic problem of this concept of homeless is, that it is based on the idea that people can be divided in two groups: those who have a place they live in and those who do not, and that those who lost their home stay homeless permanently. But in reality this is often not the case. Very often people describe their situation like this: “I slept on the road for about one month, but worked in between in a factory and stayed there in a dormitory as well (Iwata 2007:110-111).”

In contrast to the Japanese definition, the European definition of the term “homeless” refers to a whole class of people in insecure residential situations. For instance, the European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion developed by FEANTSA, the European

Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless, defines four different kinds of homeless people who are targeted by different politics: rooflessness, houselessness, living in insecure housing and living in inadequate housing (FEANTSA 2011:#ETHOS). This is also reflected in most laws of European states. Not only homeless individuals, but also people who are at risk of becoming homeless are under protection of the law (Yamazaki 2006a:33). The definition of homeless people by Japanese law involves just the category rooflessness and in recent years, partially the category houselessness. Nevertheless, there are many Japanese researchers who use a definition for homeless people that is broader than that of the government, involving also people who are at risk of losing their homes (compare to Yamazaki 2006a:35-36).

The term “homeless” developed in Japan out of the sudden confrontation with a large number of rough sleepers who became visible in the streets. Most times it does not refer to a whole series of different housing problems like in other countries and describes only the state of sleeping rough.

3.2. A short history of homelessness in Japan

3.2.1. Early forms of homelessness and day labourers

People without a home have existed in Japan throughout the ages. It is reported that in the Nara-period (AD 710-794) in lean years beggars (*kojiki*) gathered in the capital (Yamada 2009:17). Homeless and travelling ill people were very frequent and considered as dirty. It was a custom to abandon them in the mountains. Since the year AD 718 several attempts to forbid this and to establish a support system for such people are recorded in the early law codes. But in reality reception to such attempts was very limited and most people living in the streets were ignored (Kuwahara 2007:137). In the medieval age after the Tokugawa Bakufu came into power, many people lost their homes due to fires or other catastrophes in addition to dealing with three major famines. In these times, the problem of homelessness was already basically an urban problem. Because of the strict class system, ruined farmers left their villages and moved to the cities to work in urban areas, forming an early kind of slum (Kuwahara 2007:139). These people settled in the old towns (*shitamachi*) and were called *mushuku* or *nohinin*. Also during the Meiji-period (1868-1912) there existed different kinds of homeless people. One kind of them were the *tachinbō*, casual labourers who waited at difficult parts of the roads to help the wagoners and earn a little money. Many of them had no home and used

to sleep in parks and other public places (Yamada 2009:17).

During the Second World War a lot of people lost their home or their relatives and caretakers (Kuwahara 2007:141-142). A lot of improvised homes, like holes dug into the ground or temporary huts were used. Furthermore, a large number of vagrants (*furōsha*), who spent the nights in parks and stations became a considerable presence. Although for them different names were used, they constituted one group of people who lacked an appropriate permanent home (Yamada 2009:17).

Because of the changing situation after the Second World War the old Livelihood Protection Law (*seikatsu hogo-hō*) was revised and it became possible to respond also to homeless people with it. To use the Livelihood Protection Law to help homeless people was practised until the 1960s. In addition to a change of this practice also several reforms led to a weakening of the ability of the Livelihood Protection Law to respond to the homeless. For instance in 1981 a notification that should hinder *yakuza*³ members from receiving illegal welfare benefits was released. But unfortunately, people who lost their job through the recession were also affected by this reform (Kuwahara 2007:141-142).

The period of economic growth and the time of the bubble economy didn't eliminate homelessness in Japan. In the years following the oil shocks in the 1970s, a lot of day labourers (*hiyatoi*) were forced to sleep rough (Iwata 2007:99). They were always exposed to cyclical changes in the demand for labour caused by the economic fluctuation and the seasons. Therefore it was a common practice for day labourers to sleep rough in times where no labour was available (Shima 2009:110).

The places where these day labourers live are called *yoseba* (Mizuuchi 2003:41). Until the late 1990s most actions dealing with rough sleepers were originally confined to *yosebas* (Mizuuchi 2003:52-53). From the 1970s until the middle of the 1990s, almost all rough sleepers in Japan have been day labourers who lived in *yosebas*, (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:182) like San'ya and Takadanobaba in Tōkyō, Kamagasaki in Ōsaka, Kotobukichō in Yokohama and Sasajima in Nagoya. The largest of these are Kamagasaki, San'ya and Kotobukichō. Day labourers were traditionally recruited at these places (Watanabe 2010b:107) which have a long history of being known as disadvantaged areas (Mizuuchi 2003:34). For instance, the area that currently hosts Kamagasaki was used for agriculture to grow carrots and radish in the Edo-period. The first settlers came there at the beginning of the 20th century when a slum in Nihon-

3 *Yakuza* are organized crime syndicates in Japan.

bashi was cleared and its inhabitants were moved to the periphery of Ōsaka (Herbert 2004:29). After Kamagasaki was burnt down by aerial bombing during the Second World War, it was revived as the largest slum in Japan immediately after the war (Mizuuchi 2003:34).

During the second half of the 1950s it became well known in the mass media through reports about prostitution. A special policy for this area was enacted that involved resettlements of families out of Kamagasaki and monitoring of the day labourers (Haraguchi 2010:88). This contributed to the formation of the sociological characteristics of the inhabitants of Kamagasaki, comprised of large numbers of single men who worked as day labourers and lived in cheap urban hotels which were concentrated in this area (Haraguchi 2010:65).

After the first riot in Kamagasaki (*daiichi bōdō*), that occurred in August 1961, it became object of slum countermeasures, and in July 1966 the Airin-district (Airin Chiku) was founded (Haraguchi 2010:84). The renaming of Kamagasaki was a countermeasure against the increasing discrimination inhabitants of this area had to face (Haraguchi 2010:95). The new name “Airin” means “lovely neighbours”. But this name was rejected by the day labourers as an euphemism of the administration and they still call it Kamagasaki or just Kama (Herbert 2004:29). Furthermore, with the foundation of the Airin-district, a special jurisdiction for welfare, labour affairs and public peace was established by the city government, the prefectural government and the police. All the problems faced by day labourers, who lived in this district, including their employment, daily life, their health, gang/mafia problems, sleeping rough or dying on the street were specifically dealt with. The next incident that led to further developments in the Airin-district was the EXPO held in Ōsaka in 1970. The squatter's barracks in and around this district were cleared, but the area continued to be a target for special policies (Mizuuchi 2003:34).

Basically three kinds of facilities were built during the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s as countermeasures. These facilities are the Airin Centre (Airin Sōgō Sentā), the City-run Rehabilitation Consulting Office (Shiritsu Kōsei Sōdan-sho) and cheap urban hostels (*kani shuku-sho* or *doya*). The Airin Centre was built in 1970 and hosts the Nishinari Labour Welfare Centre (Nishinari Rōdō Fukushi Sentā), the Airin Public Job Centre (Airin Rōdō Kōkyō Shokugyō Antei-sho) and the Ōsaka Social Care Centre (Ōsaka Shakai Iryō Sentā), and its basic functions are to help the day labourers to find work and medical services. Accommodation units are provided in the upper floors. The Rehabilitation Consulting Office provides assist-

ance for people without a fixed address to find a place to live. Basically, those who are consulted here are recommended to welfare facilities. The cheap urban hostels originated as cheap wooden lodgings which were used already before the war. After the war most of them became the living space for day labourers (Haraguchi 2010:67). The rooms can be rented for about 2000 yen⁴ a day and allow short term stays which are appropriate for the life of day labourers (Mizuuchi 2003:52-53).

The day labourers of the *yoseba* consist of former lower class and upper class workers, farmers, and nominal self-employed individuals. The background of their move to the *yoseba* was that big companies in the construction industry started to hire new employees possessing high-school degrees to respond to the rising complexity of the job's technical structure. For people without a high-school degree it became more and more difficult to find a job, and those who could not came to the *yoseba* (Yamada 2009:37).

Companies of all sizes, especially from the construction industry, hire day labourers in addition to their normal staff. This could be just one person, but in cases where they need more labourers larger numbers of people are hired as well. During the time they are working for a company, they are accommodated in facilities attached to the workplace (*hanba*). In times they are looking for a job, they have to leave these accommodations and live in cheap urban hostels. The day labourers are payed in cash and have short term contracts for only a few days or maybe a month (Watanabe 2010b:108). Per day they earn around 10 000 yen. But when they stay at the *hanba* they have to pay every day around 3 000 yen for the use of the facilities and the food, regardless of whether they had work on that day or not (Watanabe 2010b:110). The *hanba* are mostly prefabricated houses, ferroconcrete houses or containers. The rooms, with shared bathroom and toilet, are about 2-3 *jō*⁵, and furnished with a *futon*⁶ and a TV-set. In the morning and in the evening food is served in the canteen, and lunch boxes (*bentō*) are regularly prepared (Watanabe 2010b:111).

The terms of employment are in most cases very complicated. Sometimes the labourers are employed in a company that has a subcontract with a general contractor, but very often the day labourers face complicated nets of subcontractors. In reality, often a worker does not meet the people of the company which employed him at the construction site. Many times the instructors are from other companies who have subcontracts with the general contractor

4 102 yen are about 1 euro today

5 1 *jō* is about 1.53 m²

6 A Japanese bedding, that consists of a padded mattresses and quilts that can be folded and stored away during the day.

(Watanabe 2010b:111).

Many explanations of the rise of homelessness argue that this was triggered by the downturn of the *yoseba* as pointed out in the previous chapter. An explanation that links the downturn of the *yoseba* with changes on the labour market is provided by Yamada Sōshirō. He argues that from 1990 to 1997 the people employed in the construction sector did not decrease, they rather increased. But the jobs for the day labourers decreased. The rise of the homeless can be explained by the demise of demand for day labourers. In the first half of the 1990s the construction companies started to restructure and to rely heavily on subcontractors. Through the employment of foreign workers, announcements in newspapers and recruiting next to stations, they could ignore the ageing workers from the *yoseba*. This process formed structural changes in the labour market of the construction industry. Through the stagnating construction industry, a higher competition between the construction companies began which invited for price dumping and labour price cuts. The workers in the *yoseba* started to become old. Employment in the construction industry was not popular with younger people because the salary did not rise in accordance with the years one was employed. Therefore big construction companies started to apply strategies to make the jobs more popular and started to train skilled workers to prevent young people from switching jobs. Through these shifts, the aged workers at the *yoseba* were excluded from the labour market. Instead of recruiting them, the construction companies announced employment opportunities in newspapers and magazines where those interested could apply per telephone (Yamada 2009:37-38).

Yamada argues that through this changes in the labour market of the construction industry which were accelerated by the end of the bubble economy at the beginning of the 1990s, the *yoseba* lost its function. The *yoseba* was like a saucer for unemployed people from all kind of industries. In the moment were it did not work any more, people started to spill directly on the streets (Yamada 2009:39-40).

Today Kamagasaki in Ōsaka is still the largest *yoseba* in Japan. The day labourers live under special labour conditions and under the Airin-system, both differing from what other people in Japan normally experience. Also the social relation to the rest of Japan is formed by strong prejudices until today (Haraguchi 2010:66).

The percentage of former day labourers under the homeless is varying between different surveys. In the homeless questionnaire by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare conducted in 2003 about 36.2% of the homeless people had experienced the life of a day labourer,

but only for 23% this was the longest employment. In the survey conducted by the city of Ōsaka in 2001 only about 30% had worked as day labourers. The number was declining in the last years and in 2007 only 33.3% of former day labourers were counted by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare under the homeless (Watanabe 2010a:135). Under the clients of the *jiritsu shien sentā* this number is even lower than that. In 2009, only 20% of all clients had worked as day labourers (Mizuuchi 2011:54). The significance of the day labourers for the *jiritsu shien sentās* lies mainly in a tradition of dealing with the homeless that can be traced back to them. Facilities for homeless individuals are informed by experiences from facilities dealing with former day labourers.

3.2.2. The fast rise of homelessness during the 1990s

Before the fast growth of homelessness in Japan, homeless individuals were the focus of public debate when in the second half of the 1980s sleeping rough became a long term-condition for some of the day labourers (Hasegawa 2005:990). These labourers attracted attention in the context of public order and crime, as victims of teenager-violence. Series of incidents in which homeless people were attacked by teenagers in Tōkyō, Yokohama and Ōsaka, became the interest of the media. They were also seen as a criminal nuisance by the local commercial areas and the police (Iwata 2007:100).

At the beginning of the 1990s the number of homeless people increased dramatically and their presence became obvious to everyone. Many commenters relate this development to the economic recession Japan had to face. During the 1990s homeless surveys were only partially conducted. In Ōsaka the number of homeless individuals in and around Kamagasaki rose from 1,641 to 3,814 in the period from 1994 to 1998. In August of 1998 8,660 homeless individuals were counted in the whole city. Several surveys conducted during the 1990s showed that about 40%-60% of the homeless had no contact to the *yoseba*. A considerable number of them had not worked in the construction industry, like traditionally day labourers did (Iwata 2007:102).

According to the surveys of the government the number of homeless people in Japan reached its peak in 2003, when 25,296 homeless individuals were counted in the whole country. After that the numbers decreased again (compare to table 1). But considering, that this was the first survey conducted in all administrative districts it is possible that the number was higher before. According to the five largest cities (Tōkyō, Yokohama, Kawasaki, Nagoya

and Ōsaka), in the year 2003 the number of homeless people was already declining. Hence it is suggested that the number of homeless people reached its peak around the year 2000 (Yamada 2009:29-30).

Generally it can be stated that the number of homeless people started to rise noticeable in the years 1992 and 1993. From the years 1997 and 1998 until the year 2000 the number rose swiftly and after that it dropped continuously (Yamada 2009:30). A sudden deterioration in the construction and production sector in which most of the people who became homeless worked, can be considered as the immediate background of this sharp rise (Yamada 2009:40). But this deterioration does not explain why people slipped through the net of social security and ended up homeless, living in the streets of the big cities.

Table 1: The number of homeless people counted in surveys of the government

Area	March 1999	October 1999	September 2001	January and February 2003	January 2007	January 2008	January 2009
Japan	16,247	20,451	24,090	25,296	18,564	16,018	15,759
The 5 largest cities	14,903	17,174	17,081	15,617	10,532	8,975	8,858
Tōkyō (23 wards)	4,300	5,800	5,600	5,927	4,213	3,436	3,105
Yokohama	439	794	602	470	661	649	697
Kawasaki	746	901	901	829	848	635	691
Nagoya	758	1,019	1,318	1,788	741	608	641
Ōsaka	8,660	8,660	8,660	6,603	4,069	3,647	3,724

Source: Yamada 2009:31

Hasegawa Miki showed that basically two different explanations are used to describe the increase of homeless people and also the appearance of homeless people without relations to *yosebas*, who were considered as a new phenomenon: “one that emphasizes a shrinking role of the *yoseba*-system to accommodate downwardly mobile single men and one that emphasizes broader changes that have placed a growing proportion of the Japanese at risk of unemployment, poverty, and homelessness (Hasegawa 2005:990).” An example for an explanation referring to the diminishing function of the *yoseba*-system is the explanation of Yamada raised in the previous chapter (compare to page 24).

An example for an explanation according to broader changes is provided by Yamazaki Katsuaki: He relates the rise of the homeless to changes in the structure of the Japanese

industry and a widening gap between the social strata. From his point of view there are two reasons for this development: The first is the growth of neoliberalism. Through deregulation and privatization the competition of the market was also introduced to administrative areas. In order to make the government more efficient, the values of fairness and equality were sacrificed. This was especially the case towards the more vulnerable members of the society, whom the government's responsibility for weakened. Katsuaki also names changes in the industrial structure and the rationalisation of the management as responsible for this shift, wherein the industrial sector switched from heavy industry to high tech and service industry. The necessary specialisation of employees accompanied by this change led to a higher selection of applicants. Under these changes the number of full-time workers was reduced and limited. Alternately, workers with temporary contracts, short term contracts, sub contracts, or part time contracts rose. Furthermore, the labour market for unskilled blue collar workers became reduced to fast food chains and shop assistants (Yamazaki 2006a:37-38).

Next to this classification Hasegawa summed up structural changes providing the precondition for a rising number of homeless people. He found three major structural changes that occurred during the 1980s in association with globalisation:

- (a) A shift from a manufacturing to a service industry. In the 1980s many companies began to turn to overseas operation through direct foreign investments, the acquirement or establishment of firms abroad and so on. This led to a decline of the production sector and a rise of the service sector in Japan (Hasegawa 2005:996). The decline of the manufacturing sector had a serious ramification for low-income workers, especially for older male workers (Hasegawa 2005:998).
- (b) Urban redevelopment and gentrification. The change to the service industry and the rise of international companies in Tōkyō was accompanied by a demand for more office space as well as residential space for high income earners. This need led to an increased gentrification, accompanied by the diminish of low rent-apartments. Combined with the fast rise of land-prices in Tōkyō during the 1980s the capacity of the low-income housing market to sustain low-income workers was undermined (Hasegawa 2005:999-1000).
- (c) A shrinking social security net, caused by government policy shifts toward deregulation and privatization. Between 1980 and 1990 the number of public assistance recipients decreased about 30% from 1.43 to 1.02 million, and by 1993 it further dropped to 0.88 mil-

lion. Able bodied middle-aged single men were always ignored by social welfare projects. This concerns the public housing, which was decreased in favour for housing loans, who did not effect the most vulnerable. Although housing projects for vulnerable people existed, they did not focus on middle-aged single men. The same counts for the livelihood protection. Single men had to be considered as too sick to work or over 65 to receive help. Otherwise they had no chance to establish their case, even when they were legally eligible. Furthermore it was nearly impossible for them to get a decent job because of their age (Hasegawa 2005:1002-1003). This structural changes in the 1980s paved a way to increased homelessness in the 1990s (Hasegawa 2005:992).

3.2.3. Countermeasures against homelessness

In the past there have been basically two countermeasures against homelessness in Japan. One of them is a financial protection system based on the Livelihood Protection Law. Although it is relevant for all of Japan, it is executed by the local governments (*jichitai*) and they execute it in very different ways. The other one is an individual policy by the local governments, an assistance outside of the law (*hōgai engo*), which is offered by municipals with large *yosebas*. Through this assistance more help than the Livelihood Protection Law allows can be provided, most times facilities providing food and shelter are financed in this way (Yamada 2009:44).

When the number of homeless rose in the 1990s, there were basically two reasons why the need for help was communicated to the government. In areas where a lot of homeless people lived members of the congress from the Liberal Democratic Party (Jimintō) demanded countermeasures, because the people felt destructed by the homeless. Furthermore the former governor of the city of Ōsaka, which had the highest numbers of homeless, also demanded countermeasures from the government. The background for this claim was not only the high number of homeless, but also to prepare Ōsaka for the Olympic Games 2008 it applied to host in 2001. Like both reasons suggest, the most important concerns was that the homeless bother other people, and ways to get rid of them, even using force, were discussed (Yamada 2009:44-45).

The support of homeless people has a long history. Traditionally, Christian associations and labour unions used to offer free meal services and conduct night-patrols. From 1995 they started to conduct voluntary outreach activities offering consultation to the people and helping

them to escape living as rough sleepers. The Anti-unemployment Labourers League, which was established in 1993, played an especially important role in representing the interests of the homeless and protesting strongly to the government. One of the first measures to tackle the homeless issue in Ōsaka was the opening of the Airin District Center ground floor to provide shelter for the homeless. In 1999 the NPO Kamagasaki Shien Kikō was founded, which played an important role in challenging the city government and raising the awareness for the public through demonstrations in which people squatted in blue tents in front of the city hall and other public buildings (Mizuuchi 2003:49-51). The starting point for nation wide countermeasures was the year 1999 in which the Conference to Connect People Working with the Homeless (Hōmuresu Mondai Renraku Kaigi) was held and led finally to the enactment of the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law in 2002. In Ōsaka, a change in the historically bad relationship between the groups who represent the interests of the inhabitants of the *yoseba* and the city government occurred at the end of the 1990s. The former hostile relationship turned into a close cooperation formed around the NPO Kamagasaki Shien Kikō (Mizuuchi 2003:57).

3.3. Homelessness and self-responsibility

One of the central questions involved in order to receive social welfare is the question of responsibility. In the case of the homeless in Japan, homelessness is often considered to be the responsibility of one individual itself. It is considered as unavoidable that if you become homeless it is due to laziness and is nothing other than a well earned punishment (*jigō jitoku*). This notion is not only shared by the public, but also by most of the homeless themselves and is known as self-responsible theory (*jiko sekinin-ron*). The justification of this theory emerged out of the problem of selecting people who become privy to social welfare benefits, formed by the background of the labour ethnic in the modern society. According to this ethic, homelessness is a kind of punishment for being lazy and therefore help is not necessary. This notion is fostered especially by the visibility of the homeless in public spaces, that which leads to misunderstandings and frictions. It is easy to say that homeless individuals refuse to be part of the society and they are responsible for their misery (Watanabe 2010a:88-90).

This idea is linked to the idea of freedom of the individual and personal effort formed by a capitalistic society. Furthermore in the process to a capitalistic society, differences were affirmed as a result of the desire for free action. Free economic action became understood to be

fostered by the will of an individual to work. If we understand individualisation as the basis of one's existence, created by one's own hands, homelessness is one's own responsibility. The way homeless individuals live is not perceived as a normal form of living. Their way of living is considered to be against the order of the local communities, and therefore they are not perceived as members of the community (Watanabe 2010a:90).

Tamaki Matsuo explains this notion through the prevailing ideology of hard working, an attribute that is considered as right and important and makes it easy to exclude homeless people as people without any values. The Japanese society demands hard work, and homeless individuals are seen as people who are not bound by the idea of hard working and living a free life, which fosters antipathy (Tamaki 2001:58-59).

To counter the idea that people become homeless because they are lazy, the term “homeless worker (*nojuku rōdōsha*)” is often used by social welfare workers to avoid this connotation. This term emphasises the fact that they are also workers. Under the day labourers a hard working ethic can be found very frequently as well. Every day many of them are looking for work at the *yoseba* and scream with a high voice: “I want to work”. They stand up early in the morning to find a job and work until late in the evening. Most of them desire to work every day and have a stable income. From their point of view it is as well one's own fault when somebody becomes homeless or receives livelihood protection. They judge such people frequently as lazy too (Tamaki 2001:61-62).

There are two arguments showing that “hard working” and “lazy” are important factors in the research on day labourers and homeless people. The first is dealing with the construction of discrimination. Day labourers and homeless people differ from the understanding of many as what constitutes value in a civic society. Discrimination is born out of society's conception of them as people who are not hard working. Furthermore, they can potentially use the idea of lazy to create their own identity. But they turn the negative connotation added from outside into a societal identity with a positive connotation (Tamaki 2001:62-63).

From the capital point of view it is not logical for the day labourers to work hard. For them it is important to take care of their own health and to secure the work of their comrades and their own salary. In the logic of the capital there is a tendency to utilize the workforce as much as possible in order to persist in the competition and to chase benefits. Especially in the employment of the day labourers it is not necessary to use their labour again and therefore there are less consequences if they are found to be unfit for the job. At the workplace of day

labourers the logic of the capital and the needs of the workers meet with extreme fierceness. Most places where day labourers work are smelly, dirty and dangerous (*kusai, kitanai, kiken*), and therefore it is hard to work there every day. For the day labourers, being “lazy” is more than a strategic imperative (Tamaki 2001:64-66).

This belief that one is responsible for oneself has serious impacts. Although there may be some friends or relatives they can contact, most homeless individuals prefer to sleep rough, in internet cafes (*nettokafe*) or manga cafes (*manga kissa*). But although their situations are very tough they do not intend to rely on their families or anybody else. They want to live by their own efforts (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:194). For example, an interviewed homeless individual who worked as a day labourer and could not find any work any more and had no contact to his brothers and sister for twenty years described his situation as follows: “If I would have work I could go to meet them, but I have also status, I’m ashamed and I can’t meet them (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:195).⁷” Concerning his old friends he has similar thoughts and did not contact them (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:195). In these context also the negative term “*parasaito shinguru* (parasite single)” became popular, describing children who rely on their parents (Iwata 2007:158).

This way of thinking has a serious effect on the relation of homeless people to their families or friends. According to a survey conducted by Inazuki Tadashi on homeless people 46% of them did not contact their families, because they did not want to bother them, consider themselves as unable to meet them in their recent situation, or want to see them again after they became self-sufficient (Inazuki 2006:171). This attitude is not restricted to the older generation, but can be found also in younger homeless people. They as well do not want to go back to their families, because they do not want to have conflicts with their parents or want to make them worry about themselves. A common consideration is that they will contact their relatives after they readjusted their lives (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:196).

3.4. Social characteristics of Japanese homeless

Not everybody is threatened by poverty in the same way, and restructuring in a company does not mean that the fired employees become homeless. The phenomenon is strongly linked with a certain group in society. For most people who are not already living under unsafe conditions the occurrence of multiple reasons, like the combination of unemployment, debts and

⁷ *Shigoto ni de mo tsuite ireba, ai ni mo ikeru ga, ichi mo ari hazukashikute ai ni ikenai.*

alcoholism, lead to homelessness (Iwata 2007:139-140). This chapter examines what kind of people in Japan slip into homelessness by looking on the statistical data about the homeless published by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Work in 2003 and 2007 in the *Report about the actual situation of homeless people in whole Japan (Hōmuresu no jittai ni kan suru zenkoku chōsa hōkoku-sho)* (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2003, 2007) and comparing it to other sources.

Like already stated in the previous chapters, most of the homeless individuals in Japan are male. In 2007 only 3.6% of the counted homeless were women (Yamada 2009:32). But this result is considered as being very strong influenced by the method of counting homeless. The homeless women who live in facilities or at the places of friends or acquaintances can not be counted by just looking at the homeless who sleep in public places. Many of them try to look like men because women are more to become the object of violence. For women, being homeless has a much higher risk than for men (Inazuki 2006:153).

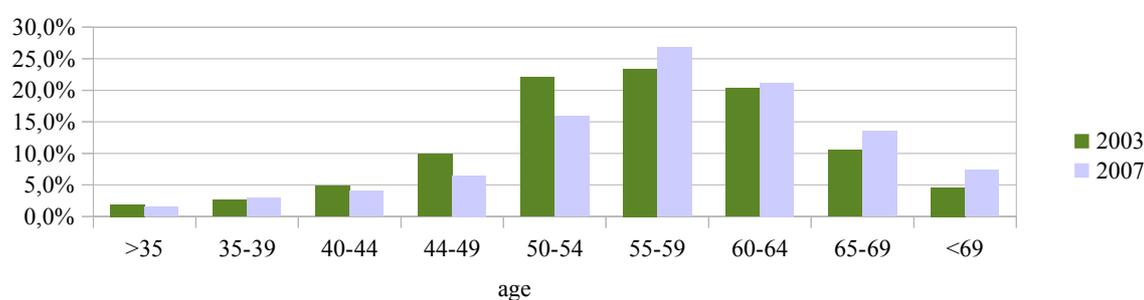
In fact other homeless surveys like the survey *An other nation wide homeless survey (Mō hitotsu no zenkoku hōmuresu chōsa)* from the NGO Niji no Rengō conducted in 2006 and 2007, showed different numbers about the percentage of homeless women in Japan. Like the survey of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare this survey as well concentrated on rough sleepers but also included local cities who have not been object of the government surveys. The results showed that about 7% of the homeless, nearly twice as much as in the surveys of the government, were women (Niji no Rengō 2007:2-3). In most other countries female homelessness is more common. In surveys on homeless people in Great Britain, the percentage of women is always between 7-12%, much more than in the surveys of the Japanese government (Yamada 2009:32).

The number of homeless people has been dropping since the beginning of 2000. 18 564 homeless were counted in 2007, 6 732 less than in the year 2003. This drop can be traced back to the tightened homeless counter measures. It can be assumed that a lot of former homeless went into facilities like *jiritsu shien sentās*, short term shelters, or became recipients of livelihood protection (Watanabe 2010a:122).

In 2003 23.4% of the homeless were between 55-59 years old, 22% were between 50-54 years and 20.3% were between 60-64 years. In the survey of the year 2007 26.8% of the homeless were between 55-59 years old, 21.2% were between 60-64 years and 15.9% were between 50-54 years (compare to figure 3). In both surveys the group between 50-64 years accounts for more than 60% of the homeless. This reveals that the Japanese homeless individu-

als are mainly middle-aged and older men (Watanabe 2010a:122-124). The fact that the average age of homeless did not change much and stayed around the end of their fifties, leads to the conclusion that basically people around their fifties are at risk of becoming homeless (Inazuki 2006:155). In 2003 the average age of the homeless was 55.9 (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2003:#dai 3 bu seikatsu jittai chōsa kekka) years and in 2007 57.5 years (Yamada 2009:32). A typical figure of the phenomenon in Japan. In Great Britain, for instance, younger people are more frequently homeless. More than 50% are between 25-44 years old (Yamada 2009:32).

Figure 3: Age distribution of the homeless (2003, 2007)



Sources: Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2003:#dai 3 bu seikatsu jittai chōsa kekka, Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2007:13;

This figure was formed by the Japanese welfare system. According to the use of the livelihood protection, a man is normally assumed to work until the age of 64, and can't become subject to livelihood protection under normal conditions. For people under this age it is difficult to get livelihood protection. But in reality it is also very hard for people over 50 to find a new job as well. It can be assumed that especially people who work under insecure employment conditions are fired for some reasons, like physical or mental illness or economic depression, and tend to find no new job, ending up homeless (Inazuki 2006:154). This makes it very important to support the people between 50-64 years to find a job and a place to live (Inazuki 2006:154-155).

Because many homeless are moving in and out of homelessness over time it is hard to measure how long they actually have been homeless. In a survey conducted by the City Live Research Society (Toshi Seikatsu Kenkyū-kai) on Tōkyō in 2000 only 48.5% of the respondents were sleeping all the time rough since they lost their home. The rest switched from time to time, when their financial situation allowed it, to hotels, company dormitories, hospitals, welfare facilities, cheap urban hostels, or other places. In other words, most of them alternate

in and out of being homeless over time (Iwata 2007:111-112).

In the surveys of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare the period from the first experience of sleeping rough and the period from the most recent experience of sleeping rough was measured. In the years 2003 the percentage of homeless whose first homeless experience was 5 years ago or less were 63.1% and in 2007 this number fell to 40.7%. This shows that the percentage of people who experienced homelessness for a long time rose (Watanabe 2010a:124).

Looking at the period of the most recent experience of sleeping rough, in 2003 the group of homeless experienced homelessness for 1-3 years was the largest (25.6%), in 2007 the largest group (25.8%) experienced homelessness over 5 years. Watanabe Kaoru concludes out of this, that the period of homelessness became longer. In 2007, about 69.8% of the homeless remained completely without shelter, people who slept from time to time in a hotel, an urban hostel, or at the *hanba* were 13.3% and about 13.2% had visited a hospital or an other welfare facility. In 2003 only 9% had been to an hospital or other welfare facilities, a fact that can be explained with a greater availability of homeless countermeasures (Watanabe 2010a:126).

These results from the survey of the year 2007 are especially criticised by the Niji no Rengō survey. The Niji no Rengō survey, much like the survey of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare from 2003 peaks with people who have been homeless for 1-3 years. The authors pointed out that it is very difficult to record homeless individuals who just became rough sleepers with surveys that concentrate on the visible homeless. In the survey of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 51% of the interviewed homeless lived in tents and in the survey of the Niji no Rengō this were only 33%. It is very likely that the strong focus on homeless living in tents is biasing the whole survey, tending to show people who lived for a long time on the streets (Niji no Rengō 2007:3).

Most of the homeless stay in the same area in which they also lived before. 69.2% of the homeless individuals stayed in the same prefecture in which they were formerly employed, and 61.6% stayed in the same prefecture in which they had worked for the longest time. Their reasons for doing so is that they, although they are not registered residents any more, still feel affected by the area they once lived in (Watanabe 2010a:131). Watanabe concludes that the homeless prefer to live in and around areas they are familiar with. This leads him to the assumption that they are not cut off from the local community, they rather live at their periphery (Watanabe 2010a:133).

But a comparison of the two cities Kitakyūshū and Ōsaka revealed, that the homeless in Ōsaka are more likely to come from other parts of Japan. While in Kitakyūshū 57.7% of the homeless were born in the prefecture Fukuoka, in which this city is located, only 17.9% of the homeless in Ōsaka were born in the prefecture Ōsaka, and only 28.3% of the homeless were born in the Kinki region, the area in central Japan Ōsaka belongs too. Relative to other cities the homeless in Ōsaka tend to come from other prefectures and other parts of Japan and their relations to the area as well as the local community can be considered relatively weak (Inazuki 2006:155-156).

The construction sector used to be an outlet for the labour market during recessions. And therefore it is no wonder that according to the data from 2003 55.2% of the homeless worked in the construction sector short before becoming homeless. In the time of their longest employment only 42.7% of the homeless were employed in the construction sector. Although in 2007 47.8% of the homeless still worked in the construction sector short before becoming homeless, the role of the construction industry as an outlet during recessions could be considered as diminishing. The percentage of homeless who worked during their longest employment in the construction sector decreased as well to 39.2% (Watanabe 2010a:127-128).

But these numbers are again contested by the survey of the Niji no Rengō. Although in this survey the homeless who worked their longest stint of employment in the construction industry are the largest group, they cover just 28%. Instead, the homeless who worked in the service industry (19%) or have been specialists (8%) is much larger in this set of statistics. This difference is considered to arise out of the strong focus of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's on the four largest cities (Niji no Rengō 2007:4).

Another characteristic of Japanese homelessness is that many individuals work although they are homeless. According to the survey of the Ministry for Health, Labour and Welfare conducted in the year 2007, 70.4% of the homeless were working at the time they were interviewed. But 67% of them stated that they work in the recycling business and collect empty bottles and cans, bulky refuse and books. Furthermore 11.5% worked as day labourers in the construction industry (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2007:20-21).

This is basically a necessity to survive. When Iwata Masami describes the life of a man who is living on the streets she points out that the daily process of finding a place to spend the night and to get something to eat keeps him so busy that he always has a full schedule. It is necessary to avoid trouble, because he simply can not afford to lose so much time becoming

involved in it. Many homeless individuals go early in the morning to the *yoseba* to find some work, collect empty cans, copper wire or magazines (Iwata 2007:117-118).

Looking at this situation it is not surprising that a large number of the homeless would like to live by their own work if they had the choice. The survey of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare showed in 2007, that 35.9% of the homeless wanted to live from proper work. Furthermore 10.8% wanted to work and live partially from social welfare (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2007:63).

According to the survey from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare conducted in the year 2007 50.2% of the homeless stated that they have health problems in the moment. Out of this people 34.2% went to a hospital or got medical treatment and 65.8% answered that they did not seek medical counsel (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2007:43-44). The reason for the low rate of people seeking for health issues is due to these individuals lacking the health insurance that pays the costs for the hospital (Inazuki 2006:160).

It is hard to say if the illness existed before they became homeless or broke out while they were homeless. A closer examination of the reason for homelessness leads to some suggestions. According to the survey of 2007 31.4% of the homeless state that they became homeless because the amount of available work declined, and 26.6% stated that the company they worked for went bankrupt or fired them. Therefore in nearly 50% of the cases the reason for homelessness is work related. Furthermore 21% stated that they could not continue to work because of health difficulties or age, and 15% stated that they could not get well along with their colleagues. This means that close to half of the homeless who have health problems had them already before they became homeless (Yamada 2009:32).

3.5. Typical social networks of the homeless

3.5.1. The ambivalent relation to the family

The family is generally considered to play an important role in the fight against poverty. If one family member is facing poverty, very often other members help them and use their savings to support the endangered person. But this networks do not only work in the case of emergency, but are also used to extend the possibilities of all members. For instance in many families the education of children is not only supported by the core family but also by the grandparents or other family members. Gifts and heritage are popular forms of support between family members (Iwata 2007:153). The family is considered as an important source

for support and protection from poverty.

The idea of mutual support inside of the family is also reflected in the Japanese welfare system, which relies very strong on the family welfare system. In the civil code (*minhō*) there exists the support duty for direct kinship and siblings (*chokkei kezzoku oyobi kyōdai shimai ni fujō gimu*) (article 877) and in the welfare system the family support duty (*kazoku fujō gimu*) clause. Japanese parents have to pay a high amount of school fees compared to other developed countries. This produces an ideology of dependence on the family where the idea of the modern family is formed on a type of familial support (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:198).

The homeless as well are not free from this idea of an ideal family. Under them there are many who experience their own family as not a kind of family that is desirable and consider it as different. But nevertheless, they consider their present misery as their personal problem which they are responsible for themselves. Because of this they try to live by their own, instead on relying on help from other people, even if they face extreme obstacles. The reality of self-responsibility (*jiko sekinin*) drives the homeless away from their families. By suggesting that the families of the homeless should take care of them, their families become responsible for their miseries and excuse society from its duty. Therefore this strong focus on the family is a undercurrent that is moving the duty to take care of distressed individual from the society to the family (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:198-200).

In the case of disadvantaged people, the role of the family is often different, because they lack property or family members who can support them (Iwata 2007:154). The family is often not perceived as an institution that can support them in times of need. This perception is not only based on experiences in the past, but is also strongly fostered by the current situation of the family, which often does not change much over time (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:188).

In the case of the older homeless it can be suggested that many of their families had to face losses during the Second World War and faced economic difficulties that brought them into disadvantaged situations (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:173-174). Research about homeless individuals living in internet cafes shows that due to economic disadvantages their relationships with their families often became difficult, resulting in divorce or other conflicts inside of the family that can be triggered by economic problems or lead to them (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:184). As a result some of the homeless had to work from a very early age on and others had to witness or be subject to domestic violence (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:185). This also has an impact on education, leading to a high percentage of people who only possess a junior high

school degree. In general the education level of the homeless is much lower than the average (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:187).

But the family is not only unable to support, in some cases it is even experienced as a burden that they have to get rid of. In one example, Tsumaki Shingo and Tsutsumi Keishirō describe a homeless individual who used to live in internet cafes. In his childhood he was taken to an orphan home (*jidō yōgo shisetsu*) by his parents. From this time on he lost his faith in his family and felt that “his parents betrayed him⁸”. After he had not seen his mother for 13 years, she offered him the prospect of living together with her and her new husband. Supposing that his mother had changed in the last years, he agreed and started to live with them. But it turned out, that her new husband was unemployed and they had debts. Nevertheless, they kept on living a life without worrying about tomorrow. For the young man who just had payed back his own debts, this was too much and it became his reason to part from his family again and to decide to avoid meeting them again (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:189).

The relation to the family is regarded as a kind of safety net that protects a person from different risks. But in the case of homeless the relation contains a risk and is able to increase problems instead of providing protection from them (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:191). According to Kanezaka Keizō, the former director of the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1, many of the homeless have a difficult family background. Often the parents are divorced and the families are fragmented. The children have to live from a young age on with their mother, or even have to stay in orphanages. In Tsumaki/Tsutsumis' survey more than 20% of the homeless were raised by only one parent or were not raised by their parents at all, a remarkably high percentage. Single parents are often associated with poverty, and it can be assumed that this weakened also the social position of the homeless from the beginning (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:176). Furthermore, throughout the homeless living in internet cafes, people who have experienced a nursing institute as children are quite frequent. About 1 out of 10 had this experience. The national average according to the census of 2007 is 1 out 686 people. This people of course can not count on the help of their families, and are therefore not able to get any support from their parents (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:190).

Furthermore a disadvantage in one field can lead to disadvantages in other fields. A low education for instance leads to precarious jobs. The low salary for this jobs, leads to a certain uncertainty in life, resulting in divorce or the feeling to be unable to marry (Iwata 2007:159).

8 *Oya ni urakirareta*

Iwata Masami points out to two interpretations of how poverty forces people to stay unmarried. The first interpretation is that they can not fulfil the preconditions of marriage and fail to become independent. For instance it may force them in a situation in which they can not move out of their parents home because of lack of money. The second interpretation is that they can not marry because they have no money to do so. This phenomenon could be observed in slum surveys conducted before the Second World War. Poverty turned out to be a hindrance for the development of families. Also interview surveys showed that many poor people felt that their lives keeps them so busy that they even do not think about marriage (Iwata 2007:146-147). One example that illustrates this can be found in an interview conducted in 1999 by Tsumaki/Tsutsumi with a former day labourer. He pointed out that he had relations with several women during his time as a day labourer, but it did not lead to marriage. He argued that “there is nobody who would marry a day labourer (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:178),”⁹ suggesting that a day labourer is in a situation in which he does not fulfil the preconditions for marriage. The result is that under the homeless those people who have not been married are more than the national average (Iwata 2007:122).

Poverty is not only a hindrance for marriage but is also related to divorce. On the one hand, in marriages where the wife has a low education and the husband has a low paid job or is unemployed, divorces are more frequent. Therefore such families can be considered as tending to be unstable. But much more important is that divorces lead into poverty. Especially for the person who is providing childcare, most often the mother, it is easy to slip into poverty (Iwata 2001:148). The disadvantages divorced men suffer from are often forgotten. Many men have to pay alimony for their children and there is also a small number of fathers who raise their children alone. Furthermore, although some of the homeless people have been married, most of them had a divorce before they slipped into homelessness (Iwata 2007:150). Tsumaki and Tsutsumi showed that many homeless have been married (58%) or lived together with a woman (12%) and about 70% of them had children (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:179-180). Other surveys like the survey of Kawakami Masako about a homeless support facility in San'ya show similar findings. About 55% of the clients have been married, especially under the older clients. Furthermore 57% of the married people had also children (Kawakami 2005:13).

But because of divorce or death this families broke up and they lost the contact to their children. In fact, only 8.9% of the homeless were still married (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:179-

9 *Hiyatoi no ningen aite ni kekkon shite kureru hito wa oran*

180). The study of Inazuki Tadashi showed similar results. In his study as well about 63.3% of the homeless had been married. But short before becoming homeless 64.9% were already living on their own. Nearly all of the homeless had to face the experience of separation, sometimes even through death, before they became homeless (Inazuki 2006:168). This separation from the family is also accelerated by obligations to pay alimony. A clear break from the family makes it relatively easy to hide and avoid such payments (Gill 2011:178).

In fact many of the male homeless have a pathway into homelessness that looks similar to the above circumstances: First they lose their job. This is followed by illness or alcoholism, leading finally into divorce. A divorce is considered to accelerate male poverty. So it seems that there is a relation between divorce, the experience of total loneliness and homelessness (Iwata 2007:150). There is a clear tendency that family relations, which in some cases have been weak from the beginning become weaker over time, until they end up in total social isolation shortly before becoming homeless (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:182).

3.5.2. Work and social exclusion

The workplace is basically regarded as important for social integration. But Iwata Masami showed in her research that in Japan a strong connection between the workplace and social exclusion can be found. And this is not just restricted to the casual labour sites.

One of the factors leading into social exclusion are frequent changing workplaces. The traditional idea of a career is that you once start work and while you are staying in the same company you shift from one job to an other to advance your career. In this case it means that you will earn more when you change your job. To change the job at the same workplace is associated with a secure employment, but frequent changes to different companies can lead into social exclusion. Irregular employment force the employees to change their jobs frequently. The contracts are many times just short term contracts and the employees have to look for a new job when the contract expires. Furthermore also in small companies poorly payed employees change their jobs very frequently. These employees are not well payed and have a lower education (Iwata 2007:151-152).

Like pointed out before, if someone comes from a poor family it is very likely that he faces other disadvantages as well. A typical pattern is a low education and the early entering into the labour market (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:176). In Japan, nearly all people have a high school degree. People who do not manage to get a high school degree are in danger of slip-

ping into poverty or becoming socially excluded (Iwata 2007:145). A high percentage of the homeless, around 40%, started their working life with a part time job or as a day labourer. After that, they changed jobs very frequently compared to the average worker, mostly in the construction industry or other blue collar occupations (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:176).

The situation does not get much better over time. In a survey conducted in the year 2000 on homeless in Tōkyō, the longest occupation of the respondents was for about 40% as skilled workers engaged in the construction industry and in the industrial production. The rest consisted of unskilled workers who were engaged in different tasks in the construction industry and in the service sector, as chefs, waiters or others. Most of the homeless were employees in middle and small sized factories and shops. This finding is completely different from the reports by the media in the 1990s in Japan who used to report about so called *sūtsu hōmuresu*, former employees from big companies who became homeless (Iwata 2007:124).

Table 2: Type of occupation homeless people had in the past

	Occupation during the longest occupation period	Occupation before becoming homeless
1. Management, administration	1.7%	1.1%
2. Self-employed	5.5%	3.5%
3. Freelancer	0.8%	0.8%
4. Regular worker	55.9%	28.1%
5. Temporary, part time	11.8%	16.2%
6. Day labourer	21.35	44.2%
7. Others	0.7%	0.9%
8. Unknown	2.3%	5.2%
Two categories of employment		
Stable (1-4)	63.9%	33.5%
Unstable (5-8)	33.1%	60.4%

Source: Iwata 2007:125

The pattern of employment changes over time and short before becoming homeless many slip into unstable employment. Although this was proven by different research, there are discrepancies between the height of the rise (compare Iwata 2007:124, Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:177-178, Yamada 2009:33-34). In table 2 the numbers according to Iwata Masami are used. They show that about one third of the questioned homeless switched to unstable employment short before becoming homeless (Iwata 2007:124). There is also a shift to the construction and production industry in which about 90% work short before becoming homeless

(Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:176). But interviews showed the weakness of the surveys the data above is based on. Some of the people who consider themselves as normal employees had, in reality, a different kind of contract (Yamada 2009:33-34).

This shift to unstable employment is also related to the housing situation. Here, a shift to unstable homes short before becoming homeless can be observed as well. About 47.9% of the homeless used to live in their own apartments or in rented apartments. Directly before they became homeless this percentage decreases down to 32.9%, approximately one third of all the people who become homeless. The percentage of people who live in dormitories, company apartments or some other accommodations provided by the employer is extremely high. About 42% lived in such kind of accommodations and 37.6% did so directly before they slipped into homelessness. And also the numbers of people who lived in cheap urban hostels and other accommodations designed only for a short stay was 9.8% and increased short before they entered homelessness to 28.5%. Such temporary homes do not empower people to register as residents and therefore they lose the rights of citizen linked to the registration. This reveals that there are different groups of people: some who lost their home, and others who actually haven't had a real home from the beginning on (Iwata 2007:125-126).

About 74.9% of the people who became homeless and worked in an insecure employment lived also in an insecure home. This tendency is increasing up to 80.6% directly before slipping into homelessness (Iwata 2007:127-128). Based on this findings Iwata defines three different ways into homelessness:

1. The secure type: People who have been the most time in a secure employment and lived also in their own home. They have access to livelihood protection and can live until they enter homelessness in their own homes.
2. The work related accommodation type: This people have a secure employment and live alone in an accommodation provided by the employer. In the case that they lose their employment, they are very vulnerable, because they lose their home together with their employment and are at high risk to become homeless.
3. The insecure type: These people worked for a long time in insecure employments and were also living in insecure accommodations (Iwata 2007:129).

According to Iwata, about 35% of the homeless are associated with the secure type, 29.7% with the work related type and 35.3% with the insecure type. From the perspective of

social exclusion, the secure type and the insecure type are the total opposite. The secure type are people who have been well integrated into society, but slip out on the streets. In the case of the insecure type, their relation to society is already weak. In this case the social exclusion which people of the insecure type suffer from becomes visible when they slip out on the streets. Under the secure type are comparatively many people who have been married or have a relatively higher education. This percentages are decreasing under the people of the work related accommodation type and are the lowest under the insecure type. The education level of the secure type is most times just up to the high school and people who had higher education are very rare. The people of the insecure type are most times single day labourers who can not work any more because of illness or advanced age and therefor can not afford to stay any longer in a cheap urban hostel (Iwata 2007:129-130).

Table 3: The characteristics of the three types of homeless people defined by Iwata

	Secure type	Work related accommodation type	Insecure type
Marriage status			
Married	56.8%	47.5%	36.7%
Unmarried	43.2%	52.5%	63.3%
Education			
Compulsory education	52.3%	62.2%	74.9%
More than compulsory education	47.7%	37.8%	24.7%

Source: Iwata 2007:130

The people of the insecure type often worked in the construction industry and were living in *yosebas*. This people have been always threatened by homelessness. When they could not find work for a long time, they could no longer afford to stay in cheap urban hostels. Because they had no access to social welfare they were forced into homelessness (Iwata 2007:131). The *yoseba* had for them also a social function and provided a minimum of security. When they worked at the construction sites and a holiday like Obon or Shōgatsu was celebrated, they went to the *yosebas*, because they had no families to go to. There they were strongly connected with other day labourers and many networks to support each other existed. In cases were they faced some troubles they could rely on this networks, and other official and unofficial social resources the casual labour sites provided for them. In other words it was a place were they could feel safe (Shima 2009:111). Nevertheless, the percentage of homeless belonging to the insecure type declined in the last several years (Yamada 2009:36).

The people of the work related accommodation type are most times skilled workers and are at least in a normal employment. But most of them are single and very few participate in community life. They are not excluded like the insecure type. Their connection to the society is often reduced to their relations within their companies (Iwata 2007:131-132). Most company accommodations do not support family life or community life and do not go beyond the scope of a worker's temporary accommodation. They do not support the sense of belonging to the community or provide the basis to build up relations to local communities (Iwata 2007:133). Under these circumstances it is difficult to develop or maintain one's own family. Most of the workers are used to this life because with their first employment they already left their families and had to live on their own from a very young age on (Tsumaki/Tsutsumi 2010:177-178). This kind of employment is risky, because losing work is always accompanied with losing the relations to society which are reduced to the colleagues (Iwata 2007:133). Hence from a certain age on it gets difficult to find a new job. This is one of the reasons why many homeless people in Japan are around their fifties (Iwata 2007:152).

This three paths into homelessness described by Iwata are of course based on the limited informations accessible about homelessness. But it shows that a certain uncertainty of employment leads also to a weakening of social relations. Accommodation provided by the employer raises the risk of isolation from other social institutions. Especially those people who face both disadvantages, an insecure employment and an insecure accommodation, are at high risk to become homeless, especially when they reach a higher age or become ill. Most people who become homeless are primary blue collar workers, who worked in the construction, production or also sometimes the service sector. Former employees of big companies are very seldom homeless.

3.5.3. The homeless support community

One of the few people who are in direct contact to the homeless are the volunteers and members of NPOs who provide help and support them. The support for the homeless who live in the streets can have different forms. Very common are night patrols (*yomawari*), who look after the safety of the homeless during the night. Food distributions (*takidashi*), mobile consultation teams (*seikatsu sōdan*), or joint protests against expulsion (*kōgi*) (Yamakita 2010:264-265) are also common.

But the people participating in homeless support are in most cases not part of the local

community of an area homeless live in. For example, the volunteer organisations dealing with San'ya in Tōkyō are mainly joined by people who are not from the neighbourhood. People who live in and around San'ya tend to not involve themselves with such activities. According to Watanabe this is related to the attitude towards homeless which differs between areas where few homeless live and areas where many homeless live. People who are not confronted with homeless in daily life feel a certain curiosity towards them (Watanabe 2010a:362).

The work of the volunteers and supporters is summed up in the term “*mimamoru* (observe/follow)”, which is defined in two ways. First it is the aid the homeless, who do not respond to the preferred support which focuses on work, receive through a widening of the welfare policy. Furthermore it refers also to the support people who did not respond to help and become homeless again receive. In this case “follow” refers to a support that overwatch the homeless and take care that their situation does not get worse (Yamakita 2010:265). The aim of this support is to widen the entrance for homeless people back to society and it is the first time that the homeless have the chance to become compatible to the community (Yamakita 2010:273).

The characteristic of the partnership between homeless and their supporters is that the supporters try to find out the needs of the homeless. Of course, this is at first a place to stay and a proper source of employment. But actualizing these two criteria often takes time. While job hunting, the client may lose his interest due to a lot of rejections. In this situation the supporters show them gradual countermeasures, channel their decisions or booster them (Yamakita 2010:273).

Especially in the time before the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law was enacted in 2002, in most places nearly no help for homeless was available. The function of mutual help that the homeless community fulfilled for its members was very important. But a homeless community does not exist every-where and it depends very much on the actual situation (Yamakita 2010:276).

According to Inazuki Tadashi's research, relations between homeless individuals are quite good. Two thirds of the homeless have some kind of relationship to other homeless people. More than half of the homeless said that they have one or more good friends. But homeless who claimed more than five good friends were not more than 7.4% (Inazuki 2006:171). Of those who claimed one or more good friends 58.9% said that they help each other in daily life. This seems logical, because the life of the homeless is threatened by a lack of employment

and food as well as by attacks from strangers. Therefore it helps when you work together in groups. But this kind of relations between homeless individuals tends to avoid running deep on an emotional level. Knowing that they have not a very glamorous past, most avoid speaking about it. Because they lost all other relations to people, the relations to other homeless are necessary to help each other. Nevertheless they last most times only for a short time and break easily (Inazuki 2006:172). Many homeless point also out that they do not want to acquire close friendships for fear of incurring obligations. This can narrow also the function of mutual help of the friendships between the homeless. For instance some regard sharing food as an indicator of excessively intimate friendship and try to avoid it (Gill 2011:186). But nevertheless by some homeless this bonds to other homeless are essential to learn how to survive as a homeless and function like peer groups (Gill 2011:190-191).

Furthermore the homeless encampment can be seen as a method to regain civil rights. Leonard C. Feldman for example is doubting the idea that the homeless encampment is marked with the stigma of being outside of the law and sees it more as a place where civil rights are created to define citizenship new (Feldman 2004:103). The homeless encampment is a place where the homeless fight the political exclusion and claim their right to live in public places (Feldman 2004:106). Next to political functions the cooperation between volunteers, social workers and the homeless also plays an important role in daily life. This makes a big difference between the relations inside of the community and those to the outside. But this street community bears also the potential of conflict. This kind of community is not formed through common values. Quite the reverse, as people are very different. Some have a job, some not, some are young, some are old, and some are women, some are men (Yamakita 2010:277).

3.5.4. The relationship to the local community

The community is sometimes a threat for them, and sometimes the homeless are seen as a nuisance by the community. Because of their lack of a proper home they lost their civil rights and citizenship and therefore do not constitute the local community formally. In other words they are excluded from participating in the local community (Yamakita 2010:275-276).

This exclusion from the participation in the local communities leads to a series of prejudices. The life of homeless in Japan is regarded as strange and very different from the lives of other people. They are perceived as strangers who drink all day long, suffer from diabetes and sleep in the streets. These kind of prejudices were demonstrated in the statement of the former

governor of Tōkyō, Aoshima Yukio, made during a press conference in the 1990s: “These people have an individualistic philosophy and conception of life,¹⁰” though “I want them to feel responsible for the nuisance they cause to the pedestrians (Iwata 2007:109).¹¹”

Statements like this and the support they get are to an certain extend results of a lack of direct contact on the personal level between the local communities and the homeless themselves. People who really have contact to them are not very frequent. The relation to the homeless is formed by disinterest and the opinion of most people about homeless is formed by what they see. Without building up direct relations, the local communities tend to solve the problems they see through the local authorities. Therefore the countermeasures are basically formed by the idea residents have towards the homeless. This images especially the idea, that it is their own fault to be homeless, turned out to be very influential on their support towards homeless countermeasures. Most of the support from the community is given to measures focusing on clearance of the public space. This rejection is not only based on the fact that they have no home, but is also fostered by their lifestyle and appearance. A rejection on a symbolic level. The homeless are perceived as alien people who disturb the order of the local community and do not belong to it. For the local community it seems to be easy to get in touch with homeless, but prejudices and discrimination hinder them from doing so. Therefore they do not understand the situation of homeless (Watanabe 2010a:363-364).

One other example that illustrates this is the resistance against a shelter in Nagai park in Ōsaka. Although the resistance against the shelter was very strong, a counter movement against the removal of the homeless also began. A petition was started and under the collected 5000 signatures against the removal, 800 signatures were collected in the neighbourhood of the shelter (Yamakita 2010:280). Although the 800 people can be seen as a proof that the prejudices of the local community are not as consistent as one would suppose, a pattern that is very similar to the volunteer organisations can be observed. People who have sympathy for the homeless tend to be not locals.

The links to the local community are already short before becoming homeless very weak. In a survey conducted by Inazuki Tadashi about 41.8% answered that they had no contact to other people at all in this period. Only 8.5% had friends who were close enough that you would invite them to your home. In this way they were already separated from their neighbourhood before they became homeless (Inazuki 2006:168-169).

10 *Ano hitotachi wa dokutoku no tetsugaku ya jinseikan o mochi*

11 *Tsūkōjin ni meiwaku o kakete iru koto ni sekinin o kanjite hoshii*

4. Homeless support in Japan

4.1. The Japanese welfare system and homelessness

The Japanese welfare state has been described frequently as “residual” in comparative studies, although its basis was already formulated in the 1950s and 1960s, as the demand for welfare and the supply capacities increased after the Second World War. But this development was stopped by the oil crisis which led Japan into a serious stagnation. The Japanese authorities were convinced that the welfare state was an obstacle to the competitiveness of the economy (Kono 2005:118-120).

The Japanese welfare state is characterised by active informal welfare practices, economic performance substituting for state welfare, a status-segregated social insurance system, occupational welfare for “core”-workers and low spending on personal social services (Kono 2005:118). Welfare policy is designed to support self-help, mutual aid, market welfare activities and enterprise welfare. For instance, based on the assumption that a majority of older people live with their children who take care for them, community care policy defines domiciliary services as those supporting family care rather than caring for older people directly (Kono 2005:120-121).

This strong concentration on the family as a safety net promoted by the government is seen as a unique feature of the Japanese welfare system. The family is an institutionalized unit of support, based on a male breadwinner model. For instance in large companies benefits provide health insurance, pensions, and family allowances to workers, their spouses, and children. The role of the wives, who are discouraged from engaging in full-time work, is to provide care for the elderly and children. Furthermore low-income families and families whose breadwinner lost their income due to illness, injury, or unemployment also qualify for temporary support in form of public assistance and subsidized public housing units. The public social welfare emphasises mainly on families and those with special needs. Also due to revisions the pressure to rely on families has eased, the ability to find work, especially in the case of single men, remains a constant issue (Ezawa 2002:287).

The enterprise welfare, “core”-workers are able to receive, is used as a management tool. Those workers who devote themselves to work are rewarded through enterprise welfare. It is not seen as a right of workers but is used to increase their productivity. Therefore the levels of services are very different and strongly linked to the size of companies and worker's employ-

ment status (full-time or part-time) (Kono 2005:122). Informal welfare practices and enterprise welfare services were underpinned by traditional values, and have been employed by the Japanese welfare politics (Kono 2005:137). People who are not capable of self-support and have no family members who can take care of them are eligible for social welfare payments. The basis for this forms the Japanese constitution (*kenpō*) which guarantees a “minimum standard of civilized living for every citizen.” But in fact most local authorities refuse welfare applications of homeless for two principal reasons: (a) a fixed address is missing; (b) the applicant fail to demonstrate that he is too old or ill to work. These two conditions were developed by the bureaucrats and are not backed by the law. Additionally there is a hard to guess number of people who refuse to apply for welfare because of pride, ignorance, fear of the bureaucracy or other reasons (Gill 2001a:17).

The legal basis for the homeless support is today basically formed by three laws, the Law for the Handling of Sick and Dead Travellers (*kōryō byōnin oyobi kōryō shibōnin toriatsukai-hō*), the Livelihood Protection Law, and the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless (*hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien nado ni kan suru tokubetsu sochi-hō*) (Kuwahara 2007:148). While the first two laws are discussed in this chapter, the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law will be object to the next chapter because of its importance for the *jiritsu shien sentā*.

In the strict sense the Law for the Handling of Sick and Dead Travellers does not deal with the homelessness as a social problem. By this law all those people who die in the streets and have no one who takes care of them are covered financially. All people who die in this way have to be examined by a physician to reveal the reason for the death and to identify the person. The results are recorded in writings like the body identity record (*shitai mimoto chōsho*) and the autopsy record (*kenshi chōsho*). Most times the examinations are conducted by the physician and the police at the place where the body was found, but in the prefecture of Ōsaka the body is brought to the Medical Inspection Office (Ōsaka-fu Kansatsu I-jimusho) where they are examined. The law is also applied on people who break down and become ill on the road, and covers their transportation to a medical facility. But getting in the case of emergency medical treatment is not covered by this law (Kuwahara 2007:153). Because of its low relevance for the homeless support this law will not be a topic further and is here just raised for completeness.

The support through the Livelihood Protection Law is often not easily accessible for

homeless individuals. The lack of a proper home which can be used as a principle space for living makes it impossible to register oneself as a resident. Without registration as a resident, one's identity cannot be confirmed, which makes receiving any kind of support problematic and adds also a series of other disadvantages (Kuwahara 2007:148). According to the civil code, an address is the base of everyone's livelihood. It is necessary that the address is a residence associated with continuation and expectations. People who do not have an address suffer from following disadvantages through legal restrictions:

- They cannot become assured of national health insurance,
- they cannot become assured of national pension,
- they cannot make contracts with financial institutions,
- they cannot acquire driver licenses,
- they cannot acquire the right to vote,
- they cannot acquire a passport,
- they cannot purchase a cell phone (Kuwahara 2007:148-149);

To solve the problem of absent health insurance, an insurance system for unemployed day labourers (*hiyatoi shitsugyō hoken seido*) who were excluded from the social welfare system because of their irregular employment situation started in 1965. But registration at a residence was necessary to acquire the insurance card. Therefore the usage was complicated for the homeless day labourers. Nowadays they still need to be registered to receive special public services for day labourers (Kuwahara 2007:149).

In the case of an emergency, the preconditions for accessing medical treatment and other support through welfare are hindrances for the homeless. In article 7 of the Livelihood Protection Law it is determined that only the person who wants to receive livelihood protection or another relative living together can apply for it. This means that a homeless person that is unable to apply for livelihood protection itself, perhaps because he has lost consciousness, is freezing to death, or is in another serious situation, wouldn't be able to receive medical support (Kuwahara 2007:152).

Since the middle of the 1990s, decisions regarding the institution administrating the welfare benefits for homeless were reexamined through proposals of the governors, and in more of 50% of the cases the result were concessions of some kind. This kind of pleading is immin-

ent to the Livelihood Protection Law, because the governor has the right to reexamine a decision before it goes to the court. There have been 88 cases of this kind in 1999 and 99 cases in 2005 in the prefecture of Ōsaka alone. But through juridical organs, homeless raised claims against the decisions of the authorities (Kuwahara 2007:142-143).

In most cases the subordinate courts tend to protect the rights of homeless. But in the superior courts this tendency seems to be reversed. The supreme court tends to reject all appeals concerning the homeless regardless of the topic (Kuwahara 2007:148). The court decisions became a kind of outline for the conditions under which welfare benefits were granted (compare to Kuwahara 142-148).

4.2. Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless

The point of origination for a nationwide strategy dealing with the issue of homelessness was the Conference to Connect People Working with the Homeless in the year 1999 (Yamada 2009:43). But the ideas worked out in this conference were not formed into a law before the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law was prepared in 2001 on the basis of a proposal submitted by the Democratic Party of Japan (Minshutō). In August 2002 the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law was enacted with the agreement of the three ruling parties and the opposition. From the first proposal until the enactment of the law it took only one year and two months, a very short period which reflects how urgent the issue was. The law was published together with guidelines for the basic policy (*hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien ni kan suru kihon hōshin*) which were revised in the year 2007 (Kuwahara 2007:143).

The law is restricted to lasting only ten years, random regulations are frequent and it has the character of an instructive law (*kunshi-hō*). Basically it is designed to ensure employment and develop professional skills (Kuwahara 2007:154). Although the protection of the human rights of the homeless as well as the widening of the understanding and support of the local community are mentioned in article one as the aims of the law (Sōmu-shō 2002:#dai1jō), no new rights for the homeless were enacted through it. Instead, it grants financial help for public and private enterprises dealing with homeless and only planning outlines are provided. It does not engage the state with concrete responsibilities towards the homeless (Kuwahara 2007:154). In the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law the homeless were divided into three groups according to the reason why they lost their home:

- People who want to work, but cannot find work,

- people who need medical care or welfare support,
- people who reject the living in society (Yamada 2009:45-46);

The law provided a wide range of actions. The focus on achieving self-sufficiency through work was the central strategy that was already fixed in the meetings of the workshop for homeless self-sufficiency support measures (*hōmures no jiritsu shien hōsaku ni kan suru ken-kyū-kai*). The paper that was produced during the workshop provided a very precise description of the approach of self-sufficiency through work. The description of the approach of self-sufficiency through welfare was very rough, and the approach for dealing with the people who reject life in society was only described in one sentence. According to the transcripts of the other meetings it was clear that in reality, self-sufficiency through work was not so easy to achieve. In many cases that were known at that time, people used a dual approach. It was very common for individuals to work part time while receiving welfare benefits. In the year 2000, the government set a precedent and declared a budget of 893 million yen for the homeless support and *jiritsu shien sentās* were opened in the whole country. (Yamada 2009:46-48).

Article three of this law points the aims out. Homeless individuals who want to become self-sufficient would be provided with jobs and job-training, support in finding a place to live, medical support, health insurance and personal guidance. Furthermore, in areas where many people are at risk of becoming homeless, jobs will be created and live guidance provided. Finally, short term shelters and goods necessary for daily living would be provided (Sōmu-shō 2002:#dai3jō). Article four points out that through the policy of the state or the groups cooperating to work with homeless individuals these individuals should be encouraged to become self-sufficient by themselves. The term self-sufficiency is not further defined in the law, but it suggests that it is strongly connected to work. This hypothesis is also bolstered by the shares of the budget that are funneled towards work-support. In the second year after the law was put into effect, 1.24 billion yen of the 2.7 billion yen budget were used for self-sufficiency support through work. Furthermore, 44 million yen were used to collect information about appropriate jobs and 240 million yen were used for job training (Yamada 2009:49).

The definition of homelessness in the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law has two major problems according to Yamazaki Katsuaki. Homeless individuals are defined in the law as “people who use without reason the parks of the cities, river banks, the roads, train stations and other facilities as a place to live and conduct their daily lives there¹²”. The words “without a reason

12 *Toshi kōen, kasen, dōro, ekisha sono ta no shisetsu o yue naku kikyō no basho to shi, nichijō seikatsu o*

(*yue naku*)” in the definition are reflective of a derisive tone. In relation to the large group of people who want to work but have to sleep rough, this formulation is strange. Katsuaki criticised that this kind of definition is the basis for a justification of homeless clearance or removal by state power. And in fact there were clearances of homeless individuals in January 2005 in Nagoya and in January 2006 in Ōsaka. Furthermore, this definition constitutes homeless individuals as people who sleep rough. This narrow definition makes it difficult to fulfil the aim of protecting people from becoming homeless, which is also one aim formulated in the law (Yamazaki 2006a:29-30).

After 5 years, in 2007, the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law was revised on the basis of the surveys by the government and in July 2008 the new version was published. The content did not change much, with the addition of the *nettokafe nanmin*, people who lost their home and who reside in twenty four hour internet cafes being added to the target group. Countermeasures for these people can be found in article three. There it says that the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law also covers people who have no fixed job, such as day labourers or contract workers, those who are lacking a proper home and those staying in facilities which are twenty four hours open. A survey of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare conducted in the year 2007 called *Survey about the reality of insecure workers without home (jukyo sōshitsu fuantei shūrōsha nado no jittai ni kan suru chōsa)* revealed that in all of Japan about 5400 people stayed longer than half of the week for the whole night in internet-cafes and other places who are open for twenty four hours (Yamada 2009:52).

The law and the two guidelines from the year 2003 and the revision from the year 2008 are temporary countermeasures. They presuppose that there are already homeless people, and focus on helping them to find an appropriate home and employment (Yamada 2009:55).

The reactions to the law were sharply divided. Some welcomed the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law as a long-overdue public commitment to taking action on homelessness. But others saw it as the government's way of evading its duty to provide livelihood protection for everyone who needs it. They argue that the costs for living in a homeless shelter are far lower than the costs for livelihood protection. It contains a risk that the “minimum standard of civilized living” ensured by the constitution may be lowered (Gill 2005:195-196).

4.3. Characteristics of the Japanese homeless support

A wide range of support is necessary for homeless individuals to eventually transfer to a stable housing environment. Some of the big cities in which a *yoseba* existed already had a support-system in place since the 1960s. But this was never meant to help homeless to reenter a live in a permanent residence (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:107). According to the stage in the process in or out of homeless, the present support system in Japan can be divided into four categories:

1. Support to prevent homelessness
2. Support for those who are homeless (outreach, soup kitchens, day centres)
3. Support for escaping homelessness (transitional facilities, job hunting support, support for acquiring livelihood protection, support for finding accommodation)
4. Aftercare for those who have managed to escape homelessness (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:107-108)

The *jiritsu shien sentā*, which is discussed here in detail, belongs to the third group. Furthermore the fourth group is relevant to this work too, because it can be considered as influential to the social relations of the former clients and is conducted to a certain extent by the *jiritsu shien sentās* as well. The other two kinds of support will not be further discussed here.

The two present keywords of the homeless support are self-sufficiency (*jiritsu*) and region (*chiiki*). The term self-sufficiency was used for the first time in 2000 by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (Kōsei-shō) (Watanabe 2010a:47), that renamed the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in 2001 and stands for a change in the homeless support policy. In the past the main approach to tackle the homeless issue was institutionalizing of the affected individuals (*shisetsu shūyō shugi*) (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:125). The word self-sufficiency is not closer defined but mainly it is used in the context of self-sufficiency through work (*shūrō jiritsu*), and self-sufficiency through work and welfare (*han fukushi han shūrō*), suggesting that the aim of the support is a self-sufficient life in the community and not in a welfare facility. This idea to focus on work can be seen as inspired from the workfare in the Japanese social security system. Article seven of the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law points out that the homeless support should be based on the region. Also in the basic policy (*kihon hōshin*) for the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law of the year 2003 the promotion of self-sufficiency of homeless and the solution of the homeless issue in the region was laid down. But the right as a

citizen to use the social welfare system is connected to a stable address, which makes it easy to treat people lacking one as outsiders who do not belong to one particular area (Watanabe 2010a:47-48).

Nowadays a lot of municipalities have applied this idea of self-sufficiency. For instance a change in the Airin-policy in the city of Ōsaka became obvious; in the past livelihood protection was only available for individuals who live in facilities, but now the number of people who apply for accommodation allowance to support an independent life in the community has risen. The *jiritsu shien sentās* are also one part of this new strategy. Changes in the usage of the facilities who existed before the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law occurred as well. In the past it was said that when you entered facilities for homeless people you would stay there forever, but in the last few years this praxis has changed (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:125-127).

4.4. Transitional facilities

There is a tendency to help homeless people to find back into normal life through different kinds of facilities. This facilities are used by 68% of all homeless people in Japan who are looking for support. Those who move directly from the streets into an apartment are the minority. For these facilities the term “transitional facility (*chūkan shisetsu*)” is used. This term has no legal background and also science does not provide a clear definition. Terms such as “short term facility (*ichiji shisetsu*)”, “pass through facility (*tsūka shisetsu*)”, “transitional residential facility (*chūka kyojū shisetsu*)”, or just “shelter (*sherutā*)” are frequently used synonymical. Normally this term describes facilities former homeless people live in before they move on into traditional housing. Most times only a temporary or short term stay is allowed and the clients have to fulfil preconditions in many cases (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:111-112).

In big cities in which *yoseba* exist, a system supporting day labourers which was not aiming to help the clients to re-enter into long term housing was established in the private sector before (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:107). These facilities were basically restricted to people associated with the *yoseba*. Other housing and welfare facilities for homeless were silently lifted from normal areas and moved to the *yosebas*. The facilities exist today in different municipals are based on the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law, the Livelihood Protection Law or the Social Welfare Law (*shakai fukushi-hō*) (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:112). There are also facilities

run by local authorities who lack the legal obligation to provide them, called “extra-legal assistance” (*hōgai shisetsu*). Contrary to the livelihood protection, which is mainly funded by central government, extra-legal assistance is funded by the local authorities (Gill 2001a:17). In addition other facilities run by NPOs or the private sector exist too (Niji no Rengō 2007:16). Although many facilities share the same name, in reality there are often many differences between them. Some of the prominent types of facilities are listed below:

- The *jiritsu shien sentā* (self-sufficiency support centre), based on the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law, is a new kind of facility that did not exist before 2000. The clients of this facility do not have to get livelihood protection, and therefore it is easily accessible. It is a combination of a free or low budget hostel and a satellite of Harōwāku, the Japanese public job centre. (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:126). The aim is to help the clients to find a job and be able to live on their own again. The period of one stay is normally restricted to six months (Niji no Rengō 2007:13). The first facilities of this kind were used to help individuals attain self-sufficiency through work, but the range of individuals who can use it was widened to people who face homelessness and other individuals who need welfare support (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:126). The subjects for this facility are vaguely described as people who have the will and ability to work or people whose will to work needs to be nurtured. In 2007 about 2060 people lived in 22 *jiritsu shien sentās* (Niji no Rengō 2007:13).
- The *sherutā* (shelter) is based as well on the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law. They are designed to provide short term accommodation for a maximum of six month and furthermore support the daily life of the clients with food, bath, fresh underwear and other necessary things. This facility aims to help the clients to become self-sufficient through preventing their health from worsening. The target group are people who sleep rough in the streets, in parks, at riversides or other places. In 2007 about 2220 people used ten facilities of this kind (Niji no Rengō 2007:13).
- The *kōsei shisetsu* (rehabilitation facility) is based on the Livelihood Protection Law. Its aim is to provide livelihood assistance for people who are in need for protection. This are basically people who need physical or mental care or guidance. The stay in this kind of facility is not time-limited although some areas like Tōkyō aim for a short stay of one year. In the past there existed two different types of this facility and only

the second was designated for homeless. But today people who are not considered as homeless are sent to other facilities that can respond to their needs. How many of the clients are really homeless is hard to estimate, but in Tōkyō about 90% are considered as being formerly homeless. In 2005 about 2097 people lived in twenty facilities of this kind (Niji no Rengō 2007:14).

- The *kyūgo shisetsu* (aid centre) is also based on the Livelihood Protection Law. It is designed for people who are not able to conduct their daily life alone due to physical or mental disabilities. Like the *kōsei shisetsus* their aim is to provide livelihood assistance. They provide a wide range of health care and rehabilitation guidance, work training and work. In 2005 about 183 of this places existed and 16 824 people lived in them. But not all of their clients can be considered as formerly homeless. In 2002 about 762 homeless individuals were accepted at these facilities (Niji no Rengō 2007:14).
- The *muryō teikaku shukuhakusho* (free or low budget hostel) is a social welfare organisation of the second type (*dai 2 shu shakai fukushi jigyo*) based on article two paragraph three of the Social Welfare Law (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:126). The individuals entering this facilities are supported by livelihood protection. Assistance for their daily life and for job hunting is provided. This kind of facility became the most typical transitional facility. During the period of rapid economic growth it did not exist, because there was nearly no market for it. These facilities are frequently criticised because of poor living conditions and low quality of life-support (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:126). In 2005 about 224 facilities of this kind existed, in which 7765 people lived (Niji no Rengō 2007:14).

There are no general guidelines for the transitional facilities regarding the size or type of building. Therefore many different houses are in use. The buildings of the *jiritus shien sentās* for example are very different and range from new prefabricated buildings to old public facilities and factories. The guidelines for the rooms vary from municipality to municipality. In the prefectures Shizuoka and Chiba for every person more than 3.3m² must be available, but in the prefecture of Saitama more than 4.5m² should be available for every person and the total area of one floor must exceed 7m². The same variety of buildings and room-sizes can be found under the private facilities as well (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:112).

Most of the transitional facilities maintained by the public sector are designed for over fifty people. An exception are facilities providing solely accommodation, which are mainly designed for less than fifty people. From the private facilities and hostels about 80% are designed for ten or less people. In the as homeless countermeasure designed facilities maintained by the public sector, a high percentage of rooms contain more than five people, although there are big differences regarding these numbers between different facilities. In facilities run under the Livelihood Protection Law rooms for 3-4 persons are very common, in private facilities rooms for 1-2 persons are usual. The average time of usage of the transitional facilities is in facilities who provide only accommodation with an average of 20.1 months the longest, and in facilities run under the Livelihood Protection Law it is 16.1 months (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:112).

Unfortunately, many times transitional facilities are not the desired hub between homelessness and the life in the community. According to the survey conducted by Mizuuchi Toshio and Nakayama Tōru in the years 2006 and 2007 about 52% of the people who moved from a transitional facility into an apartment had already lived in a same kind of facility in the past. This means that in many cases these people didn't move from transitional facilities into apartments. Instead, they transitioned from one facility to another (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:111).

4.5. Support to move directly into an apartment

Although often transitional facilities become the service that initiates the user into the homelessness support system, about one third of homeless individuals enter a new home directly without using a transitional facility. Organisations conducting this kind of support are mostly NPOs (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:108). From all homeless in the Niji no Rengō survey from 2007 48% who received livelihood protection went without using a transitional facility with a friend or staff from a NPO to the welfare office to apply. Furthermore a small percentage (13%) went alone to the welfare office to find help without staying in a transitional facility (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:108).

According to the Niji no Rengō survey 31.7% of the homeless are directly lifted into apartments. In the four largest cities (Tōkyō, Yokohama, Ōsaka and Nagoya) the number of people who used this method is a very small 16.7%. In the twelve government-decreed cities, 28% of the homeless used this method and finally in the central and local cities 49.2% were directly lifted into apartments (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:111). This shows that especially in

smaller cities, the role of organisations who aid in motivating homeless individuals to apply for livelihood protection play an important role.

When the homeless managed to move into an apartment, they can apply for livelihood protection, that pays the rent and supplies enough cash for an independent life. The extent of the livelihood protection payment vary according to individual circumstances and the region, but usually a single person can receive between 80,000-90,000 yen a month plus up to 40,000 yen in rent support. Often the total all-in figure is quoted with 130,000 yen (Gill 2005:195).

4.6. Support after the reentrance into the community

The support after the reentrance into the community is not as fully developed as the transitional facilities. Very often this kind of support is conducted by the staff of transitional facilities. In the Niji no Rengō survey conducted in 2007, about 64% of the people who left transitional facilities stayed in contact with the staff. 57% of this group of former clients went to the facilities on their own, 46% called the staff by phone, and 29% of them were visited by the staff (more than one answer was possible) (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:109).

The role of voluntary organisations and NPOs in fostering this kind of support is striking. From the 77% of the former homeless who have someone they can contact when they have some kind of troubles, 55% contact volunteer-organisations or NPOs. About 19% contact public transitional facilities and only 11% contact members of their families. This shows again that role of the family as a support resource for the former homeless is very weak (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:109-110).

The caseworkers from the welfare office who are responsible for the people who receive Livelihood protection are also responsible for this kind of support. But they are basically occupied by coordinating welfare resources. This is easy to understand, when we consider that in the national average one caseworker is responsible for approximately eighty households. Therefore most of them are occupied with office work and can not visit their clients to an adequate extent (Mizuuchi/Inada 2009:155-156).

In some cases the staff of the transitional facilities extends their activities by engaging with the community. They try to help clients to find their way into the community through neighbourhood associations, volunteer activities or other actions. In other words, they try to extend the activities of the facilities to the community. But the disadvantage of this system is the spreading of the so called “poverty business (*hinkon bijinesu*)”. This term refers to facilit-

ies who offer help to very high prices and low quality. Especially a part of the free and low budget hostels, which in the eyes of many people have turned into a breeding ground of poverty business (Mizuuchi/Inada 2009:156). The support organisations claim that aftercare is very important because there are often a lot of problems. Frequently they include alcoholism, compulsive gambling, mental-health problems, problems with paying back debts and so on. These issues require professional help exceeding the resources of the organisations in most cases (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:109-110).

As stated before, there exist organisations who concentrate on former homeless in the process of living and re-integrating themselves into their communities. In these organisations there are also attempts to counter an ongoing personal isolation. One example for this is the Rakujuku (Easy cram school), a school that works as a tool for integration beyond the labour market and is detached from any transitional facility. The aim of this school is to provide a place to make new friends. This is also reflected in the slogan of the school: “a new school adventure of learning to play and playing to learn.¹³” The school is not only about having fun or about developing new skills, it is more or less between this two positions (Taoka 2010:5).

4.7. Regional differences in the homeless support

The organisations in Japan who are directly supporting the homeless are private companies and NPOs. These organisation provide more than shelter, often helping to find jobs and offering mental care, started to take action in Ōsaka at the end of the 1990s, earlier as in most other parts of Japan (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:124). The alliance of the government with the private and third sector started in the 1990s along with the propagation of a small government (Yamazaki 2006b:275).

One of the most important financial resources for countermeasures against homelessness is the livelihood protection system. With the help of livelihood protection benefits homeless can move into low rental housing. Because the distribution of livelihood protection benefits is up to the regional authorities, the local differences in the distribution policy are very high. Especially in areas where no support focusing on habitation exists, livelihood protection is only by a few exceptions used to help to lift homeless directly into a home. Therefore the preparation of housing facilities by the private sector and NPOs which can be used until an appropriate accommodation is found plays a very important role in reintegration. The availability of

13 *Asobi o manabi manabi o asobu atarashii gakkō no bōken*

such facilities differs very much per region. These differences are not only born out of the different advices from the regional officials to the local private sector and NPOs, but results from the different ways the public sector and the NPOs reacted to the new problem in regions where the existing structures was not sufficient (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:125). An example for this are private facilities like urban hostels whose inhabitants can apply for livelihood protection in Tōkyō, but not in Ōsaka (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:122-123).

68% of all homeless recorded in the survey of the Niji no Rengō who moved from homelessness into normal living conditions use transitional facilities. In the four largest cities of Japan this percentage is even rising up to 84%. On the other side in core and provincial cities, only 51% use transitional facilities (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:110). According to the regional differences Mizuuchi and Nakayama divide the homeless support into five different strategies:

1. The first category involves big cities in which a lot of social resources are available. The homeless can chose from a wide range of facilities, or can move through the help of support organisations directly into apartments. The city of Ōsaka, Tōkyō, Kyōto and Sapporo are all good examples of this.
2. The second type consists of cities who mainly rely on other strategies to deal with homeless. Examples for this kind of cities are the city of Kagoshima or Hiroshima who use a system called *genzaichi hogo* (protection of the precent location), which enable homeless individuals to register through the welfare office in an area without having a residence.
3. The third type are municipalities in which the homeless have the choice to use free or low cost hostels as transitional facility additional to healthcare facilities or the direct move into apartments. Nearly all of this municipalities are placed around the area of the capital Tōkyō. In the grater area of Tōkyō this became a strong tool to help homeless people.
4. The fourth type are municipals in which no transitional facilities exist, but support organisations help homeless to move directly into apartments. In these municipals nearly no social resources that can be used for homeless support could develop. Examples of this type of municipal include Takamatsu, Matsuyama and Ōtsu.
5. The municipals of the fifth type rely mainly on healthcare facilities. The people who enter these facilities can apply for livelihood protection and move into traditional residences. The largest representative city of this type is Fukuoka, relying strongly on healthcare fa-

cilities. The city Kitakyūshū which provides a small amount of other facilities, like a *jiritsu shien sentā* belongs to this group as well (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:121-123).

Ōsaka, which hosts Kamagasaki (the largest *yoseba* in Japan), can look back on a long history of homeless-countermeasures and a wide range of different organisations could develop. About 50% of the homeless in Ōsaka use healthcare facilities as a way out of homelessness. 30% use different facilities like *jiritsu shien sentās* and others. Furthermore 16% are directly lifted into apartments, 2% use other kinds of support and 1% use free or low rent hostels. In Ōsaka there is the choice between using a transitional facility, mainly *jiritsu shien sentās*, moving directly into a traditional apartment, or using a healthcare facility (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:122-123). The comparable high percentage of people who use healthcare facilities suggests, that the support system is not sufficient enough, although a wide range of support organisations exists.

5. The *jiritsu shien sentā*

5.1. The relevance of the *jiritsu shien sentā*

As seen before, different regions in Japan have applied different strategies to respond to the homeless. The role of the *jiritsu shien sentās* is therefore from region to region different as well. According to the Niji no Rengō survey conducted in the year 2007, 19% of all homeless individuals who tried to transition into a traditional home used the *jiritsu shien sentās*. Considering that 68% of those who move from homelessness into permanent home use transitional facilities, about 28% of the people who use transitional facilities use a *jiritsu shien sentā*. The usage of transitional facilities and especially of the *jiritsu shien sentā* has also a regional characteristic according to the size of cities. In the four largest cities 34.2% of the homeless use this facilities and in the twelve government-decreed cities 23% use it. Finally, in the central and local cities only 1.2% of the homeless use a *jiritsu shien sentā*. Nevertheless it is in the four largest cities and in the twelve government-decreed cities the most frequent used type of transitional facility (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:110-111). The *jiritsu shien sentās* were only in big cities placed, namely in Sendai, Tōkyō, Kawasaki, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyōto, Ōsaka and Kitakyūshū. This praxis leads to differing chances to get help according to the different regions, excluding some people from the most promising support (Yamada 2009:54).

As pointed out before, in Ōsaka the *jiritsu shien sentā* plays a major role in the cities homeless policy. Today four *jiritsu shien sentās* and one assessment centre exist in the city of Ōsaka. Considering that in whole of Japan 16 *jiritsu shien sentās*, including the assessment centre, exist, a density of 5 facilities in one city can be considered as very high.

Until March 2010 6323 people had used the four *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka (Maishima 1 2010) Since the foundation of the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 in 2006 until 2011 about 3884 homeless entered the facility and 3031 were allowed to move on to a *jiritsu shien sentā* in the whole city of Ōsaka (Maishima 1 2011). In comparison to 4911 homeless who were counted by the government in 2007 in the prefecture of Ōsaka (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2007:6) and 2500 homeless (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2011:#Todōfuken no hōmures kazu) that were estimated in 2011, it can be assumed that the *jiritsu shien sentās* play, like the Niji no Rengō survey showed as well (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:122), a major role in the regional homeless-support policy.

5.2. Organisations working in the forefront of the *jiritsu shien sentā*

Not every homeless or person that is in danger of becoming homeless can use a *jiritsu shien sentā*. Basically the decision who can enter or not is made by two institutions, the welfare office (*fukushi jimusho*) and the *jiritsu shien sentā* itself. But in many areas, like in Ōsaka, the clients have to go to an other facility in which an assessment is conducted deciding if they can use it or not. In Tōkyō this assessments are conducted by short term shelters for emergency (*kinkyū ichiji hogo sentā*) and some of the *jiritsu shien sentās* conduct it by themselves (Yamada 2009:114).

In Ōsaka there are two organisations working in the forefront of the *jiritsu shien sentā* helping to select the clients. This is the consultation patrol (*junkan sōdan*), which builds up contacts with potential clients and checks if they want to use a *jiritsu shien sentā*, and the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1, which assesses the recommended people. To find out who are the clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās*, in the following the institutions in the forefront of the facility and the way they work are examined.

The consultation patrol is an organisation created by the city administration but run by a private organisation. It is split into three or four blocks who are responsible for different areas of the city. There are two methods how the consultation patrol contacts the homeless. The first is the direct contact to the homeless who live in the streets, parks and other public places. The people of the consultation patrol visit these places and try to build up personal relations to the homeless they find there. When they manage to get their trust, they encourage them to enter the *jiritsu shien sentās*.

The second method is to get in contact with potential clients through other organisations, mainly the welfare offices of the 24 wards of Ōsaka, to which people in need come to consult. The number of people who get in contact with the consultation patrol through other organisations is rising recently. Next to the ward offices also the Rehabilitation Consulting Office in the Airin-district, the Osaka Charenji Netto, an organisation designed to address especially people who sleep in twenty four hours opened stores, like internet cafes or saunas, and the Kamagasaki Shien Kikō, a NPO dealing with the local problems of the Airin-area, recommend possible clients from time to time. Though many homeless are recommended by the Rehabilitation Consulting Office, the other two organisations play a minor role and they seem to contact the consultation patrol seldom. From time to time also the administration of the public parks and roads contacts the consultation patrol as well.

Principally all clients go to the *jiritsu shien sentās* out of their own will and desire. Those who want to choose this route are interviewed by the consultation patrol, which checks following three things: Are they physically and mentally able to work, are they willed to work, and are they able to live together with other people. The results of the interviews are registered in the homeless ledger. Everyone who has the will to work is registered in this ledger. In praxis this are most of the homeless the consultation patrol talks to. But this is not sufficient and many of the homeless want to see the facility first or are worried about the rules. Through the ledger it is judged if the homeless want to enter the *jiritsu shien sentā* or not (Morimatsu 2006:244-245).

After one person is registered in the ledger and his desire to move into the *jiritsu shien sentā* is verified, the next step is to send his data to the welfare office (Morimatsu 2006:246-247). If they fulfil the preconditions they can enter the assessment centre. But most times they can not enter immediately and have to stay in a short term shelter until the assessment centre is prepared for their entrance.

The Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 is located next to the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 and was opened in the same year. It is authorised for 100 people (Maishima 1 2011b), and has rooms that can be used by ten people. Considering that most welfare facilities in Japan have rooms for up to six people, the living conditions in the assessment centre are very bad. Principally the clients can stay up to one month in the assessment centre but in the case that a client has health problems and has to go to the hospital their stay can be extended to up to two months. But normally when nothing happens most people stay around twenty days. The length of the stay is also related to the timing. Although clients can enter the facility every day, they can move on to the next facility only on one fixed day (Thursday) a week.

All homeless who want to enter one of the *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka have to go to the assessment centre. During the stay their condition is evaluated and a personal support program is developed (Maishima 1 2011b). Following four fields are subject of the assessment centres work:

1. Health checkup: After the clients come to the assessment centre they are brought to one of the three cooperating medical facilities and have to undergo a health checkup. Urine, blood pressure and so on is checked. Because of the community life practiced in the facility high priority is given to checks on infectiveness like tuberculosis. The detection of some health problems is very frequent.

2. Assessment of the capacity to work: The most important indicator therefor is the health. Problems regarding the health are often discovered during the whole stay. These are addictions like alcoholism or compulsive gambling, but can be also physical disabilities. Furthermore the will to work is judged by dialogues with the clients or their behaviour during their stay. The ability to live in groups is judged by the way people integrate themselves into the daily work, like the cleaning up in the morning. Also the complaints from other residents are recorded. A further hindrance to work that is very frequent are debts, because the former homeless can be found again by the credit companies (*sarakin*) when they have a fixed address again.
3. Physical and mental recovery: While sleeping rough many homeless people experienced a lot of painful things or have done such, leading to mental exhaustion and depression. In recent days the number of clients who experienced homelessness over a long period decreased, but the time before moving on to the *jiritsu shien sentā* is still used as a break, to calm the clients down, before the job hunting starts.
4. Preparation to move on to the *jiritsu shien sentā*: This involves the bureaucratic work to find a place in a *jiritsu shien sentā*, the fixation of the new address, legal support to liquidate debts and other preparation for moving on. For liquidating the debts a lawyer organisation is contacted, that helps the clients to declare bankruptcy. The fixation of the address takes one or two weeks when the former address is outside the city or prefecture. In the case that the former address is already delated or the client forgot where its *honseki*¹⁴ is, this process can take much longer (Morimatsu 2006:253). Next to this bureaucratic work the body-height and weight as well as the size of shoes to prepare appropriate clothes and other things the new clients need for daily life are checked (Morimatsu 2006:250).

If the clients are assessed positive they are sent to one of the four *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka. This are about 78.8% of the clients. 6% move to other facilities and 5.6% move into an own apartment and live on livelihood protection. The number of people who have to go to hospital and can not return to the centre is with 0.4% very low. Furthermore about 8.6% leave on their own or disappear without formal proceedings (Maishima 1 2011a). This regards to people who find work or go to relatives, as well as to people who disappear without a clear reason.

14 The place where all documents regarding ones own family are kept by the administration.

5.3. The clients of the *jiritsu shien sentā*

The clientele of the *jiritsu shien sentā* are defined in the business summary as follows: People who are willed to work and who can be expected to become self-sufficient very soon. This means that they have no illness hindering them to work and that they are in an age that allows them to respond to job offers. Furthermore they have to be people who have no obstacles to community life in the facility. Then they must be persons who can register as resident and are able to apply for jobs from the public job centre Haruwāku (*kōkyō shokugyō anteisho haruwāku*). Since November 2005 it is also possible to reenter the *jiritsu shien sentās*, but in this case it must be about six month ago that the clients left it for the last time (Nishinari 2011a:1).

Although in a notification regarding the basic policy of the Homeless Self-sufficiency Law it was pointed out that “the condition of social resources that can be used should be taken into general consideration,¹⁵” finally it was defined that the *jiritsu shien sentā* should be given priority to people who are willed and able to work (Yamada 2009:99-100). Most times only male clients under 64 years are accepted in the *jiritsu shien sentās* (Morimatsu 2006:251). Exceptions who also support women are the Jiritsu Shien Sentās Hamakaze, Nakamura, Sentā-Kyūshū and Ōizumi which provided two rooms for homeless couples (Yamada 2009:115).

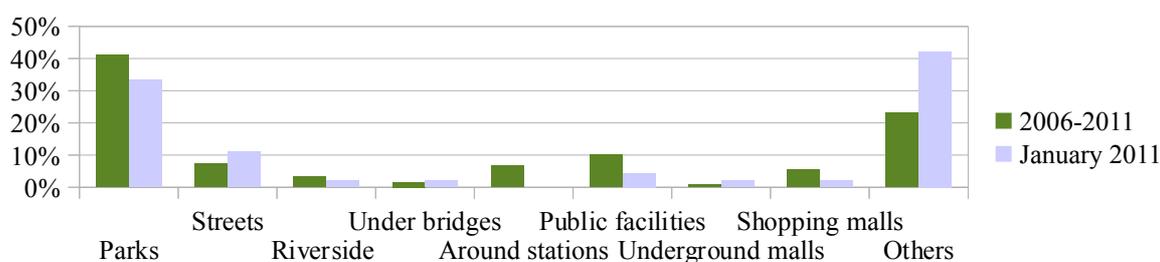
The average client of the *jiritsu shien sentā* is much younger than the average homeless. While in the survey by the government in 2007 the average age of homeless was 57.5 years (Yamada 2009:32) the average age of the clients is 47.2 years, a gap of 10.3 years. Concluding from the fact that the average age of the clients of the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 in January 2011 was only 44.6 years, the age of the clients can be considered as falling. The youngest person that used the facility was 15 years old and the oldest was 89 years (Maishima 1 2011a). The age distribution is broader than the range reported in the survey by the government. More than half of the clients are younger than 50 years.

This tendency can be observed in other areas as well. The average age of the *jiritsu shien sentā* clients in Nagoya as well is lower than the normal age of homeless (Yamada 2009:150-151). Iwata Keiji showed on the example of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nagoya that the clients under fifty years grew for about 30% in a time period of 6 years until 2009. This phenomenon was related to the bad economic situation around 2009 in which many young people who worked with subcontracts were fired (Iwata 2010:32-33).

15 *Riyō dekiru shakai shigen no jōkyō o sōgōteki ni kanan shite.*

The places where the clients of the assessment centre slept rough were in 41.1% of the cases parks. This may be explainable by the fact that in the past most times the consultation patrol built up the relations to the homeless and this was easier when the clients did not move around and live constantly on the same place in a tent. Kanesaka Keizō the former director of the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1, pointed out, that in the last years the number of people who slept in parks before they came to the centre decreased and the number of people who did not experienced rough sleeping is increasing. Most times this people lost their flat, but had some money left and could stay at an internet cafe, a twenty four hours opened shop, a sauna or sometimes also at the place of a friend. People like this increased to over 40% (compare to figure 4).

Figure 4: Places where the clients of the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 slept rough



Source: Maishima 1 2011a

A further characteristic of the clients observed in the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nagoya is that they tend to have only a short record of sleeping rough. Clients of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nagoya who lived only three month or less without a home were 54.9%, in contrast the homeless people counted by the government who had such a short record of sleeping rough were always around 10% (Yamada 2009:151). This is considered as a chronological development. The number of clients who slept over one year rough decreased and the number of clients who spent only one week or less on the streets nearly doubled in the period of six years until 2009 (Iwata 2010:33-34). Comparing this to the high percentage of homeless in Ōsaka who did not experience rough sleeping in a narrow cense the same pattern can be observed here as well. Furthermore, about one of four people who enter the assessment centre has already used one time a *jiritsu shien sentā* (Maishima 1 2011a). But according to Kanezaka there are also people who come for the third and sometimes even for the fourth time.

A further characteristic of the clients observed in Nagoya is the high proportion of people who lived in accommodations provided by their employer. In Tōkyō 28.9% of the homeless

had lived before they became homeless in accommodations provided by the employer. In the *Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nagoya* 42.6% had this background (Yamada 2009:151). Unfortunately there is no comparable data for the situation in Ōsaka, but it can be considered as similar.

The health of many clients is not really good and many need medical support. 61.4% of them get medical treatment while they are in the assessment centre. But only 5.1% have to stay for a longer period at the hospital (Maishima 1 2011a). The clients are already asked by the consultation patrol about their health conditions, but they tend to say that they are healthy and are mainly judged by their appearance. The result is that few of them have physical disabilities, but other distresses like addictions or physical damage caused by hard work like herniated discs are very frequent.

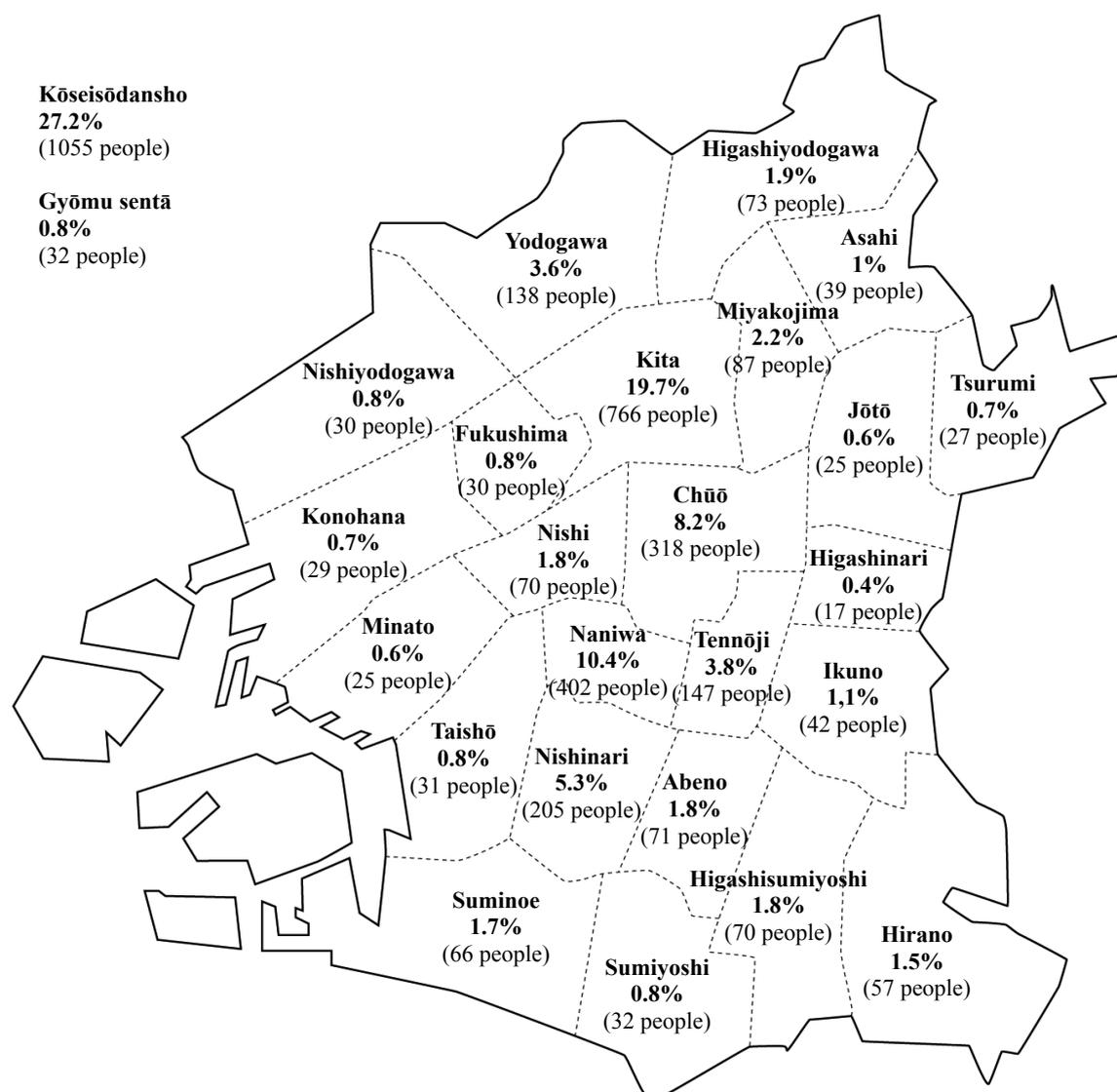
Looking at the geographical distribution of the ward offices the clients contacted, which are also considered as indicators of areas of rough sleeping, a particular pattern can be observed. The clients are mainly from the five inner city districts, Kita, Chūō, Naniwa, Nishinari and Tennōji (compare to figure 5). The high concentration of clients coming from the ward Kita can be explained by the fact that the Japan Railways Station Ōsaka can be found in this ward and people from all over Japan arrive in this area when they come to Ōsaka. A lot of places where it is easy to sleep rough, like an underground passage and the Ōgimachi park, are close to the station as well as a labour office. In Chūō ward the Ōsaka-jō park is located, an area that can be easily used to sleep rough. The high density of homeless individuals in the wards Naniwa, Tennoji and Nishinari can be explained through their closeness to the day labourer area Kamagsaki, located in Nishinari ward.

This observation was made by Misuuchi Toshio as well when he analysed the distribution of homeless in Ōsaka based on the city wide survey from 1998. 78.2% of the rough sleepers, more than three fourths were found in this five wards. He points out that inside of the JR Ōsaka Loop Line the density of rough sleepers is higher than outside. Particularly in the southern part of this inner ring the density is high. Especially around the JR station Shinimamiya and the Midosujisen Line station Dobutsuenmae, as well as in the area a short distance to the north of the subway station Ebisuchō. Whereas outside of the JR Loop Line the rough sleepers concentrate along the banks of the rivers and canals and in the public parks (Mizuu-chi 2003:37).

This pattern is basically reflected in the clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* as well. Especially considering that the Rehabilitation Consulting Office (*kōseirōdōsho*), which recommen-

ded 27.2% of the clients, is designed for day labourers and located in the ward Nishinari. Including the people recommended through this institution about 74.6% of the clients come basically from areas in which homelessness was observed as a frequent phenomenon before.

Figure 5: Wards in which the clients of the *Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1* slept rough



Source: *Maishima 1 2011a*

While the selection through the assessment centre is very low – only 21.2% of the clients do not move on to a *jiritsu shien sentā* (Maishima 1 2011a) – other institutions working at its forefront are very hard to evaluate. Nevertheless the outreach of the consulting patrol can be considered as restricted to what is visually confirmable, basically the people who are living in the streets and parks. The role of the welfare office is quite unclear, but the information it

gives on to people who go there to seek help, can be considered as very influential to their decision of going to a *jiritsu shien sentā* or not. Yamada as well points out that it is very likely that the selection is already happening at the welfare office (Yamada 2009:150-151).

Yamadadas finding, “[...] although it can be said that the *jiritsu shien sentās* have a central role in the homeless prevention measures, they do not respond to all of them (Yamada 2009:152),¹⁶” turned out to be also valid for the *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka. The examination of the selection mechanisms showed, that not every homeless is sent to a *jiritsu shien sentā*. The clients are younger as the average homeless and many of them have not experienced rough sleeping with its risk for the physical and mental health as well as the social disadvantages that may result out of it. They can be considered as the most able part of the homeless, and people who are short before becoming homeless are a large group under the clients.

5.4. The aim and basic business outlines of the *jiritsu shien sentā*

The *jiritsu shien sentās* are designed to solve the problem of social exclusion for people who escaped homelessness or suffered because of it. Social security, pension and shelters, the common tools to fight homelessness, turned out to be not an appropriate tool to do so. Therefore the *jiritsu shien sentās* follow the idea that through work to the wish to participate in society and to be able to live by ones own work can be responded and social exclusion can be overcome (Mizuuchi/Hanano 2003:89). The aim of the facility is according to the information sheet of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari as follows:

The aim is to support people living on the street who lost their home because of unemployment or other issues and live in places inside of Ōsaka city like parks and roads. For people who are willed and able to work, self-sufficiency through work is promoted not only by providing shelter and food but also by conducting physical checkups, life consultation, guidance, employment consultation, mediation and others (Nishinari 2011a:1).¹⁷

The *jiritsu shien sentās* are designed to support the homeless to become self-sufficient by their own strength. Therefore the clients do not get social security and it is provided only for their basic needs. The only form of public benefits they get is health protection, because many

16 [...] *Jiritsu shien sentā wa, hōmuresu taisaku no chūshinteki yakuwari o ninatte iru to wa ie, subete no hōmuresu ni taiō shite iru wake de wa nai.*

17 *Shitsugyō nado ni yori jūkyō o nakushi, Ōsaka shinai no kōen, dōro nado de kikyō suru noshuku seikatsusha no uchi, shūrōiyoku, nōryoku ga aru mono nado ni tai shite, shukusho oyobi shokuji o teikyō suru to tomo ni, kenkō shindan, seikatsusōdan, shidō oyobi shokugyōsōdan, assen nado o okonau koto ni yori, nyūshosha no shūrō ni yoru jiritsu sokushin o shien suru koto o mokuteki to suru.*

of the clients suffer from various illnesses. Next to shelter, the *jiritsu shien sentās* provide also food for their clients. Furthermore consultation and guidance regarding work, life, health and other assets are conducted as well as support towards a sustainable form of employment and residence (Nishinari 2011a:1). In order to help the clients become self-sufficient, every reason that hinders them to become or stay self-sufficient, like registering an address or curing illnesses, is tried to remove during their stay. Furthermore training of skills, get again licences issued, apply for a pass for handicapped people, curing addictions and other support is conducted as well (Morimatsu 2006:251).

As a general rule clients can stay up to three month in the facility but when they fulfil the regular requirements they can extend to a maximum of six months. If people have to go for a longer period to the hospital they are regarded as leavers, but in the case of examinations and short term stays they can reenter immediately after they left the hospital (Nishinari 2011a:1). Although this is the general principle there are exceptions. For instance the five *jiritsu shien sentās* in Tōkyō are designed for a short term stay of just two months and clients who get a job and move into apartments are supported with funds to move into apartments and get everything necessary to work (Gill 2005:202). The four *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka stick to the general rule of a stay for three months that can be extended up to six months. Because extensions are very frequent in the praxis, it can be said that six months is the normal time period for one stay (Yamada 2009:115). Frequently the clients stay longer than six months and there are also cases in which clients stayed longer than one year.

The names of different functions the staff has in the *jiritsu shien sentās* is different from facility to facility and therefore not easy to compare. But generally there is always a director (*shisetsuchō*, *shochō*) who is responsible for the management of the facility and social workers (*seikatsu shidōin* or *seikatsu sōdanin*) who supports the clients regarding their daily lives (Yamada 2009:115-116). Furthermore the public job-centre Harōwāku sends career counsellors (*shokugyō sōdanin*), together with physicians (*shokutakuin*), and nurses (*kangoshi*) they form the irregular staff of the facilities. Some facilities have also special staff that responds to the characteristics of the particular facility or is financed by local officials. The daily routine of the facility supports the daily job hunting of the clients and the career counsellors introduce job offers (Yamada 2009:116).

Normally the *jiritsu shien sentās* are designed for 50-100 people, but Hamakaze, the largest one, can accommodate up to 226 people and also smaller facilities exist such as

Seiryū-hōmu which is designed for only 10 people (Yamada 2009:114-115). The two large *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka, Ōyodo and Maishima 2 are designed for 100 people and Yodogawa and Nishinari can host up to 65 people. All of them were opened in the year 2000 except Maishima 2 and the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 which opened in 2006 (Nishinari 2011b:1). Ōyodo is considered as the oldest *jiritsu shien sentā* (Yamada 2009:111).

Furthermore Ōyodo and Nishinari have a satellite (*sateraito*) for ten people each, which were installed after the facilities opened. In the case of Nishinari this satellite consists of ten separated flats (Nishinari 2011a:1). The satellite of Ōyodo is placed close to the facility, therefore the clients use the dining room and the community bath in the *jiritsu shien sentā*. In this satellite a supervisor is constantly present and the clients are prepared for a life in an apartment. The normal period of a stay is four months but in certain cases a stay lasting only two months is possible as well. Because the clients do not have to get used to living in a big community, it is used to prevent people from leaving the facility earlier (Yamada 2009:117).

Most of the *jiritsu shien sentās* are founded by the local authorities but run by social welfare organisations. Furthermore, parts of the services provided inside of the facilities are very often run by other organisations (Yamada 2009:114). The example of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū shows that the relation between the public and private sector can lead to very different outcomes. In Kitakyūshū the public sector cooperated from the planning on very strongly with the NPO Kitakyūshū Hōmuresu Shien Kikō, which now conducts the consulting patrol (*junkai sōdan*) and runs the social work affairs of the *jiritsu shien sentā*. This close cooperation made it possible for the NGO to realise private rooms for the clients, who are not usually in this kind of facility (Morimatsu 2006:243).

In Ōsaka, two social welfare corporations are involved in the management of the *jiritsu shien sentās*, the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai and the Ōsaka Jigyōkan. The Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai runs the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 and the Jiritsu Shien Sentās Maishima 2, Ōyodo and Yodogawa. Beside these facilities it also runs several rehabilitation centres (*kōsei shisetsu*) and shelters (*kyūdo shisetsu*) in the direct vicinity of the the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo and Yodogawa. Next to these facilities that deal mainly with the homeless problem, the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai runs also facilities for single mothers and day care centres for children (Miotsukushi fukushi-kai 2010:#unei shisetsu ichiran). The organisation traces its roots back to the year 1946, when citizens of Ōsaka joined together to help people whose life was affected by the war such as victims of the war, refugees or orphans. In 1994 it was changed in

the modern organisation it is today and was renamed to Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai (Miotsukushi fukushi-kai 2010:#hōjin no ayumi).

Ōsaka Jigyōkan is an organisation that basically focuses on the Airin-district and runs facilities for people who live there such as shelters (*kyūgo shisetsu*), support facilities for handicapped people (*shogaisha shien shisetsu*) or special elderly nursing homes (*tokubetsu yōgo rōjin hōmu*) (Ōsaka jikyōkan 2002:#hōjin no goannai). The organisation was founded in 1912 as a result of the inspection of the area Kamagasaki by the Ministry of Home Affairs (Naimushō) and started with the arrangement of shelters and job services (Ōsaka jikyōkan 2002:#Ōsaka jikyōkan no rekishi).

Although these two NPOs look very much the same, they are not. While the Ōsaka Jigyōkan is an independent body, the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai can be considered to be very strong related to the city government. Many members of the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai staff are serving or retired members of the city government. The staff consists of present and former city officials and temps hired from outside. It can be considered more as a way to keep costs down than an independent NPO (Gill 2005:200).

5.5. The life in the *jiritsu shien sentā*

5.5.1. Daily routine

The organisation of daily life activities in the *jiritsu shien sentā* varies from facility to facility. For example in the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Yodogawa the clients have to get up at 6:30 a.m. (Yodogawa 2010), but in the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari they have to get up thirty minutes earlier (Nishinari 2010:2). To reconstruct the life in the facility, the pamphlet of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari and interviews conducted in the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 with employees and former clients as well as the existing literature were used.

At 6:00 the day in the *jiritsu shien sentā* starts. The light is switched on and the clients have to awaken. The gate is opened and the television in the rooms can be switched on. At 7:00 breakfast is served and the clients can eat at the dining room until 7:40 (Nishinari 2010:2). In order to reduce the number of people in the dining hall, the clients eat in two shifts. The staff announces which group can go to the dining room through speakers. People who can not eat when the meal is served because they have to go to work or have to see a doctor can eat later. Every meal is stored until two hours after the time it is normally eaten for the people who come later (Nishinari 2010:5). Those people who found already a job and can not

eat in the centre because they have to work get some money to buy food. For breakfast this is 300 yen and for lunch and dinner it is 400 yen (Nishinari 2010:11). At 8:00 the work in the facility starts and the clients have to clean up their rooms (Nishinari 2010:2). Furthermore they alternately have to clean up the common space and the surrounding of the facility. Everyday the work they have to do is announced on the billboard in the entrance hall. Everyone has to do this work. But it is limited and not everyone can work every day. The clients have to confirm by themselves when they have to do what and in the case that they have no time they must consult with the staff. Every time they do this work, they get 250 yen (Nishinari 2010:4).

From 9:00 on the job hunting starts or the clients go to work. From this time on the staff of the facility is available for consultation about the job hunting, work or any other problems. Next to support for room search and welfare consultation, also expenditures necessary to go to job interviews can be borrowed in this time. At 21:00 this kind of support ends, but at the front desk staff is available for the case of emergency all night long. The job coaches from the public job centre Harōwāku come three times a week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and can be consulted from 9:30 to 16:00 (Nishinari 2010:2). The clients who are looking for a job are advised to consult with the job coaches. In many *jiritsu shien sentās* also some kind of work is available inside of the facility (*naishoku*) (Maishima 2, Ōyodo). In this case, clients are also advised to work there.

Three times a week a nurse is available during the day. This kind of support can be demanded all day long until 21:00. On Saturdays staff for consultation on medical issues is available as well (Nishinari 2010:2). Clients who look for distraction in the spare time, can watch TV in the rooms or also in the dining room. Furthermore newspapers as well as sport magazines are provided every day in the morning (Nishinari 2010:5).

Lunch is served every day from 12:00 until 12:40 in the dining room. The proceedings are the same as in the morning. After that the job hunting and the work in the centre continues. On Monday to Saturday from 17:00 to 21:00 the community bath can be used. On Sunday the bath is open in the morning from 9:00 to 11:00 (Nishinari 2010:2). Furthermore for those people who can not use the bath during the normal times showers are provided that can be used from 6:00 to 23:00 (Nishinari 2010:5). Dinner is served from 18:00 to 18:40. The reward for the work in the facility is paid every day at 19:00 in the evening. At 20:00 the gate is closed and at 21:00 in the rooms the lights and the television have to be switched off (Nishinari 2010:2). From this time on the clients are advised to be quiet in the rooms or on the cor-

ridor, in order to avoid disturbing the sleeping people (Nishinari 2010:7). Finally at 23:00 the light in the dining room, that is used as community room as well is switched off (Nishinari 2010:2).

Ishizu Kenji, the director of the *Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2* explains that one of the ideas behind this strict daily routine is that it is useful for the clients after they leave the facility. They should get used to the daily routine of standing up in the morning, working during the day and sleeping in the night. This should make it easier for them to stick to a routine important for daily working life. But the disadvantage of this is of course that sticking to such a routine and being always told what to do is not easy for an adult to bear. Although some of them have a girlfriend they have to come back every day and are told to sleep in the evening. A situation Ishizu describes as quite tough and many clients dislike.

But the interviews with the former clients showed that this kind of routine is not part of their life. Three of the four interviewed work in shifts or during the night. For them it is not strange to come home at 5:00 in the morning and sleep until 12:00. If the life rhythm in the *jiritsu shien sentā* is, like Ishizu suspected, perceived as normality, it can be assumed that its effect is reverse for the people who have to work. By showing them a preferable life rhythm they can not achieve, it is likely to raise their notion of being different.

5.5.2. Obligations of the clients

Next to this daily obligations every client in the *jiritsu shien sentā* has also some other continuing obligations. Principally they have to do everything the social workers tell them to do, but there are three basic institutions which are compulsory for every client. Everybody who comes to the *jiritsu shien sentā* has to attend a seminar (*sai charenji seminā*), in the first two days. In this seminar the clients learn how to behave as a member of society and as an employee and it should motivate them for work. The way how a curriculum vita and job applications should be written is also content of this seminar. Furthermore the dangers of alcoholism are discussed as well (Nishinari 2010:9).

The largest meeting is the group meeting (*gurūpu mītingu*) which is conducted once a month and every client as well as the whole staff has to attend. In this meeting informations are exchanged, the clients can consult about the problems they face when they do job hunting and any other kind of requests towards the *jiritsu shien sentā* can be done as well (Nishinari 2010:10).

The most important institution for the clients is the meeting with the personal trainer (*teirei mensetsu*), which is conducted on a regular basis. This is a personal meeting, only attended by one client and the personal trainer (Nishinari 2010:10). Together they plan the stay in the *jiritsu shien sentā*, find out what kind of help the client needs and help to realise his aim to become self-sufficient. This work is conducted by the social workers who are the normal staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā*. Most times one social worker is responsible for about ten clients. Their duty is very diverse and is described by Morimatsu Nagao, the head of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū, as follows: Support for the daily life of the clients and for the search of a job; consultation about any kind of request and problems at work; help to bring the clients to the hospital when they feel ill; availability for the case of emergency and communication with related organisations (Morimatsu 2006:251-153);

The maximum stay of six months turned out to be in reality a quite short period to find a job and save enough money for one's own apartment. The money they need to save in this period is considered to be at least 300,000 yen, consisting of about 180,000 yen for the costs to enter a new apartment, 50,000 yen to 70,000 yen for furnitures and other necessary things for the new home and 70,000 yen to 80 000 yen to make a living until they get the next salary. The average salary of a client is between 130,000 yen and 140,000 yen. Because they use about 20,000 yen to 30,000 yen for food, transport and other things, they can save only around 100,000 yen a month. The salary is payed at the end of the month, and so they have to work normally for four month to get enough money to move out into an own apartment. In this way the social worker calculates with the client and consults with them many times about the realisation of their plans. The average client consults fifteen times with a social worker until he finds a job (Morimatsu 2006:254).

To get one invitation for a job interview about three to four applications are necessary. To find a job in two month the clients normally have to write six to eight applications a week. But if they need some medical treatment or it takes longer to fix their address, the period for the job hunt may last longer. Morimatsu points out, that the social workers have to understand the problems of the clients and give them realistic advice. Otherwise the *jiritsu shien sentās* become a place where they feel pushed and are continuously reminded of their failures (Morimatsu 2006:255).

In reality these plans are often delayed because the clients get ill, undertake some training or get frustrated because the job hunting is more difficult than they imagined. Therefore the

plans have to be revised in many cases. To avoid delays as far as possible, the different plans are discussed in the team meetings and scanned at several intervals to review if they are realistic or not (Morimatsu 2006:255-256).

5.5.3. Necessities of daily life

The telephones in the *jiritsu shien sentā* can not be used for private calls. But messages from outside are handed on to the clients. An exception of this is the use for job hunting. When the clients need a telephone to contact companies or get contacted by the companies they can use the telephones of the facility. After finding a job, the clients can still use the office phones when they need to contact their company until they get their first salary and can afford one of their own. In favour of hiding that the clients are inhabitants of the *jiritsu shien sentā* in front of their employees, a special telephone number is used. When receiving a call on this number, the answering person does not identify itself as employee of a *jiritsu shien sentā* (Nishinari 2010:10).

To make the job hunting easier for the clients, the *jiritsu shien sentā* lends bicycles to the clients. But they can be used only to go to job interviews or the public job centre. For the first ten days of work, they can be used for commuting as well, but normally they should not be used for commuting. In the case that they are necessary to get to the workplace exceptions can be made.. In the case that the place they have to go is far away also money can be borrowed. This is restricted for the purpose of attending job interviews or travelling to work. Until the clients get their first salary, the facility lends up to 500 yen per day depending on how far away the workplace is. But when they get their first payment, they have to pay back the entirety of money that they have borrowed (Nishinari 2010:11).

Furthermore everything that is necessary for job hunting is provided by the facility. The paper for the curriculum vitae, a photo, the envelope or the money for the stamps are paid by the *jiritsu shien sentā*. They can all be requested at the office. To make the curriculum vitae a PC is provided as well. Clothes necessary for the job interviews like suits, neckties, shirts, belts, shoes and other things can be borrowed. An iron or reading glasses are available. Furthermore a service for hair cutting is available as well to help keep the clients in their job hunting (Nishinari 2010:12).

For things which are not covered by the support the clients get in the *jiritsu shien sentā*, everybody gets 2000 yen a week. The clients can use this money for what they want and do

not have to pay it back. Furthermore the money they earn is trusted to the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā*, and they can not use it at their will. This is a measure to help the clients save enough money to become self-sufficient again. If they need money in order to buy something, they have to consult with the social workers. Many clients have difficulties in handling money and would be unable to save enough money necessary to rent a room or apartment. But this postpones only the problem and many clients come back again because they ran out of money after they moved into their own apartments (Iwata 2010:35-36).

5.5.4. Gate and curfew

Three of the four *jiritsu shien sentās* in Ōsaka are surrounded by a fence with a gate. The only exception is the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo. The gates of the *jiritsu shien sentās* are always open at a fixed time. In the case of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari they are open from 6:00 to 20:00. Normally everybody has to be in the facility before the door closes. People who have to leave the facility early in the morning to go to work, consult a doctor, or for another reason, have to apply at the office for permission. Everybody who wants to leave the facility has to write the purpose of its leave into a book provided at the reception and has to turn in its user card. People who repeatedly sleep outside of the facility or come back too late without permission have to leave the *jiritsu shien sentā* (Nishinari 2010:7).

These rules may have the practical application of preventing clients from stealing property of the facility, or also encouraging strangers to come inside and cause some kind of trouble. But it can be considered as a concession to the claims of the neighbourhood as well. For instance when the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Yodogawa was built the people in the neighbourhood started a protest movement. They judged the facility as useless and as a nuisance and were afraid that the clients would walk around in the night. Therefore they demanded that the clients should be watched close and after the doors were closed a guard should watch over them. To solve this problems the staff of the facility attended a monthly meeting of the neighbourhood association (OSD 2002:228-229). There was also a protest movement against the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari. And in 2001 it was still perceived as a strange facility, although there is nothing dangerous about it (OSD 2002:226). Watanabe Kaoru points out that prejudices like this become the reason that in homeless facilities some of the clients feel that they are rejected from the local community, and therefore start to avoid it. The opposition of the local community gives the homeless the feeling that their attempts to involve are in vain, and that they

just bother others (Watanabe 2010a:216). Watanabe showed that the communication between the local community and homeless facilities is very often of an indirect nature, relying on local authorities instead of direct contact. The representatives of the homeless facility most times have no chance to speak to representatives of the local community and explain the situation (Watanabe 2010a:217-218).

Figure 6: The Jiritus Shien Sentā Nishinari
seen from the front



(The photo was shot by the author in 2011)

In order to appease the citizens time limits were set for homeless facilities. In Ōsaka this time limit was three years, but at the end of the period, the city welfare office (*fukushi jimusho*) made an informal decision to keep the shelters open with the consent from local citizens' groups (Gill 2005:198). In the case of the Jiritus Shien Sentā Yodogawa, the gate and the fence, and the wall around the Jiritus Shien Sentā Nishinari, are separating them from the surrounding, and can be considered as symbols of the relation to the local community. Furthermore the Asesumento Sentā Maishima 1 and the Jiritus Shien Sentā Maishima 2, who were built after the other facilities, are located in an industrial area on the artificial island Maishima far away from any residential area. It is very unlikely that this raises the idea of being part of the community.

An example in which not so strict restrictions can be found is the Jiritus Shien Sentā Ōyodo. It opens every Friday a cafe where people from the neighbourhood can come as well and can meet the clients. Furthermore the facility runs a food delivery service to contribute to the welfare of the community (OSD 2002:224).

5.5.5. Problems of community life and restrictions

In the *jiritus shien sentās* in Ōsaka the clients live in a community. In one room there are five or six double bunk beds, space for 10-12 people. They stand in two rows next to the

walls. Every bed has a curtain, to keep a minimum of privacy. Furthermore under the beds and on a shelf at the end of the corridor, between the two rows of double bunk beds, are boxes to keep the private possessions of the clients. On the shelf is in every room a television for entertainment. The toilets, the bathroom and the showers are separated and shared by all clients. Ishizu points out that most times not all beds are in use. If there are too many people in one room, it leads to tensions and conflicts. Therefore they try to keep half the room empty and normally only around six people are in one room. Nevertheless for many clients the life in the community is difficult. People with different background have to live together. This can easily become the breeding ground for competition and group pressure. Comments like “I work and he is lazy” or “why is only he recommended for social security?” can be frequently heard. This kind of problems become many times the reason why people leave the *jiritsu shien sentā* on their own (Iwata 2010:35).

In order to help clients cope with issues ranging from addictions or illnesses and to reduce frictions the life in the *jiritsu shien sentā* is restricted by a series of rules (Iwata 2010:32). Therefore it is not just only forbidden to bring alcohol to the facility, but it is also not allowed to come back drunk. Alcoholism is, as pointed out before one of the problems many of the clients deal with. Therefore it is no wonder that in the guidelines for the usage of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nishinari it is emphasized that “in cases someone consumes alcohol, the consequences will be very strict (Nishinari 2011a:8)¹⁸”. Furthermore fighting and violence as well as arguing, shouting and other kinds of threats and nuisances are forbidden too (Nishinari 2011a:8).

The lending and borrowing of money and gambling inside of the facility are prohibited. The same is the case for dangerous items. No examples for such items are raised, but it can be assumed that pistols, knives or other things that can be used as weapons are restricted. The staff of the facility stores such items until the clients leave the facility. The smoking of cigarettes is restricted to special areas. In the rooms and in bed, cigarettes are forbidden. Furthermore chewing tobacco is prohibited in the corridors and on the stairs. It is forbidden to break the furniture and equipment of the facility or carry them outside (Nishinari 2010:8).

Strangers are not allowed to come to the facility without permission. The usage of medicine without the prescription of a doctor is not allowed as well. The distribution of fliers or propaganda inside of the facility is also prohibited. Radios and other appliances for music

18 *Inshu kōi ni tsuite wa, toku ni kibishiku taiō sasete itadakimasu.*

have to be used with earphones. In the case that gaming appliances are used, they should be done in a way that nobody is bothered. Furthermore it is forbidden to go to the dining room or in other common rooms in underwear or in pyjama trousers. The clients have to follow all orders of the staff based on the self-sufficiency program. The violation of these rules can lead to an early end of the stay (Nishinari 2010:9).

According to Ishizu this restrictions, especially the ban on alcohol and on gambling are for the clients very hard to bear. In favour to ease the situation, especially in the beginning, the staff of the facility tries to respond to the needs of the clients. So they give for example a single room to clients who just came to the facility in order to make it easier for them to adjust to the new environment.

5.6. Support provided by the *jiritsu shien sentā*

5.6.1. Support for job hunting

There are basically three different ways to conduct job hunting: Through the public job centre Harōwāku, special job offers for homeless or self organised job hunting. The most frequent used method is job hunting through the public job centre Harōwāku. Normally the public job centre sends career consultants to the *jiritsu shien sentā* who are specialised on consulting former homeless (Morimatsu 2006:258). Exception are the prefectures Miyagi and Kyōto. There the public job centre does not send their staff to the *jiritsu shien sentās*, but let the clients come to the public job centres (Yamada 2009:120-121). In all other areas the clients can go to the local public job centre as well and look for jobs who are not announced inside of the *jiritsu shien sentā*. But in this case they have to apply directly at the public job centre (Morimatsu 2006:258).

The proceeding in the *jiritsu shien sentā* is the same as in the public job centre. The career consultants register job offers, publish them on the billboard in the facility, receive applications and intermediate. The clients can choose the work they like from the billboard by themselves, submit them to the staff from the public job centre and fill in the application for the job interview. Furthermore they give advice to those who have problems establishing themselves within their workplace. The work offered by the career consultants is most times low skilled work. Jobs like delivery boys or trash collectors are very frequent (Morimatsu 2006:258).

The percentage of clients who find a job through the staff of the public job centre is in most *jiritsu shien sentās* quite high and around 70%. But in many cases the clients lose their

employment during their stay in the facility and find a new job again. In these cases they are recorded more than one time. The percentage of people who really find a long lasting job through this way can be considered as much lower (Yamada 2009:120-121). The disadvantage of this method is, that in many cases the companies do not know that the applicants are clients of the *jiritsu shien sentā*. This makes a cooperation with the employer for aftercare difficult and furthermore forces former homeless in many cases to hide their past (Morimatsu 2006:258). When the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo started it was planned that the clients write on their job applications “inhabitant of a *jiritsu shien sentā*¹⁹”. But when they did so, it became impossible for them to get even a job interview. Therefore they decided to do not write this any more, a practice that is now common (OSD 2002:223-224).

Under the job offers published in the *jiritsu shien sentā*, very few are really appropriate for the clients. The clients concentrate very strongly on these few jobs. But next to the clients there are also many other job applicants who have better qualifications. Therefore the way into work turns out to be difficult and grim. Under these conditions most of the clients can't find work. But because they think that they have to find work, they lower their requirements and tend to apply for jobs which are not suitable for those who wish to become self-sufficient (Kohara 2002:85).

The second way to find a job is through a support organisation. These organisations can introduce the clients directly to employers (Morimatsu 2006:258). In Ōsaka city the job promotion for homeless (*hōmuresu shūgyō kaitaku suishinin*) is conducted by the career consultants of Harōwāku. They try to find job offers, collect data and offer them to the clients. Normally they visit the office of the enterprises or contact them by phone to arrange special employment for homeless people. The job offers they get are introduced to the clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* (Yamada 2009:119-120).

There are not many companies who cooperate with such organisations, but they know, that their new employees are former homeless individuals and therefore it is easy for the *jiritsu shien sentās* to work together with them. If the clients do not appear at work after they left the facility, the employer contacts the *jiritsu shien sentā* or other support organisation, and they can try to bring them back. Furthermore there are also other benefits like a cooperation with the company for the management of the money, the condition of the former client can be checked easier by contacting the company and the former client has no stress to hide his past

19 *Jiritsu shien sentā nyūshosha*

(Morimatsu 2006:258-259).

The results of this kind of job support differ very much per region. In the best cases up to 95.2% of the clients applying for this kind of job are accepted, and in worst cases only 3.4% are accepted. According to the staff of the job centres, this big differences develop out of the lack of understanding about the special situation homeless people are in. But some employees of the public job centres point out that there is often not enough time to meet the clients and so they do not know the special needs of them or the communication is not working well and the informations are not accurate (Yamada 2009:120).

Finally the third way of job hunting is to look for a job by oneself. Through the usage of magazines for job hunting or advertisements in newspapers the clients can look for a job. They contact the companies by their own and write applications for job interviews. But this method most times fails to work out. In the cases it works out the companies try to get as good conditions for them as possible, when no third party intervenes. Therefore the job coaches and the staff from the *jiritsu shien sentā* explain how the work conditions should be and ask the clients to consult with them if there is anything strange. In cases the clients get a job through friends or a job magazine without consulting, the staff checks the conditions by themselves and sends the results to the client (Morimatsu 2006:260).

5.6.2. Skill training

To get a small advantage for the job hunt, the clients have also the chance to undergo some skill training. This training fosters normalisation through the acquirement of skills, qualifications and licenses. The government entrusts NPOs to realise this skill training and it is conducted in Tōkyō, Kanagawa, Aichi, Ōsaka and Fukuoka (Morimatsu 2006:268). The NPO offering this kind of service in Ōsaka is the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai Koyō Kaihatsu-shitsu.

The training they offer is different from region to region, but training for forklift trucks (*fōkurifuto*), cleaning (*seisō*), house keeping (*tatemono kanri*), computers (*pasokon*), home care aid (*hōmuherupā*) and different kinds of driver licenses are provided nearly everywhere. Criticism of this services points out that the training the clients are doing is not always related to the jobs they try to get (Yamada 2009:122). But on the other hand, Morimatsu points out that some of this skills, especially the driver licences, are important for the job hunt, and are in reality very often required by the employers (Morimatsu 2006:269).

Although the skill training brings an advantage for the job hunting, it is very time consum-

ing and nearly impossible for most clients. It is considered as a ill placement of priorities when the clients manage to get some skills but can't find a job (Morimatsu 2006:269). The staff is advised to exploit the skills the clients have as well as possible. In the six months the clients stay in the facility is no time to conduct long term training or develop new skills (Iwata 2010:35). In cases were the clients can do some training the social worker stay in contact with the training institutes and consider the abilities, reasonability, age and experience of the clients when they recommend skill training. If the clients have troubles with some examinations, it is the duty of the social workers to help them to study. Because of the limited budget it is not for everyone possible to undergo some training. Sometimes this becomes the reason for conflicts, when clients do not understand why they can not do a training or want to do more training (Morimatsu 2006:269-270).

5.6.3. Internships

Some companies offer temporary internships (*shinkō koyō jigyō*), normally lasting three months, and give the clients the chance to adopt to a new work-life. This should make it easier to move on to a regular employment. These kind of internships are offered to a wide range of people who face employment disadvantages, like young people, single mothers or handicapped people. The homeless form one of these groups. Although this kind of service exists in the whole country, interviews are only conducted by the labour office of areas in which *jiritsu shien sentās* are located (Yamada 2009:123).

To encourage the clients to do such internships, they get a salary of 50 000 yen per month. But there are also areas where during a period of one year nobody does this kind of trial work and most of the employees of the labour office claim that the situation is not improving. The reason therefore is on one side, that there is a lack of understanding for the homeless from the companies and on the other side the clients do not want to reveal that they have been homeless in front of their employers (Yamada 2009:123).

5.6.4. Support to keep the clients in work

About 60% of the clients who find work stick to the first job they find, but the other 40% leave or were dismissed after they started the first job. Reasons for quitting are physical problems, troubles with colleagues or superiors, or other inabilities to do their jobs. Sometimes they can not continue to work, even if they try as hard as they can. Cases in which they ignore

the instructions of superiors are very frequent. Furthermore they feel sometimes that they are not accepted at their workplace and can't bear the idea of working there all the time. The social workers try to speak every day with the clients and try to find out how they feel about their work. If they do not continue and after two or three months the clients suddenly want to quit, it is possible, that there is not enough time left to find a new job (Morimatsu 2006:260-261).

Furthermore Morimatsu describes that based on the idea that it is easier to overcome some troubles at the workplace when you have a family at home, the social workers at the *jiritsu shien sentās* try to build up a little bit of the same atmosphere. The social workers try to convince the clients to not give up their jobs and try to find solutions together. If the clients want to quit nevertheless, they are encouraged by the social workers to contact the company and consult with them about better treatment. In this cases it sometimes happens that the companies try to convince them to stay. The clients feel that they are needed and this becomes sometimes a motivation to go on working. In the case that the clients quit by their own without consulting, it happens that they have not enough time to find a new job and have to return back to homelessness after they left. For this reason they are asked many times to consult in the case that they want to quit (Morimatsu 2006:261-262).

5.6.5. Support to find a new apartment

The clients face two difficulties when moving into an apartment who are inherent of the Japanese housing market. At first they need to pay a deposit (*shikikin*), that is usually as high as the rent for three months. While staying in the *jiritsu shien sentā* the clients are encouraged to save their salary so they can pay for their deposit while retaining enough money to buy furniture for their new home (Iwata 2010:32). About 50% of the people who move into an own apartment are able to pay the deposit by themselves through the money they earned while staying in the facility. The policy how to deal with the people who can't pay the deposit is different from place to place, but in many cases the deposit is payed by the welfare office (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:115). In the year 2003 it became possible that the people who honestly tried hard to get enough money for the deposit but could not save enough could receive grants to pay for an apartment (Iwata 2010:32). Generally in the large cities the percentage of deposits payed by the local authorities is lower than in the smaller towns, but this may be related to the existence of the *jiritsu shien sentās* who enable more people to pay the de-

posit by their own (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:115).

Furthermore, most times a guarantor (*hoshōnin*) who guarantees that the rent will be payed is necessary when moving into an apartment in Japan. Research on transitional facilities showed that more than 50% of the leavers move into places where they do not need a guarantor. Especially in the largest four cities this tendency is very strong. In the cases where a guarantor is needed companies who act as guarantor (*hoshōnin daikōgaisha*) are frequently used. The rent in the largest four cities is about 40 000 yen to 45 000 yen and tends to be cheaper in smaller cities. The size of the apartments is most times between 6-7.5 *jō* but especially in large cities the percentage of apartments smaller than 4.5 *jō* is high 4.5 *jō* are considered as the lowest living level for singles (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:15-16).

5.6.6. Medical care support

Frequently severe illnesses are discovered after homeless enter the facilities. High blood pressure (*kō-ketsuatsu*), high blood sugar (*kō-kettō*) or heart disease (*shinshikkan*) are common. But not only physically related diseases, as dementia (*ninchi-shō*), schizophrenia (*tōgō shitsuchō-shō*) and other psychological illnesses are frequent. Additional people with intellectual deficits or people who suffer from alcoholism are also included as part of these clients. The aim is to cure them as much as possible while they are in the *jiritsu shien sentā* to enable them to become self-sufficient. Nevertheless about 20-30% are finally unable to work because of their health condition. In this cases they try to apply for livelihood protection. If the negotiations with the welfare office are successful, they can live in apartments on livelihood protection (Morimatsu 2006:263).

In the cases in which the clients are judged as unable to work, they get nearly always livelihood protection. But the cases in which the clients are judged as able to do light work are most times problematic. The clients can not live fully on livelihood protection and have to find some work that is appropriate for them. Most times this is impossible and they end up with work that does not match their needs. Which has for example too long working hours or is too tough (Morimatsu 2006:263-264).

5.6.7. Support to restore the social relations

Support to restore social relations has in most *jiritsu shien sentās* no institutionalised form. An exception is the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū, which focuses next to the job support on

the restoration of social relations (Morimatsu 2006:264-265). The relations treaded as important are the relations to the social workers, to other clients and in cases in which it is possible to the family.

In the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū the support to build up relations again found its institutional form in a series of activities. This starts with a welcome meeting where the new clients introduce themselves, and continues with several regular meetings. Also activities like volunteer work, film nights, Shōgi competitions or the manufacturing of hand creams aim to rebuild social relations. One of the most important institutions in this context is the self help meeting (*serfu herupu mītingu*), where 8-10 clients can talk about their experiences as homeless. There they strengthen their will to do not become homeless again and build up the basis for a mutual sympathy and for friendship (Morimatsu 2006:266-268). Also the general work of the social workers is considered as support for the clients to rebuild their relation to society. They try to give them back the believe that they are not alone, and that there are people who care about them (Morimatsu 2006:256-257).

In Ōsaka this strong focus on social relations is missing. Institutions that can be considered as support to build up social relations can be found in form of a cafe that opens once a week in the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo and Yodogawa. This cafes are designed mainly for the former clients to stay in contact to other people and prevent them from social isolation. Furthermore the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo conducts once a week a meeting (*sawa-kai*) for the clients to get in contact and chat. But this seems to be an exception and other facilities do not have comparable institutions. Nevertheless in all facilities the notion, that the relations between the clients and social workers are important, can be found. The clients must be able to trust the social workers, otherwise their work can't be successful. This is also important for the support after they left the facility. Furthermore the clients are encouraged to consult with the social workers in the case that they have troubles with other people, at work, or with other clients.

5.7. Aftercare

The support of the *jiritsu shien sentā* does not stop after the clients leave the facility. Principally every former client can contact the facility and consult with the staff. Nobody is rejected. But the normal approach is, that all clients who leave the *jiritsu shien sentā* are asked if they want to get support after their leave. The group of people who stay in contact is called by

the social workers Old Boys Club (*OB-kai*). If they wish so, the social workers stay normally for three years in contact with the former clients.

The Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 has an Old Boys Club of about 86 people (Nishinari 2011c:1). But like the director Ishizu Kenji pointed out, the contact is of different intensity. The social workers stay in close contact with about 12-13. About fifty people are called routinely and about 150 are contacted twice a year per letter. The persons who are responsible for the former clients vary from facility to facility. While there is staff in Ōyodo and Maishima 2 that specialised on aftercare, in the other two facilities every member of the staff, or the former social worker who was responsible for the client stays in contact (Maishima 2 2006:2).

Normally clients are called 5-7 days after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* to check if they have had any trouble and whether they are doing well. Especially in this first period in which the former clients get their first salary and can do what they want again, it happens that some complications occur. After that the former clients are called about once a month until they do not wish any more contact or three years have passed by. In the case that a former client could not be contacted, the staff visits him in order to check if everything is alright. If the former client is not at home, a message is left at the door. A letter is sent twice a year, in summer (*shochū mimai*) and at new year (*nenga-jō*), to every former client whose address is known. When the letter comes back, they know that the former client no longer lives at the same place. Furthermore some write back or give a telephone call to thank for the letter.

Table 4: Contacts of the four jiritus shien sentās in Ōsaka to former clients (2010-2011)

Contact method	Contacts	
	Cases	%
Visit	1352	19.3%
Telephone	2118	30.2%
Coming to the facility	1868	26.6%
Letters	1677	23.9%
All	7015	100.0%

Source: Nishinari 2011c

There are basically four different methods used to keep in contact with the former clients: visiting the former client, calling per telephone, the former client comes to the facility, or writing a letter. The most frequent way of contact is a telephone call and the most unusual way of contact is that the staff comes to the former client (compare with table 4).

Furthermore it happens that former clients who face some difficulties, like getting fired or

having some troubles with the neighbours contact the *jiritsu shien sentā* in order to get help. If they do so the staff is helping them as far as possible or gives some advice. Most of the clients who got advice from the staff of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 wanted to speak about some troubles they had in daily life or about money. The troubles they have in daily life are most times minor things. For example they want to buy something but do not know how to choose, don't know how to use the bath tube or the power went suddenly off and they do not know how to switch it on again. A considerable number of clients consults also about health issues and difficulties they face at the workplace.

Table 5: Advice former clients of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 got

Content of the advice (multiple answers)	Number of cases
Settle down at the workplace	42
Health	69
Life	91
Money	90
Relations to other people	7
Others	75
All	374

Source: Maishima 2 2011a

But next to simple advice, also concrete help is in cases in which it is necessary conducted as well. For example the *jiritsu shien sentā* administrates the salary of some people who have difficulties with the handling of money after their leave. In cases where former clients lost their employment, the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā* helps them to find a new one. Very frequent are also cases where former clients want to apply for something or need medical help, and the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā* supports them and sometimes goes with them to the welfare office or the hospital.

5.8. Leavers of the *jiritsu shien sentā*

Because the aim of the facility is to help people to become self-sufficient through employment, the number of people who are able to do so is often referred to as a measurement of success, and although it is a common notion it is also important to acknowledge that these measurements are not adequate to grasp the whole picture. For instance Mizuuchi Toshio and Nakayama Tōru point out that the work is not done by only securing a save place to live, it is also necessary to rebuild the lives of the homeless, to secure jobs, to provide mental care, and

conduct after follow to support their ongoing lives (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:124).

The results are always influenced by the characteristics of the facilities but generally between 30% and 50% of all people who leave the facilities are able to find a job. This depends mostly on the kind of people a *jiritsu shien sentā* is accepting (Yamada 2009:118). Every *jiritsu shien sentā* collects informations about the way the clients leave the facility on their own. Although the data of the leavers of the three facilities who were observed in this research are available it is not so easy to compare them, because every facility uses slightly different categories. The comparison in table 6 uses the categories shared by every facility and sums the rest up in the category “other”. This category consists mainly of clients who had to leave the facility, clients who moved back to their parents, clients whose time limit expired and clients who were described under the category “other” already before.

The people who reach the aim of the *jiritsu shien sentā* and become self-sufficient through work are those summed up under the category “work” and do not succeed more than 37.3%. Furthermore about 5.7% could go on living on livelihood protection or move on to other facilities. An average of 28.8% of clients in all three facilities left on their own the *jiritsu shien sentā*. A look at the data of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo reveals that only about 16% of the people in this group had work when they left (Ōyodo 2011:1). The situation of the other people who left on their own can be considered as not much different as before.

Table 6: Different ways of leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* (all former clients)

	Yodogawa		Ōyodo		Maishima 2		Total	
	People	%	People	%	People	%	People	%
Work	665	35.6	743	41.5%	175	30.0%	1583	37.3%
Social security	79	4.2%	44	2.5%	29	5.0%	152	3.6%
Other welfare facilities	2	0.1%	60	3.4%	29	5.0%	91	2.1%
Hospital	21	1.1%	33	1.8%	2	0.3%	56	1.3%
Left on their own	589	31.6%	491	27.4%	142	24.4%	1222	28.8%
In vain	212	11.4%	193	10.8%	51	8.7%	456	10.8%
Others	298	16.0%	226	12.6%	155	26.6%	679	16.0%
Total	1866	100.0%	1790	100.0%	583	100.0%	4239	100.0%

Source: Maishima 2 2011b, Yodogawa 2011, Ōyodo 2011;

Because the numbers shown in table 6 represent all clients who ever left the *jiritsu shien sentās* developments over time can not be observed. In the last years it became easier for

homeless people to get livelihood protection and this had also an effect on the people who leave the *jiritsu shien sentās*. While in 2009 only 8% of the leavers of all four facilities in Ōsaka left got livelihood protection, in 2010 it were 28% (Mizuuchi 2011:54). So it can be considered that especially in the last two years the number of people who leave on livelihood protection rose.

The chance to find a job is very much determined by the fact if the life before was stable or not. Clients who had a stable place to stay and a stable work, are very likely to find work again. On the other hand clients who switched very often their work and lived in lodging provided by the employer or other insecure forms of housing like cheap urban hostels tend to be unable to find a job during their time in the *jiritsu shien sentā*. Furthermore age is also a parameter influencing the way the clients leave the facility. Younger people tend to be released into insecure situations like in lodging supplied by the employer or without any success. On the other side older people tend to find their own apartments and life from livelihood protection (Yamada 2009:153).

The jobs most of the clients find are only jobs with unstable contracts, like terminable contracts or subcontracts with low or unstable wages. Even if they try hard, most times they can not find better ones. Furthermore the jobs they can get training for are on the normal labour market hard to get (Iwata 2010:35-36). A reason for the low quality of the jobs they can find seems to be the time limit of six months, and the low living standard focusing only on shelter and food, making it difficult to support the self-sufficiency of the clients. Even though they concentrate on job hunting and getting new skills, the time limit is an obstacle. Because of the short time in which the clients can use the facility they give priority on earning money during their stay, instead of trying to find a secure job they can also do after they leave (Ishizaki 2002:133). Furthermore many of the clients who found work are at risk of losing it after a while and become homeless again. The reason therefore is, that their abilities are very low and the work they can do is very limited. Most times they work as guards or as cleaners. The stay in the *jiritsu shien sentā* does not change much about their situation and therefore they are still at risk of becoming homeless again. As long as there are no changes in the labour market that make it easier to find jobs it is unlikely that this situation will change much (Inoue 2002:94-95).

The way people leave is interpreted in the literature in different ways. For example Mizuuchi and Nakayama who compared different kinds of homeless support see the homeless coun-

termeasure facilities the *jiritus shien sentā* is representative for as a relative success. Their data showed that only one quarter of all homeless who were supported managed to live by their own work. Although 49% of those who moved out of transitional facilities could find work, about half of them could not make a living just by the money they earn. They have to combine it with livelihood protection or pension. In the case of the homeless countermeasures facilities the number of clients who find a full time employment under those who found an employment is with 75% extraordinarily high. The employment clients who do not use a transitional facility get is in 62% of the cases only a part time job (Mizuuchi/Nakayama 2009:116). But at an other place Mizuuchi points to the disadvantages of the *jiritus shien sentā*. Only 40% of the people who left the Jiritsu Shien Senā Ōyodo until March 2003 were able to find a job. The rate of those who really continued to work was lower and only one fourth of the total number of people who left, continued to work and live in an own apartment. As a reason the continuing economic recession was raised, making it very difficult to find jobs (Mizuuchi 2003:54).

The findings of Iwata Keiji are very close to this. He criticises that the number of clients who reach the aim of self-sufficiency through work is far under 50%. Although in his research around 50% found work approximately 20% of them failed to find a secure home (Iwata 2010:34-35). Yamada Sōshirō as well observed in his research that in most cases the *jiritus shien sentā* fail to fulfil the aim of helping the homeless to become self-sufficient through work. In his research about the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Nagoya in 2005 as well only 31.7% were able to save enough money to move in town apartments (Yamada 2009:152). But 18.5% of the clients managed to become self-sufficient through work without secured home and 13.2% could become self-sufficient with the help of livelihood protection (Yamada 2009:148). Although some clients of the three *jiritus shien sentās* in Ōsaka who managed to find work are hidden under the two categories “autonomous” and “social security”, the people who could become self-sufficient can be considered as not more than 45%, lower than in the other example. This different results can be explained not only by the different characteristics of the facilities and the clients they accept, but is also related to the different economic situations in which the surveys were conducted. The percentage of people who manage to become self-sufficient through work is always related to the whole economic situation. In the years 2007 and 2008 in which the economy was very strong and 24% more people were able to become self-sufficient through work, and in the year 2009 when the economic situation became bad, the

number of people who left because they found work decreased for 16.3%. On the other side the percentage of people who left autonomous or in vain increased (Iwata 2010:33-34). An other explanation of the different results can be probably found in the characteristics of the local labour market. But the generally low rate of success is more likely to be found in the nature of the support. Activation programs typically do not reach those most affected by social exclusion (Handler 2004:201) and the *jiritsu shien sentā* seems to be no exception.

6. Social relations after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā*

6.1. Outlines of the survey on former clients and current clients

Basically the survey conducted on former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentā* is used in the following to examine their social relations after leaving. The second survey conducted on the current clients is used only a few times for comparison.

The aim was to get sixty participants for each survey. In the case of the survey regarding the former clients only 58 respondents could be found, and in the case of the survey on the current clients 64 people responded. The average age of the respondents in the survey on the former clients was 50.6 years and in the survey on the current clients the average age was with 42.4 years much younger. The average time the respondents were homeless was 11.5 months, in the case of the former clients, twice as long as for the current clients who lived an average time of 5.5 months as homeless. The average former client lived about 8 months in the *jiritsu shien sentā*, two months longer than the normal maximum. Roughly two years have passed since the former clients left the *jiritsu shien sentā* on average (compare to table 7).

Table 7: Basic data about the participants of the surveys

	Former clients	Current clients
Participants	58 people	64 people
Average age	50.6 years	42.4 years
Average time spent as homeless	11.6 months	5.5 months
Average time spent in the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	241.7 days	105.0 days
Average time after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	700 days	-

The education level of nearly 40% of the former clients is junior high school and only 12.1% of them have an education extending beyond completion of high school. The education of the current clients who participated in the survey is higher than that of the former clients. Only 31.3% had not a higher education than junior high school and the highest education of 51.6% was high school (compare to table 8). Nevertheless the percentage of people who had continued their education past high school is as low as in the case of the former clients. The education of the participants in both surveys is still higher than that of the survey by the Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare on homeless people. There 55.5% of the respondents answered that their furthest education was only junior high school (Kōsei Rōdō-shō 2007:89).

Table 8: Highest education of current clients and former clients

	Former clients	Current clients
Junior high school	39.7%	31.3%
High school	44.8%	51.6%
Technical collage	6.9%	7.8%
University	5.2%	4.7%
Others	1.7%	4.7%
No answer	1.7%	0.0%

27.6%, only a very small number of former clients, managed to find regular employment. Most of the other former clients work with temporary contracts, subcontracts or in part-time employment. The work as day labourer seems to be not very popular under them and only 1.7% are employed like that. Furthermore a considerable number of 18.9% are unemployed or looking for a job at the moment. Of the current clients who participated in the survey, 67.2% were job hunting in the moment and only a small number were working (compare to table 9).

Table 9: Employment situation of current clients and former clients

	Former clients	Current clients
Regular employment	27.6%	4.7%
Temporary contract, subcontract	20.7%	9.4%
Part-time employment	31.0%	12.5%
Day labourer	1.7%	0.0%
Unemployment	10.3%	0.0%
Job hunting	8.6%	67.2%
Others	1.7%	7.8%

Physical and psychological disabilities can be seen very frequent within the current clients of the *jiritus shien sentā*. 31% of former clients claimed that they have a problem of that nature. For current clients this number is higher and 40.6% answered that they feel psychological or psychological hindrances in their daily life (compare to table 10).

Table 10: Current clients and former clients who feel psychological or physical hindrances

	Former clients	Current clients
Yes	31.0%	40.6%
No	53.4%	43.8%
I do not know	8.6%	15.6%
No answer	6.9%	0.0%

Former clients were also asked about what issues they wanted to consult with the staff of the *jiritus shien sentā* about. 56.9% answered that they would want to consult about problems concerning their daily life. Next to this, nearly half of the clients wanted to consult about work. Considering that 18.9% of the former clients had no employment, this means that at least about 30% of the former clients want to discuss about troubles they were experiencing at their recent area of employment (compare to table 11).

Table 11: Topics the former clients want to consult about

Topic	%
Life	56.9%
Health, medicine	19.0%
Residence	13.8%
Work	46.6%
Human rights	1.7%
Others	22.4%

6.2. The sum of social relations former clients have

To measure if the former clients face social isolation or not they were asked to how many people they have contact on a normal day. Contact was defined as an interaction between two people. This could be a simple greeting, a conversation and also an indirect communication like an e-mail, a letter, a telephone conversation or others. About 15.4% of the people had no contact to other people at all, 42.3% had contact to 1-5 people a day, 15.4% to 6-10 people and 26.9% to more than 11 people (compare to table 12).

Table 12: Contacts of former clients on an average day

0 people	1-5 people	6-10 people	>11 people
15.4%	42.3%	15.4%	26.9%

Following the hypothesis, the former clients are for the further analysis split in three groups according to their employment status. These are unemployed (unemployed, job hunting) who are here the group who failed to negotiate the barriers for inclusion. The opposite are people in secure employment (regular employment) who are according to the hypothesis considered as successfully social included. As a third group people in insecure employment (temporary contract, subcontract, part-time employment, day labourer) are counted here, who can

bee seen as people who only partially managed to overcome social exclusion.

An observation of the number of people former clients have contact to on an average day shows that there are big differences between the three groups. While unemployed former clients meet only an average of 3.2 people a day, people in insecure employment meet about twice as many people. But most striking is the difference from this statistic and people in secure employment, who meet an average of 31.3 people a day (compare to table 13).

Table 13: Contacts of former clients on an average day according to employment status

Unemployed	Insecure employment	Secure employment
3.2	6.5	31.3

On the basis of this information, the hypothesis seems to be right, and people who successfully managed to find an employment are also in contact with a large number of people. But a look at the number of people former clients have repeatedly contact to reveals a different picture. Here the number of people former clients have contact to varies only slightly according to the employment (compare to table 14).

Table 14: People former clients have repeatedly contact to according to employment status

Unemployed	Insecure employment	Secure employment
10.6	9.2	11.6

The relations that were recorded in the survey are such who are considered to be important for the former clients. According to Inazuki Tadashi, the benefits a social network creates, and can function as a constitutor of a relation are information and mutual support (Inazuki 2008:5). In the survey on former clients for both constitutors of relations a indicator for a weak and a indicator for a strong relation was chosen. The indicator for a weak relationship constituted by the exchange for information is here “regular contact”, which stands for a minimum exchange of greetings or more, and the indicator for a strong relationship is here defined by “consulting”. Furthermore the indicator for weak relationships constituted by mutual support is here called “mutual help”, and the indicator for a strong relationship is here defined by “lending and borrowing of money”.

Splitting this relations up into different social areas reveals that, next to the contact to the employees of the *jiritus shien sentā*, colleagues at work are regularly in contact with the highest percentage of former clients. Also the former clients of the *jiritus shien sentā*, whom 34.5% of the former clients are in contact with, seem to play an important role. For consulting

of course the employees of the *jiritus shien sentā* are important for the former clients, followed by other former clients. Mutual help in the form of lending and borrowing of things can be found mainly under colleagues at work and other former clients (compare to table 15).

Table 15: Social contacts of former clients

	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing money
Family members	14.5%	10.7%	5.4%	3.6%
Colleagues at work	68.5%	26.8%	17.9%	8.9%
Former clients of the Jiritsu shien sentā	34.5%	28.6%	14.3%	7.1%
Employees of the Jiritsu shien sentā	72.7%	67.9%	14.3%	3.6%
People from community activities	10.9%	3.6%	1.8%	0%
Other friends	22.6%	16.1%	3.6%	5.4%

6.3. Four examples of former clients

6.3.1. The case of A

A is a 42 years old former client. He left the *jiritus shien sentā* about four years ago and is now living on livelihood protection in his own apartment. Because of psychological problems, A was judged by the doctor as unable to work. Now he is frequently coming to the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 to do the work offered there. According to the director, there are only two former clients who come nearly every day to the facility, and therefore A can be considered in this aspect as an exception.

A was an orphan and therefore was raised in a child welfare facility. He lived in this facility until he graduated from junior high school in the age of fifteen. After that he started to work and went to an evening school, he quitted in the age of eighteen. In school he had some friends but he split already with some of them because of disputes during his time in school and after graduating they went in different directions and he lost contact.

In his twenties he moved to the prefecture Kanagawa to join the Self-defence Forces (*jieitai*). Although he made some friends there, many of them left after a short time. When asked how many friends he had in this time he answered that it were about 2-3 colleagues he used to hang out with. At the age of 26 he quit the Self-defence Forces.

After he left the Self-defence Forces he started to work for a newspaper delivery company

in Nara prefecture and married in the age of 33. He lived together with his wife and had two children. Today, they are about eleven and seven years old. In this period he was mostly occupied with his work and had no time for going out. His relation to his wife's family was strained. They met several times but, he pointed out, that their way of thinking did not go well together.

At the age of about 38 he split with his wife and came to Ōsaka. According to him he broke up because he accumulated debts. He was looking for a job for about one or two weeks but could not find one. Because his situation did not improve and he did not want to become homeless, he decided two months after he left his family to go to the city hall to get help. His psychological illness began exhibiting itself around this time.

He stayed for five months in the *Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2*. Because of his illness he was judged as unable to work by the doctor before he left the facility. While he was in the facility he had no contact to other people outside, but he pointed out that he also had no contact to people inside as well. Nevertheless he considered the people in the *jiritus shien sentā* as good. But it can be considered that this refers to the staff of the facility, who of course tried to help him.

Today he has no contact any more to his former wife and his children. He did not meet them again after he left them. He also claims that he has hardly no friends. He thinks that “even if I make some friends, [...] it ends up that we do not get well along.”²⁰ One of the few times he leaves regularly the house is to come to the *jiritus shien sentā* to work. He goes there for about 3-5 times a week. The people he speaks to there are basically the employees of the facility. Furthermore there is also one other former client he became a friend to. This friend comes very often to the *jiritus shien sentā* and is living in the neighbourhood. A is speaking to him frequently and sometimes goes to his place. But they do not go out together or participate in any other activities. In times A encounters trouble, he does not consult with this friend and relies more on the staff of the facility. If he does not work, he spends the whole day at home.

Next to the work in the *jiritus shien sentā* he does not participate in any activities, clubs or organisations. The only thing he considers as a hobby, and sometimes becomes a reason to go out, is *pachinko*²¹. But he can do this only about two times a month, because it is quite expensive. The main reason he raised as justification for not getting along with other people is a

20 *Tsukuttemo, [...] awanaku nacchau n desu.*

21 *Pachinko* is a gambling device filling a niche in the Japanese gambling industry comparable to slot machines in the West.

difference in ways of thinking. According to himself, people who have parents depend on them even if they do not live at home anymore, since they can come home anytime. This is different in his situation, because he can only rely on himself. People who have parents are used to relying on others and come to him in difficult situations for consultation. This is a practice he seems to dislike and does partake in himself. Therefore it seems to be for him easier to stay alone and avoid others.

6.3.2. The case of B

B had just started to work and left about one month ago the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2. He is 43 years old and lives in his own apartment in Ōsaka in the ward Konohana, the same ward the *jiritsu shien sentā* is located in. He came to the *jiritsu shien sentā*, because the staff was still administering his salary.

B lived most of his life in Ōsaka. When he started in elementary school, he moved with his parents to Ōsaka. Because his father switched his job frequently, their five child family lacked of money, even with his mother also working. B started to work at a restaurant after graduating junior high school at the age of fifteen. His mother got breast cancer in the age of 48 and died. His father disappeared after that and ceased contact with his children. B himself was already married at this time and lived with his wife and two children in an own apartment. Although two of his older sisters were already married and his younger brother had left home, his younger sister, who was still a high school student remained. Because his older sisters refused to look after her, he decided to let her live at his place. This became a source of conflict between them, and he lost contact with his older sisters and his brother.

At the age of 36 he divorced his wife. She continued to look after the children and he left home. From this time on he had no home any more, but this did not affect his life crucially. He was a long distance truck driver and used to live in his truck. During this time he had two or three friends who were colleagues at work and a girlfriend. As for other friends he met before, like former classmates, he had already lost contact.

Approximately one year ago he lost his job. From that time on he could not sleep any more in the truck and started for that reason to sleep in his own car. He continued this life for about four months. At this time he still had some money left from his former job, and could make a living. In addition to losing his job, he also lost his friends and broke up with his girlfriend. But he continued to have contact with his children. This contact broke when he finally

could not pay the bill for his cellphone. The final reason for his decision to go to the city hall and get help was that his car broke and he lost his sleeping place.

The *jiritus shien sentā* was introduced to him when he consulted with the staff at the city hall to apply for livelihood protection. When he lived in the *jiritus shien sentā* he did some different work. He wanted to work as a truck driver again and when he found a job like that he started to look for a flat and moved out.

Today he has no friends. He does not keep in contact to the people he met in the *jiritus shien sentā*. Although he told the staff his new telephone number, he did not tell it to other clients. He argues that he is not the type who treats friendships as important, although he had a good time with the other clients. For him it was important to have a good time with the people he lived together with. Because he started working only one month ago, he hasn't found any friends at his workplace yet. Currently he has no contact with his children and his former wife. He considers contacting them when he settled down properly. Since he started his new work about one month ago he had not very much spare time in which he could meet other people.

He does not speak with anybody outside of the *jiritus shien sentā* about his time there. But in general also in the past he was not used to speaking with friends about personal or important things. Today he meets only about two people frequently who are colleagues at work. His working hours are not fixed and he switches between the morning shift and the evening shift. His schedule is quite tight and he has not much time to do other things than work. After leaving the *jiritus shien sentā* he hardly ever spoke to the social workers. He only speaks to them when he comes to the facility and does not call them via telephone. There is no agreement between him and the *jiritus shien sentā* on how often he should come. With his recent situation he is quite satisfied and does not want his life to change much. For his future as well he has no big dreams. He just hopes to be able to save some money.

6.3.3. The case of C

C is a forty year old former client of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2. He has some psychological problems, has to take medicine and goes once a week to the hospital to consult with a doctor. He is living now in his own apartment, which is located in the same ward as the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2. He left the facility about three years ago and is now working half time and gets livelihood protection. In the afternoon he often visits the *jiritus shien sentā*

after work. C can be considered as an exception like A, because he frequently visits the *jiritsu shien sentā*, and because there are only two former clients who come frequently to the facility, he can be considered as the friend A spoke about.

C was born in the prefecture Hokkaidō at the countryside and is the youngest child in his family. After he graduated from junior high school in the age of fifteen he worked several jobs and joined the Self-defence Forces at the age of eighteen. After he left them at the age of 22 he worked at different companies, changing his job frequently. He worked in the production sector and as truck driver in different companies all over Japan. He always stayed in company dormitories which he had to leave after the job ended. Most of these jobs lasted only for one or two years. His longest employment was as a truck driver, where he worked for ten years. After quitting a job he usually came back to his parents home, and stayed there until he found a new one.

He is in contact with his parents and his sisters who are still in Hokkaidō. Both of his sisters are married and do not live at the family home anymore. His father died in an accident and his mother lives now alone. He himself was never married or experienced the desire to marry. Because of his unstable life he felt unready for marriage.

Before he became homeless at the age of 37 he stayed in a company dormitory belonging to the factory he worked for. When the job ended he had to leave the dormitory and because he lacked of money, as well as another reason he did not specify, he did not go back to Hokkaidō at this time. From this time on he had no contact to his family for the next three years. The reason he provided was that he did not want them to worry about him. First he spent the night in different places but finally he had no other opportunity other than sleeping in the park. He lived there a little bit longer than one week. Finally the consultation patrol found him and introduced him to the *jiritsu shien sentā*.

He stayed there for about six months. He considered his relationships with other people there as difficult, because of the high fluctuation and the different kinds of people who came. After leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* he worked for about one year as a truck driver. But he had to quit this job because of physiological problems. Now C is working part time. He started this work just a short time ago. At both workplaces he did not talk about his experience as a homeless or his time in the *jiritsu shien sentā*.

The period of three years in which he had no contact with his family covers also the time he has been in the *jiritsu shien sentā* and the period after that. But since a while he is again in

contact with his family. The contact is of mutual nature. This involves not only his mother but also his sisters. They are speaking on the telephone and they visited him in Ōsaka. He pointed out that they get along pretty well and he contacts them also when he has trouble to consult with them.

In the *jiritsu shien sentā* he speaks only to the employees. The people who lived there together with him already left and he does not know the new clients. Although he had a cell phone he did not stay in contact with any of the former clients. The staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā* contact him often and he consults with them about his problems. With the exception of the people from the *jiritsu shien sentā*, he could not make any friends in Ōsaka.

6.3.4. The case of D

D is forty years old and started working in a printing house of a newspaper agency eleven months ago. Now he lives in an apartment in the city of Ōsaka. He left the *jiritsu shien sentā* about eight months ago.

D was born in Ōsaka. When he was five years old, his parents divorced and he had to move together with his three younger siblings to his grandparents' place. After the kindergarten his father thrust them into a child care facility, and he stayed until graduating from junior high school in different facilities for children. He was very good in rugby and in junior high school he became one of the rugby representatives of Ōsaka, but after he started to work he could not go on playing rugby anymore. After junior high school he became an employee at a speciality store for eels through an introduction by some older colleagues in school. He worked at this company for three years. After that he started to work for a construction company and stayed there for the next twenty years, until he became homeless.

When he talked about his youth, he often said, that he did a lot of “bad things.”²² He had a lot of friends who were *yakuza* members and mentioned that he was doing drugs (*kakuseizai*). One day when he went out to drink he picked up a fight. About five people brought him to a parking lot and tried to kill him there. They did not succeed, but after that he had to stay for one and a half years in the hospital and still has a big scar running from the top to the bottom of his face. After this time he had to do about half a year rehabilitation; a time in which he could not work. But finally he recovered and could start to work again in the company he was employed with before.

22 *Warui koto*

About half a year after he left the hospital he married a friend of his sister at the age of about 28. The birth of his first daughter was a kind of turning point where he decided according to himself to stop doing “bad things”. He also gave up his old friends under which many *yakuza* members have been. His second daughter was born about one year after the first one.

His work forced him to go to many different construction sites all over Japan, and he was mostly separated from his family. Although he was away from home nearly all the time, he liked his work. His friends at this time consisted mainly of colleagues at work and employees of restaurants (*isakaya*) he went to. After he divorced approximately six years ago his wife, he started to live alone. At this time he had still the same work and rented an apartment close to the company. Approximately two years ago the company finally fired him and he gave up his apartment and came back to Ōsaka. He was looking for a job, but could not find one. After running out of money, he went to the city hall to get help. At this time he lived for approximately one month in a park.

He did not contact his family for about two months. But after this period he visited nearly every day his younger brother who worked in the neighbourhood. Although he was living in the *jiritsu shien sentā*, he told his family members and friends that he lives in a company dormitory. Next to his brothers D met also sometimes with friends in the city to have dinner. He was also in contact with his children in this time.

D finally found work through an announcement of the public job centre Harōwāku. The company was informed about the situation of D and his colleagues as well know that he was living in a *jiritsu shien sentā*. He had to do an internship for three months to prove that he was willing and able to work there. After the internship, he got money from city hall to pay the deposit and rent his own apartment and started to work as a regular employee at the printing house. The company has branches all over Japan and sometimes he has to go for a few days to other branches to help out. His job is maintaining the printing machine. This seems to be a rather difficult job, and although he started this work about eleven month ago, he stated that he is still learning about it.

Like pointed out before, he is in contact with his two daughters, who are now thirteen and twelve years old, and his ex-wife, as well as with his sisters and brother and their families. He as well as his sisters and brother has a bad relation to his parents. To his father he has only an indirect contact and to his mother he has no contact at all. But on the other side the siblings come along well. He did not tell his brothers or sister that he was homeless or that he stayed

in the *jiritsu shien sentā*. With the exception of the people he met in the *jiritsu shien sentā* and his colleagues at work, he speaks to nobody about this topic.

In the past he played sports in clubs, but quit this after he married. He still likes sports and often watches rugby games or karate. He goes to the gym about two times a week for training, but does this alone. His aim for the future is to become a father his children can be proud of when they grow up. Because he divorced he is afraid that he did bad things to his children as well. He regards himself as a very impatient person, who starts often to argue. Because of that he wants to become more patient.

6.4. The unchanged relations to the family

A comparison of the two surveys conducted under the clients and the former clients of the *jiritsu shien sentās* shows that during their stay only 11.7% of the clients had contact to their families. Under the former clients it were 14.5%. This is only a very moderate increase and reveals that most of the former clients do not feel able or want to contact their families again. This result is close to other research conducted in Tōkyō on leavers of the *jiritsu shien sentās* by a team of researchers around Nakajima Akiko. In their research 16.8% of the recipients could contact their families (Nakajima et al. 2010:1450). The small number of clients who return back to their parents after they left the *jiritsu shien sentā* could not be grasped by the survey conducted here. In the case of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Ōyodo it was only a very small group of not more than 2.5% of all clients until 2011 (Ōyodo 2011).

Table 16: Family members contacted after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā*

Type of employment	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing of money
Unemployed	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0
Insecure employment	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
Secure employment	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1

A closer look on the average number of family members divided according to the kind of employment and the function they fulfil reveals that the relation to the family plays only a minor role for the former clients. Only in the group of the unemployed a considerable number of them is still in contact with their families. In average they are in contact with about 0.6 family members. Furthermore after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* they have consulted an av-

erage of 0.7 family members. In the other groups of former clients in insecure and secure employment, no considerable contact to former family members could be established (compare to table 16).

The relation to the family seems to be only slightly influenced by the employment situation the former client is in. The idea that a job enables the clients to participate fully in society again seems to be wrong. Instead of contacting the family again after finding a secure job, the contrary seems to be the case. People who are unable to find an employment tend to contact and consult more family members than people who found a secure employment.

In this survey the topic of new partnerships or marriage after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* was not raised, but the percentage can be considered as very low. In a research on leavers of *jiritsu shien sentās* in Tōkyō only 8.4% of the respondents stated that they are in a relationship or married (Nakajima et al. 2010:1450).

In all four interviews, the core family of the former clients had similar characteristics, very often already from an early stage on. Two of the four former clients were raised in welfare facilities for children, and in the other two cases one parent died early through an accident or illness. Combined with other disadvantages, like in the family of B, where both parents had to work to provide for the children, this leads to a reduced function of the core family as supporter, and force the children to work after graduating from junior high school. Furthermore the family can become even an hindrance, like pointed out in an earlier chapter. The example of B showed that he although he was financially in a bad situation had to look after his younger sister, because of the death of his mother. This difficult situation led to conflicts between him and his other sisters, and finally became the reason for quitting the contact to them. The family is next to the workplace considered as the centre of identification. Through the weakening of this centre, entering in different networks becomes more difficult. Out of this background homelessness can easily emerge as an extreme form of poverty (Watanabe 2010a:360).

From their disadvantaged positions, all four respondents who had contact with their parents and siblings ceased this contact during the process of entering homelessness. In the case of C money played an important role in the relation to his family. He points out that: “[...] [B]ecause I ran out of money, I could not go back to Hokkaidō as well [...].²³” But this problem could not be just solved by the fact that he earned money again and he did not contact his

23 [...] *yappari okane wa naku natta n desu kara, de, hokkaidō ni mo kaerenakute [...]*.

family for three years. Although he started to work, he did not feel able to contact his family any more. He had to work very much and hardly found time to sleep. This led finally into serious health problems. Over this whole period he did not contact his family because he did not want them to worry about him. But now he is again in contact with his mother and sisters, and they came to visit him in Ōsaka. When he needs some help or want to consult about some troubles he calls them as well. The work he found after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* did not enable him to feel confident enough to contact his family again. When they finally contacted each other again, he lived already on livelihood protection.

The relation of D to his parents had been poor before he became homeless. He himself thinks that he can't go back home anymore, because he has done bad things to his parents and has only contact to his brothers and sisters. They have all their own families and he visits them now sometimes and brings toys and sweets for the kids. When he became homeless he did not want to rely on them “It was more important to me, it is embarrassing to call my sister or my brothers in a situation in which I have no work and no home.²⁴” He still keeps it a secret from them because he does not want them to worry about him. He met often with one of his brothers who works near the *jiritsu shien sentā*, but told him that he is living now in a company dormitory.

Furthermore, three of the four interviewed have been married and have children as well. Other research about homeless suggests that approximately 60% of the homeless have been married in the past. The tendency rises with increasing age. Approximately 50% of the 40-49 year old homeless, the group the four examples raised here belong to, are considered to be married before (Kawagami 2005:13-14). All of the three respondents who had been married left the home after the divorce. Their former wives stayed in their home to look after the children. The divorce didn't lead directly to homelessness in two of the three cases, and they could maintain a stable life for several more years. The end of employment became in all four cases the last step before homelessness. Often it was the lack of financial resources that led to the end of contact to the family.

B ceased contact with his children nearly at the same time when he came to the *jiritsu shien sentā*, and had since then no contact with them. “Well, I ran out of money and I could not contact them any more with the cell phone I had at that time. Since then I did not contact

24 [...] *shigoto naku natte, ie mo nai jōtai da to, kyōdai ni denwa suru no wa hazukashī no wa saki ni arimashita ne.*

them.²⁵” At the time of the interview he had just left the *jiritsu shien sentā* one month ago, and mentioned that he may contact them after everything settled down a little bit. But asked about his wishes for the future, contacting his children was not one of his priorities.

In the case of D the period until he contacted his children and brothers lasted only for two months, and it can be considered to be a break caused simply by lack of money. His divorce was already some years before he became homeless, but he still feels guilty towards his children and former wife: “I think the divorce is bad for my daughters now and I have done bad things to my wife as well.²⁶” Watanabe Kaoru, who did research on the social relations of former homeless who managed to move into apartments, found out that most of them do not have any contact to family members. For these individuals it is extremely difficult to return back into a social life when they have broken from it. Even for those who managed to restore their lives, it is difficult to maintain normal relations with family members (Watanabe 2010a:211). The case of A who lost his job nearly at the same time as he left his family five years ago without contacting them, can be considered as the most common situation. He describes the reason for this decision as follows: “[...] I want to meet them but, this is impossible because they don't want to see me. I think they don't want to see me again, and the children became older and forgot about me.²⁷” A further factor that may accelerate this notion is that the relation to the children and former wife may be associated with financial obligations. But this topic can not be examined with the data available here.

6.5. Work and social relations

Work is not only important because it is the focus of the *jiritsu shien sentā* but also because the workplace is next to the family in terms of most important centre for self-identification. The restructuring of self-identification after experiencing homelessness is therefore a high priority (Watanabe 2010a:360). This chapter examines if the employment the former clients have work as places where they can rebuild their social networks.

For most former homeless individuals, relations with the community are not very good, and many think that they can not go out. Therefore the workplace is one of the few sources of

25 *Eto, motomoto motte ta keitai ga tsunagaranaku natta n de, okane ga naku natta n de, de sorekara renraku totte inai n desu.*

26 *Mada yappari rikon shita koto de, ima musume ni mo warui na to omotte imasu shi, yome-san ni mo warui koto shita to omoimasu.*

27 *[...] aitai kedo, mō mukō wa iyagatte ru kara, muri deshō ne. mukō ga iyagatte, kodomo mo ōki ni natte ru kara, wasurete ru to omou shi.*

relations to the community they have access to (Watanabe 2010a:367). And in fact, work is for the former clients one of the most important sources for social contact. About 68.5% of the respondents of the survey had regular contact to colleagues at work. But considering that only 18.9% of the respondents were unemployed reveals that 12.6% had no regular contact to colleagues although they were in an employment, a considerable number of people who can not maintain any kind of social contacts through work. The colleagues at work become the most important source for mutual help, 17.9% of the respondents borrowed or lent something to their colleagues. Also for borrowing and lending of money they are the most important resource used by 8.9% of the respondents. But only 26.8% of the former clients consult with colleagues when they face some troubles. They rely more on other former clients or the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā* (compare to table 15).

Splitting up the relations in different kinds of employment reveals that the group that is able to build up large networks at work are the former clients in secure employment. The average number of colleagues the respondents had regular contact to is in this group with 9.4 people serving as the highest statistic. People in irregular or unsecure employment have only regular contact to 5.6 colleagues. Striking is here that for the former clients in insecure employment the colleagues are important for consulting, mutual help and lending and borrowing of money, but for the former clients in secure employment they play only a minor role for this. Partly this can be explained through the fact that they do not feel the need for doing so because they have everything they need.

Table 17: Average number of colleagues in contact after leaving the jiritsu shien sentā

Type of employment	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing of money
Insecure employment	5.6	1.6	0.9	0.5
Secure employment	9.4	0.4	0.1	0.2

But the interviews reveal that some of the clients could not build up social networks at their workplace already in the past. A for instance delivered newspapers and therefore was most times alone, bringing the newspaper to different households. He had nearly no time to speak to other colleagues. When he had some troubles he talked to his wife, who worked in the same company. But he pointed out in this context that she was most times busy with the children, suggesting that he could not consult with her when he had any troubles.

C as well faced work conditions that made it hard for him to build up social relations to colleagues or other people. He changed in the past often his job and moved to many different places to find new work. He worked in factories or also as a truck driver. His longest employment was as a truck driver, a work he did for ten years. The work started always at night from approximately 23:30 and ended at 6:30 in the morning. He could rest when he came home, but he had to work nearly every day. At this workplace he could make some friends as well. But his colleagues changed frequently, and the friendships did not last long. He did not get close to other people outside of the company he worked for. He lived in company dormitories, where he could make some friends, but this friendships always ended when he or the friend moved on to the next job. The frequent change of employment and home, made it difficult for him to build up and maintain relations to other people. This led to a certain notion of insecurity reflected in his attitude towards marriage: “I myself can't do it [marry]. I haven't gone so far yet.²⁸”

But in the other two cases work functioned properly as a tool for social inclusion. For example B recruited all his friends from the company he worked at. He had about two or three colleagues he considered as really good friends. He did also some activities with them beside work, like repairing a car together or going camping. All the other friends he made before moved on in different directions and he lost the contact with them. When he quit his job, the contact to his former colleagues stopped and he did not meet them again.

D, who worked in the past in a construction company, liked his job very much. After his first child was born, he decided to change his life and ended his relationships with his old friends. Many of them were *yakuza* members and it can be suggested that they were involved in the drug scene. Therefore he focused more on the people at his workplace and made many new friends. But this combined with business trips to other construction sites all over Japan, had the effect that he nearly never came home, and the relation to his family suffered from it. He suggested that this may be the reason why he finally divorced. After he was fired from the construction company he still stayed in contact with some of the people he became friends with, and today he meets them sometimes to go out and drink. He claims that he still has contact to about twelve people he worked together in the past. After he was fired and looked for a new job, he contacted also some of them and asked if they can help him to find a new job.

The closer examination of the relationship to the people at the past working places

28 *Jibun no koto wa mada amari dekinai n de, soko made wa itte inai n desu ne.*

showed, relationships to people at the workplace have several difficulties. Firstly, like the case of B and C showed is it difficult to maintain this relations after the employment ended, and cases where they continue to be of importance are rare. The case of D can be considered as one of this rare exceptions. Secondly, employment per se does not guarantee the social inclusion on a personal level. A and C could not build up long lasting friendships although they were working. Thirdly, like the case of D showed, certain working conditions, or an overemphasising of work and the social relations associated with it, can lead to disruptions of other social relations like the relation to the family.

After they left the *jiritsu shien sentā* two of the three interviewed were working full time and one was working part time. One who worked full time as a truck driver was B, who had just started to work about five weeks before the interview and could not make any friends at his new workplace. He speaks at work only to two people. This is an elderly lady at the office of the company and his superior who explained his tasks to him. He does not meet any other people at the workplace. The elderly lady in the office tells him what he has to do and what his next assignment is. Therefore he has contact to her nearly every day, but this conversation relates only to the work he does and he does not involve private matters. He contacts his superior when he has any questions about work. For example when he does not know where a certain place is, or when he does not know how to unload the truck. The conversations with the superior involves only work and they never speak about private matters. Although he has to do all different kinds of work in the company to get used to it, he points out that he hardly ever meets someone he can have a conversation with. For him, earning and saving money is the highest priority and therefore he wants to work as much as he can. “Even if I have a free day, I have nothing to do, [...] I just want to work.²⁹” In the five weeks he worked in his new job he had only two days off. On a normal workday he has to work approximately fifteen hours. From 6:00 in the morning to 23:00 in the evening or from 13:00 in the afternoon until 4:00 in the morning. When he works until 4:00 in the morning he comes home at 5:00 eats and takes a shower. At about 6:00 in the morning he goes to bed and gets up six hours later. Although his schedule is quite tight he is not bothered by it at all, because he does not know what to do when he is not working.

C as well worked as a truck driver after he left the *jiritsu shien sentā*. The working conditions there were close to the conditions B is working now. He had to work over seventeen

29 *Betsu ni yasumi ga attara, yaru koto ga nai n de, [...] shigoto dake shitai n de.*

hours a day. Most times from 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning until 19:00 in the evening. A situation that left him nearly no time for sleeping and was difficult to bear. After one year he could not continue this kind of work because he became ill. He got several physical and psychological problems. Furthermore he could not find any friends at this workplace as well. Today he is working only part-time. He is arranging bicycles at parking lots next to stations. He does this work alone and has nobody to speak with. After the work he goes always straight home without meeting colleagues. There are also no social events organised by his employer he can participate at. All in all both works he did after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā* did not function as places where he could build up relations to other people.

D is employed in a big newspaper company and works as a maintainer of the printing machine. The company has many branches all over Japan and sometimes he has to go on business trips, when in an other branch more labour force is needed. He has to work always for 26 hours and has the next day off. In one month he does this approximately thirteen times. The 26 hours include a time where he can sleep and take a break as well. He goes always around 18:00 to work and has to work until 3:30. After that he can take a nap until 10:00 in the morning and has to work again until 20:00 in the evening. The working conditions seem to be quite tough. D mentioned that the company employs most times only older people, because they can not afford to quit the job. Nevertheless he likes his job and since he is learning all the time new things he considers it as interesting. After work he goes sometimes out with colleagues or friends. He very much appreciates the fact that most of his colleagues are older than him. He likes to be around older people, arguing that this is because he is an orphan, and does not get well along with people of his age. He claims that he is at his new workplace in contact with 87 people he speaks to and considers as friends.

All three examples showed that the former clients accept very difficult working conditions. All of them work, or worked after they left the *jiritsu shien sentā* to a considerable part at night and had extremely long shifts. The case of C showed that this can lead to health problems and can have fatal consequences. Furthermore the works B and C do, like the truck driving or the arranging of bicycles do not allow them to build up any social relations at work and makes it difficult to maintain social contacts outside of work.

To find out if the workplaces of the former clients enable them to build up social relations, the respondents of the survey were asked if they participate in social gatherings (*konshin no kai, konshin no ba*) with their colleagues. Only a small number of 15.5% of the former clients

participated at least 1-2 times a month in a social gathering. The rest of the respondents answered that they hardly never or never participate in such activities. Splitting the respondents into former clients in secure employment and former clients in insecure employment reveals, that those in secure employment tend to participate much more in social gatherings than those in insecure employment. While 38.5% of the respondents in secure employment participated at least 1-2 times a week in a social gathering with colleagues, only 7.7% of former clients in insecure employment did so (compare to table 18).

Table 18: Participation with colleagues in social gatherings

	1-2 times a week or more	1-2 times a month	Hardly never	Never
All	2.2%	13.3%	20.0%	64.4%
Secure employment	7.7%	30.8%	15.4%	46.2%
Insecure employment	0.0%	7.1%	25.0%	67.9%

Comparing this data to the data from the *white book concerning citizens life* (Nakiakufu 2007) reveals that the participation in social gatherings with colleagues is far beyond the national average in the case of the former clients. Only the former clients in secure employment (*seishain*) are close to the national average of people in secure employment. About 8.0% of this participate 1-2 times a week in social gatherings with colleagues and 47.7% do participate 1-2 times a month. But when it comes to the insecure employment (*pāto, arubaito*) the participation is far below the average. 4.3% of them participate 1-2 times a week in social gatherings and 35.0% do so 1-2 times a month (Naikakufu 2007:138).

Table 19: Eating together with colleagues at the workplace

	Nearly every day	1-2 times a week	1-2 times a month	Hardly never	Never
All	8.9%	8.9%	6.7%	20.0%	55.5%
Secure employment	23.1%	7.7%	15.4%	15.4%	38.5%
Insecure employment	3.6%	10.7%	3.6%	25.0%	57.1%

As an additional measurement to reveal the potential of a workplace to build up social relations the respondents were asked how many times they eat together with their colleagues at their workplace. Only 24.3% of the respondents ate 1-2 times a month or more with their colleagues and 55.5% answered that they never eat at their workplace with their colleagues. Here

as well the group of former clients in a secure employment tend to eat much more times together with their colleagues than the former clients in insecure employment. While 23.1% of those in secure employment ate nearly every day with their colleagues, only 3.6% of those in insecure employment did this. Conversely, 38.5% of the former clients in secure employment never eat together with their colleagues, and of the former clients in insecure employment 57.1% never eat together with their colleagues at work (compare to table 19).

Comparing this data to the data from the *white book concerning citizens life* (Nakiakufu 2007) reveals here as well that the employment of former clients provide lower social integration. About 46.7% of people with secure employment (*seishain*) eat nearly every day with their colleagues, 12.8% do so 1-2 times a week and 11.1% do this 1-2 times a month. This tendency is under the people in insecure employments much stronger. About 42.0% of people in insecure employment (*pāto, arubaito*) eat nearly every day with their colleagues, 11.4% do so 1-2 times a week and 10.2% do so 1-2 times a month (Naikakufu 2007:138).

This suggests that especially the insecure employment support the rebuilding of new networks only very inadequate. For most of the former clients the relation to the people at work does not exceed the relation necessary to work with each other. But like the case of B and C shows work can become also a hindrance to engage in other activities. When B who worked a lot was asked how he thinks his life should change, he pointed out amused:

I have not many needs. If I continue living like this, I only need to go home, eat and sleep. To do something like going out and having fun after 4:00 in the morning is not part of it.³⁰

B seems to be quite satisfied with his situation, but he hardly has any other choice than carrying on like this. He very strongly focuses his life on work, that becomes a reason for its own. B for instance has no concrete plan for what he will spend the money he earns. He does not want something to come into this life. Asked about a girlfriend, he answered that it would be all right if he would find one during his daily routines, but he does not want to go out and look for one.

For him work is crucial for being a part of society: “In the time I did not work and in the time I was in here (*jiritsu shien sentā*), [...] I was not part of society³¹” He argued that it is necessary to work for ones own living to be able to live. If one does not work he can't live anymore, and therefore only those who work are part of the society. Now he considers himself at

30 *Amari iyoku ga nai n de ne. mō konna seikatsu shite tara, uchi kaette gohan tabete neru dake da kara, asa 4 ji kara asobi ni iku toka wa nai shi ne.*

31 *Hataraitte inakatta toki, koko ni itte ru toki wa [...] shakai no naka ni haitte inai n de.*

the bottom of society, but as part of it. When he lived in the *jiritsu shien sentā* he considered himself not as a part of society. The other interviewed shared this thought, but it was not so distinctive. C for example answered on the question how he thinks that his future will be: “I think I will become healthy again and want to drive again trucks like at Pasoka [the company he was employed as a truck driver after he left the *jiritsu shien sentā*].³²” The problem with this notion is, that he had no other visions for his own future. The only person that had other desires for his future than work was D: “I was married in the past [...] and have two daughters. When this daughters become older I want to become a kind of father they can be proud of.³³”

The people who come to the *jiritsu shien sentā* are convinced that they can work and want to work. In order to keep them motivated this notion is accelerated during their stay. Therefore they give work the priority and tend to suppress other needs. A dangerous notion, because most of them are unable to find an appropriate job, and lack other meanings in life. Furthermore, it does not go well together with obtaining livelihood protection, like Watanabe Kaoru pointed out. For people who want to work for their living, it is difficult to live from livelihood protection. Although the livelihood protection benefits cover the means of subsistence, the former clients hardly never go out, have no relations to other people and are at risk to withdraw from society. One of the former clients Watanabe interviewed described the difficulties as follows: “To get livelihood protection is not to be self-sufficient. There is nearly no one who moved into an apartment and works. Even if they are young. Under the people I know there have been people who worked and moved into apartments. But some years later, when I heard about them, they were homeless again (Watanabe 2010a:214-215).³⁴”

Work showed to be one of the places where the former clients tend to be in contact with other people. This proved to be true especially for those people who found a secure form of employment and in companies which provide conditions under which the employees can build up social relations to other clients. Former clients in insecure employment tend to have not so favourable working conditions, but use their networks more for consultation, mutual help and borrowing and lending of money. Nevertheless, the work the former clients are able to find tends to have bad conditions for the rebuilding of social networks.

32 *Karada naoshite, futsū ni pasoka nanka mata unten shite yatte ikitai na to omoimasu.*

33 *Jibun mo mukashi kekkon shite ta n desu kedo, musume futari ite ru n desu ne. yappari sono musume ga ōkiku natte, yappari jiman dekiru otōsan mitai na kanji ni naritai na to omotte ru n desu.*

34 *Seikatsu hogo wa jiritsu shita uchi ni wa hairanai n da na. Apāto itte shigoto o yatta hito, nakanaka inai ne. wakai hito de mo ore no shitte iru hito, shigoto yatte apāto haitta hito ita yo. Nannankan ato ni hanashi kiitara, mata hōmuresu da yo tte.*

6.6. The relation to former clients as chance and risk.

Although most of the clients were only for a very short time homeless in which they could not build up relations to other fellow homeless, the time in the *jiritsu shien sentā* can become the basis for this kind of social relations. During their stay 95.0% of the clients have regularly contact to other clients. Furthermore 66.7% of the clients consulted with other clients and 50.0% used this relations for mutual help. Therefore the *jiritsu shien sentā* can be considered as a place where also longer lasting friendships to other clients occur frequently. Social gatherings conducted by the facility for former members can be considered to be influential on this relations after they left as well.

In fact after their leave 34.5% of the former clients still have contact to other former clients they met at the *jiritsu shien sentā*. Next to the workplace placement, this is the most important source for social relations (compare to table 15). Although nearly twice as much former clients claim that they have regular contact to colleagues at the workplace, they tend to consult about their problems more with other former clients than with colleagues. It can be considered that by sharing the same space and experience during their stay in the *jiritsu shien sentā* they can develop relations to other clients in which it is possible to speak about their troubles without being afraid to bother others. These contacts are next to the work colleagues an important source for mutual help and lending and borrowing of money.

Table 20: Contact to former clients after leaving the jiritsu shien sentā

Type of employment	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing of money
Unemployed	1.0	0.3	0.1	0.1
Insecure employment	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.1
Secure employment	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3

Splitting the relations to former clients up into different kinds of employment reveals that unemployed tend to have contact to more former clients with an average of 1.0 people. Followed by people in insecure employment who have contact to an average of 0.7 former clients and people in secure employment who have contact to an average of 0.5 former clients. While all three groups use this relations to an nearly equal extend for consulting, mutual help and lending and borrowing of money seems to be done rather by the former clients in secure employment (compare to table 20).

Only two of the four interviewed former clients had contact to other former clients. One of them was A, who comes 3-5 times a week to the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2 to work. There he meets a friend who lived with him together in the facility. Because this friend lives close to the *jiritsu shien sentā*, they sometimes go to his place. They meet only in the *jiritsu shien sentā* and go to the home of one of them, but do not go out together or make other activities. A points out that this is possible, because this friend lives in the neighbourhood. If he lived far away, they would not be able to meet. He speaks only about trivial things with this friend and does not consult on important matters with him. C is also in contact with one former client. He comes frequently to the *jiritsu shien sentā* after work but does not speak to most of the clients. He explained that they stay only for about half a year and the people he met during his stay already left the *jiritsu shien sentā*. Furthermore he pointed out that while he lived in the *jiritsu shien sentā* there had been troubles with other clients. According to him, they result out of the fact that always different kinds of people are coming and going. C did not explain where he meets with the former client. But A as well as C can be considered as exceptions, because normally the former clients do not come regularly to the *jiritsu shien sentās*.

B, who has no contact to other clients any more, told only the members of the staff his cellphone number, but did not tell it the other clients and does not contact other clients by his own. He argues that he is not the type who has a lot of friends and that he does not treat friendship as important. "During the time I was here I tried of course to have a good time. [...] [B]ecause it is better to have fun while living together, I spoke of course to everyone, but after I left, I did not consider them as friends any more.³⁵" In all three cases it seems that nobody made a conscious decision to stay in contact with other clients. In the case of A it just seemed to happen that he met other people in the *jiritsu shien sentā*. Furthermore it seems that if a former client coincidentally lives near by it will potentially lead to continued friendship. However, B seems to be very busy and has no chance to meet other clients and does not make an effort to do so.

Watanabe points out that in many cases the network former homeless have access to is next to work only other individuals who have been supported by the same organisation. This relations are all born out of the fact that they have been homeless and have therefore two basic problems. The first is that this networks are stigmatised because they consist only of formerly homeless individuals. The second is that through the importance of this relations they are at

35 *Koko ni itte ru toki wa, tōzen tanoshiku shimasu kedo, [...] dōsei seikatsu tanoshii hō ga ii kara mina shabettari tōzen shimasu kedo, koko dette kara made, tomodachi to iu no wa omowanai.*

risk to become homeless again. Because they don't want to stay alone in their apartments, they go back to friends and places of their time spent as homeless. When they do so they start to drink again and they risk returning to homelessness. Former homeless individuals who are aware of this risk do not return to places where they once slept rough (Watanabe 2010a:212-213). The relations to former clients seem to be formed more by chance than by preference. This relation give them a space to speak about their problems but bear on the other side the risk that they fall back into old patterns of behaviours like drinking and become homeless again.

6.7. Contact to the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā*

About 72.7% of the former homeless have still regular contact to the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentās*. This high number can be considered to be influenced by the kind of people selected in this sample. The contact to the *jiritsu shien sentās* was a precondition to be part of the sample. Furthermore 67.9% of the former homeless have consulted with the staff since they left the facility (compare to table 15). A number close to the results of Inazaki Tadashi who did research on former clients of the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū. He interviewed a wide range of former clients who left in various ways. Even people who became homeless again were included. All of the respondents stated that they had someone to consult when they are in troubles. In his research 71.4% of the former clients still consulted with the staff. Far more than any other type of partner (Inazuki 2008:15).

Table 21: Contact to the staff after leaving the jiritsu shien sentā

Type of employment	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing of money
Unemployed	2.7	2.0	0.5	0.0
Insecure employment	1.6	1.8	0.3	0.0
Secure employment	1.6	0.9	0.1	0.1

Splitting the results of the survey on former clients up in different kinds of employment reveals, that the unemployed have with an average of 2.7 social worker more regular contact than the former clients in insecure and secure employment who have regular contact to only an average of 1.6 employers each. Former clients who are unemployed or in an insecure employment consulted with an average of 2.0 or 1.8 social workers. The former clients in secure

employment consulted with an average of only 0.9 social workers, only half as much as former clients who are unemployed or in insecure employment (compare to table 21).

The former clients have a good relationship with the social workers at the *jiritsu shien sentā*. A and B as well mentioned that these staff members are good people who helped them concerning different matters. A is today in contact with two members of the staff, one who is responsible for aftercare and the other one is the director of the *jiritsu shien sentā* who he talks to when the other person is not available. He consults with them when he is in trouble. C as well speaks with about two employees. Not only they contact him regularly, but also he himself contacts them to consult when he is in troubles and needs help.

B as well feels close to one employee who was responsible for him during his stay. He speaks to him about private matters when he comes to the *jiritsu shien sentā*, but since he has to work nearly all the time and just left the facility five weeks ago, this happened only one time when the interview was conducted. Since he trusts the management of his salary to the *jiritsu shien sentā*, he has to go there from time to time. When he goes there, the staff always ask him how he is doing.

The relation to the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentā* is important, because the former clients are used to get help from them and they do not have to be afraid that they bother them with their problems. Furthermore compared to other relations they are able to reach also the people in secure employment and consult with them. But on the other side the existence of this relation may be a hindrance to develop other relations whom the former clients can consult about their problems.

6.8. Social activities and other friendships

Former clients are slightly more likely to involve in social activities like in neighbourhood organisations, old boys clubs, activities concerning hobbies, or volunteer activities than the current clients. While only 8.3% of the clients involve in such activities (compare to table 15), 10.9% of the former clients do so. But still this number is very low compared to the national average. According to this about 32.6% participate in activities outside their company (*shagai no hito to no kōryūkai ya benkyō no ba*). But the people in secure employment (*seishain*) tend to participate more in such activities. 41.8% of people in secure employment participate in such activities while only 18.8% of people in insecure employment (*pāto, arbito*) do so (Naikakufu 2007:139-140).

Splitting up the relations of the former clients in different kinds of employment, like in table 22 reveals that mainly the unemployed are involved in such activities. They meet an average of 3.0 people at such activities. People in insecure employment meet an average of 0.6 people at such activities and people who are in secure employment do not participate in such activities at all. The relation to the people they meet in community activities seems to be very weak and does not involve activities like consulting, mutual help or lending and borrowing of money.

One of the reasons for the scarce participation of former clients in social activities may be the unsteady life they lived before. For instance C changed his job and the place he lived frequently. Therefore it can be considered as difficult for him to participate in such activities. He never thought about joining a club or an other kind of organisation. Although he liked sports as a kid, he stated that he has no hobby now and never found anything he was particularly interested in. A as well has nearly no hobbies that involve social interaction. When he does not work, he spends the whole day at home. He describes this as follows: “If I do not have [work], I hang around at home doing nothing or sometimes I go out and play pachinko. I do that, but most times I stay at home. Hanging around doing nothing.”³⁶ It can be considered that most of this activities are volunteer work, that is done as a substitute for work.

Table 22: Contact to community activities after leaving the *jiritsu shien sentā*

Type of employment	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing of money
Unemployed	3.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
Insecure employment	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Secure employment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

But also the working conditions make it difficult to participate regularly in activities or organisations. The case of B, who had in five weeks only two free days, shows that it is difficult to participate in such activities. Furthermore uneven work times and night shifts like in the case of D can be considered to make it difficult to participate in any kind of regular activity.

38.3% of the clients have relations to other people who are not family, colleagues, people related to the *jiritsu shien sentā* or people met at social activities. 23.8% have consulted people from this group and 15.6% used this relations for mutual help. Next to the staff and

³⁶ [naishoku] nakattara, [...], ie de bōtto shite ru toka, tokidoki pachinko e ittari. Yatte imasu kedo, hotondo ie ni icchaimasu ne. ie de bōtto shite imsu.

other clients they were the most important source for advice and mutual help. But after they left the *jiritsu shien sentā* only 22.6% of the clients still have contact to this group. 16.1% consulted with them and only 3.6% used this kind of relation for mutual help (compare to table 15). The decline of the contact with this kind of friends is difficult to explain. A possible reason may be explained by the story of D. Many of his friends were *yakuza* and people who were doing drugs. After D's daughter was born he decided to stop meeting them. It is possible that some clients split with friends whom they considered bad company in order to start their lives new.

Splitting up this relations in different kinds of employment reveals that basically the unemployed former clients and those in insecure employment have regular contact to people of this group. The unemployed have on average contact to 0.8 and the former clients in insecure employment to 0.6 people of this group. The unemployed consulted with an average of 0.6 people of this group and the former clients only with an average of 0.3 people. For mutual help this relationships were only used by the unemployed to an average of 0.2 people (compare to table 23).

Table 23: Contact to other people after leaving the jiritsu shien sentā

Type of employment	Regular contact	Consulting	Mutual help	Lending and borrowing of money
Unemployed	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.1
Insecure employment	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0
Secure employment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

The lack of friendships evolves during the process of becoming homeless. A good example therefore is the case of B. He had a lot of friends, like children from friends of his parents or former class mates, before he married. But this changed over time and his circle of friends started to concentrate more around work. The loss of friends is strong connected with the loss of employment and divorce. He describes this as follows: “There is no one. When I quit work, I lost contact to my friends at work and also when I divorced I lost contact to this friends [the friends he had together with his wife] as well. I have now no friends at all.³⁷” Now he considers himself as a person who does not make many friends and does not consider them as important.

³⁷ *Itte inai n desu. Mō shigoto yameta jiten de, shigoto nakama to mo awanaku natta shi, de rikon shita jiten de mo kono tomodachi to awanaku natta n de, boku ima tomodachi nanka itte inai n desu yo.*

Some of the former clients generally have trouble when dealing with other people. A for instance pointed many times out during the interview, when speaking about his relations to other people, that “his way of thinking does not match with the way of thinking of other people.³⁸” For him this is the reason why he does not get well along with other people. According to him, people who have parents depend on them even if they do not live at home any more. They can come home any time. This is different from his situation, because as an orphan he can only rely on himself. Furthermore they come in difficult situations to him to consult. Something he seems to dislike and does not do himself. Because of this problems it seems to be for him easier to stay alone and avoid others. He has no friends and thinks that “even if I make some friends, [...] it ends up that we do not get well along.³⁹”

D who was raised in a child welfare facility considers his personality as well as problematic. Although he goes out a lot and has many friends he does not get well along with younger people and prefers to mingle with older people. He thinks that this is because he was raised as an orphan. Furthermore he regards himself as a very impatient person, who often starts arguments, especially in his past. Because of these previous experiences of anger and impatience, he wants to improve his character and become more patient. Therefore it can be concluded, that for many of the former clients it is difficult to build up relations to other people because of incidents in the past that influence their personality. But also their work can be seen as a hindrance to participate in community activities and built up relations to other people.

38 *Kangaekata ga awanai*

39 *Tsukutte mo, [...] awanaku nacchau n desu.*

7. Conclusion

A certain lack of social relations play an important role in the process of becoming homeless in Japan. People who have disadvantaged social networks, whether through the loss of one or both parents or unfavourable occupation conditions, are at higher risk of becoming homeless. Homelessness also triggers the loss of social relations, because of shame and fear of becoming a burden to others. Therefore it can be suggested that social relations are important for the success of homeless support to reenter mainstream-society as well. Past factors for social exclusion can not only be found on the level of physical and financial capital. Also a low human capital which the social relations are part of is an important factor that accelerates the process of becoming homeless.

The idea of the *jiritsu shien sentā*, to enable the homeless to become self-sufficient through their own work, seems to be following the self-responsible theory. The homeless get as much help as is necessary so that they can live again on their own, and therefore do not have to live on livelihood protection. Initially this seems to be the ideal solution, because it reduces the involvement of the state to an minimum and at the same time protects the pride of the supported.

But this approach gives the responsibility for the success of the support back to the individual. Instead of perceiving homelessness as an systemic failure, the support of the *jiritsu shien sentā* places in Burchardt et al. terms “the individual's behaviour and moral values at centre stage (Burchardt et al. 2002:3)”. People who became unable to support their lives by their own actions should be enabled to overcome their unfavourable situation by reducing systemic disadvantages on the individual level (lack of address, guarantor etc.) as well as individual shortcomings (alcoholism, debts, etc.). In addition, the *jiritsu shien sentā* is an approach that seeks to differentiate between the worthy and unworthy poor (Gill 2001a:20) – those who are considered to be able to work and those who are considered to be unable to work – and therefore works against social solidarity, that is already weak towards homeless in the Japanese society. Violent attacks on homeless individuals became a regular occurrence in the middle of the 1990s (Gill 2005:193), as well as a nationally adopted attitude of self-responsibility show the seriousness of this lack of social solidarity toward homeless, and the necessity for a more sensitive tool of social inclusion. The increasing use of livelihood protection for the leavers of the *jiritsu shien sentā* in the last years made it possible to get help without finding work and reduced this differing function.

Because of the strong focus on work in the *jiritsu shien sentā*, the attitude of self-responsibility of the clients is accelerated. All clients who were not judged as unable to work aim to find some kind of employment. The problem here is that this strategy does not work out for most clients, and many times the *jiritsu shien sentās* fail to provide an alternative strategy of inclusion on the level of social relations, although in the last years the number of clients who successfully apply for livelihood protection raised. Instead of that the support raises the notion of being different and not accepted by the rest of the society through the daily routine. Furthermore, the stay in the facility is considered as highly stigmatised and the clients try to hide this fact as far as possible. During this time they experience being members of a group that exhibits solidarity to its members, but is perceived as a nuisance by the local community. Next to the psychological effect on the clients, it leads also to barriers, like the curfew, becoming an hindrance for social participation. Nevertheless this may be an improvement for people who have been homeless for a longer period. But for people who have never experienced homelessness or lived only a few days on the street, this situation may have a serious effect on their relation to other people that would be avoidable.

The *jiritsu shien sentā* supports basically two types of social relations. Through enabling the clients to find a job, they can build up new relations to other people at the workplace. Furthermore about one third of the former clients stay in contact with other people who lived in the *jiritsu shien sentā* at the same time. Because the great majority of clients is not able to find a job and the first type of social relation can be built up by only a small percentage.

For those who found work, it turned out to be not the ultimate tool for inclusion on the level of social relations. The former clients in secure employment do not join social gatherings with colleagues as often as the national average does, and they do not eat as frequently with their colleagues at work. A reason for this can be external influences that provide an inferior milieu at work for the rebuilding of social networks. But also internal influences that hinder the former clients from social interaction are possible reasons for this outcome. The fear of revealing his own past or a notion of guilt can be considered to become obstacles. Furthermore the social relations beside the workplace of former clients in secure employment have also a characteristic pattern. It seems to be difficult for them to build up relations to people who are not related to work. They have less contact to former clients as well as to the staff of the *jiritsu shien sentās* compared to the other former clients. They do not participate in social activities and have no contact to other people. The number of family members former

clients are in contact with does not change significantly according to their employment situation. Irregular working hours and night shifts which hinder the former clients in secure employment to meet or get in contact with other people can be raised as external influences responsible for this pattern. Because of the tough situation, they were confronted as homeless, and the support in the *jiritsu shien sentās*, focusing mainly on work, they developed an attitude that gives priority to work and, like the pattern of their social relations suggests, to the relations associated with it. This attitude can be raised as internal influence forming the social relations of former clients in secure employment.

The most diverse social network can be built up by former clients in insecure employment. But it has to be considered that the employment situations of the people in this group are very diverse and range between only some few hours work a week to the extent of a full time employment. The milieu at their workplaces provides only inferior conditions for the rebuilding of social networks. Only very few of them participate in social gatherings with colleagues or eat together with them at the workplace. But on the other side, the colleagues become an important source for consultation, mutual help and lending and borrowing of money. Furthermore they participate to a small extent in community activities and many of them have also contact to other people. The difference to the pattern of social relations of former clients in secure employment can be explained by other external influences. Most of the former clients in insecure employment do not have to work as much as those in the secure employment and therefore have more time to build up social relations beside the workplace and this lifestyle enables them to give priority to other things than work.

The tendencies observed under the former clients in insecure employment are stronger under those who are unemployed. Although their total of contacts on one day is smaller than that of the other two groups they have more contact to other people outside of the workplace. Many of them have regular contact to other former clients and other people. Furthermore they are most likely to participate in community activities where they get in contact with other people as well. But this relations seem to be very weak, and most times do not fulfil supportive functions. The absence of a job has the negative external influence on the social relations that the number of people met every day is very low, and they easily face social isolation. However, a lack of work does not hinder them from participating in the local community.

The results prove only to a certain point the hypothesis – clients who successfully negotiate the barriers and find work also manage to rebuild their social network. Through full em-

ployment, the former homeless get easily in contact with many people, but the social networks they are able to build up are very unbalanced. They consist to a large part only of colleagues and sometimes of some other former clients. It does not enable them to contact their families, build up new families or participate in community activities. Furthermore the relations to colleagues at the workplace of the people in secure employment are normally not used for consulting or any kind of mutual help. The *jiritsu shien sentās* do not actively support the rebuilding of social relations. But the time in the *jiritsu shien sentā* together with other people leads often to relations who are also sustained after the leave and become important for consultation and mutual help. The job hunting support is for the rebuilding of social relations a mixed blessing. If the clients succeeds in finding a job it prevents them from social isolation, because they are in contact to many people. But the workplace of former clients tend to support social relations only to a low degree and becomes an obstacle for social relations outside of the workplace.

It is not so easy to answer if this social relations are able to hinder the former clients to become homeless again. But, like Masuda Jin showed, former clients of *jiritsu shien sentās* with a high number of social relations have also more trust in society and a higher will to live (Masuda 2010:165). On the contrary a sudden reduction of social relations may lower the trust in society and the will to live leading eventually to homelessness. Therefore especially the former clients in secure employment, who have mainly only contact to work-colleagues are at risk to become homeless again when they lose their job.

8. Appendix

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8.5. Interview guideline and questionnaires

8.5.1. Guideline for the qualitative interviews

Interview partner: Former homeless individual who became self-sufficient (he can live by the money he is earning), former homeless individual who receives social security and works, former homeless individual who lives on social security;

Point of view (paint a picture)

Aim: Find out the values of the interview partner. How is the interview partner thinking about his present situation? Is he satisfied or not? Does he perceive himself as equal? Does he feel that he can participate in society? Where is he unsatisfied with his present situation?

Content: “Where is your place in society? Please paint a simple picture. (The picture can be abstract as well.)” Let the interview partner explain the picture.

Background

Aim: Information to build categories. How do events of the past influence the present situation?

Content:

- The relation to your family in the past (parents, brothers and/or sisters; What kind of problems existed? Living together and so on)
- Educational background (How many years? What kind of school? Why did you quit?)
- Employment history (Why did you quit?) Did you work in Kamagasaki (as a day labourer)? What kind of work and what kind of employment situations?
- Where did you live?
- Have you been married? Are there any children?
- How many months have you been homeless? Where and how did you live?
- How was your relation to other people during the time as a homeless (family, former friends, other homeless)? How did you feel towards people who have not been homeless?

Social relations

Aim: To find out the level of social inclusion on the personal level. Ask directly.

Content:

- Do you have friends? What kind of people are they? What kind of people are your good friends? (What characteristics? How do you judge them?) Where did you meet them? What do your friends work? What do you do when you are together with them? If it is possible let him paint a picture again.
- The relation to the family (Have there been any changes? Why have there been changes or no changes? What kind of relation do you wish to have to your family?)
- New family (Mind the age!) (Did you marry again? Do you have a partner? Do you have children?)
- Do you participate in any club or organisation?
- What kind of people did you tried to become friends with but failed? (Why didn't it work out?)
- Did you ever tried to participate in a club or organisation but failed to do so? (Why couldn't you do so?)

8.5.2. Questionnaire of the survey conducted on the former clients

Osaka City University, Graduate School of Letters

Johannes Kiener, research student

I am a master student from the University of Vienna, and stay now at the Osaka City University as a research student financed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. In the moment I write a thesis about the effect of the homeless self-sufficiency support in Japan. This survey has the aim to examine social relations of people who use the *jiritsu shien sentās*. Social relations are “your relations to other people”.

In the following I ask you to write about your present situation. Furthermore don't forget the questions about social relations on the backside of this sheet of paper and answer as detailed as possible.

I will use this personal informations only for research, and will analyse it in a way that one particular individual can't be identified. To fill out the survey will take a view minutes, and I ask you kindly for your cooperation.

① About your present situation

Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2/Ōyodo/Yodogawa			/ /2011		
1-1 Year of birth (A.D.)		1-2 The total time of living as rough sleeper	(days)	months	years
1-3 The last time of entering the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	month	year	1-4 The last time leaving the <i>iritsu shien sentā</i>	month	year
1-5 The highest education (check only one)	<input type="checkbox"/> junior high school	<input type="checkbox"/> high school	<input type="checkbox"/> professional school	<input type="checkbox"/> university	<input type="checkbox"/> others
1-6 Your present residential situation (check only one)	<input type="checkbox"/> apartment, mansion	<input type="checkbox"/> cheap urban hostel, hotels or others	<input type="checkbox"/> staff-dormitory, live-in	<input type="checkbox"/> home of parents or friends	<input type="checkbox"/> others
1-7 The present employment situation (multiple answers possible)					
<input type="checkbox"/> normal employment	<input type="checkbox"/> contract, temporary job	<input type="checkbox"/> part-time job	<input type="checkbox"/> day labour	<input type="checkbox"/> unemployed (<input type="checkbox"/> looking for a job)	<input type="checkbox"/> others
1-8 Average working hours in one week (including overtime work)		1-9 Average number of free days in one month			

1-10 Do you feel any physical or psychological hindrances in your daily life? (check only one answer)			<input type="checkbox"/> I think so	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't think so	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know
1-11 Did you participate in any social activities ⁴⁰ after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> (check only one)			1-12 About what do you want to consult at the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> (multiple answers possible)		
<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> life	<input type="checkbox"/> health, medical treatment	<input type="checkbox"/> housing
			<input type="checkbox"/> work	<input type="checkbox"/> human rights	<input type="checkbox"/> others

②③ With how many people did you meet at the following occasions.

2-1 To how many people did you have contact on average during a normal day after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Here having contact is not only when you greet, talk or discuss with someone one-to-one, but also when you speak to someone at the phone, write a letter or have contact through the internet. It does not matter if the opponent is someone you know or you don't know. In the case you had contact to nobody, the answer is "0".

2-2 Please write in the matching boxes to how many people (estimate) you had repeatedly contact after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . The definition of contact is equal to the definition in 2-1(prior). In the case there is nobody you had repeatedly contact to the answer is "0".					
family members		work colleagues		former clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

2-3 With how many people did you consulted about problems at work and in life or exchanged opinions after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Please write in every box. If there is nobody you consulted or exchanged opinions with, the answer is "0".					
family members		work colleagues		former clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

40 "Social activities" are following four kinds of activities: neighbourhood associations or resident's association; other organisations formed around the living area (clubs for elderly people and others); sport-, hobby-, or amusement-organisations (every kind of sport, art or culture activities and others); NPOs, volunteer organisations and citizen movements (elderly people, welfare for handicapped people or children, cleaning, disaster prevention and others);

3-1 How many people did you help or were helped, lent something or borrowed something after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Please write in every box. In the case that there is no one of this kind of people the answer is “0”.					
family members		work colleagues		former clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

3-2 Was there anyone who lent you money when you needed some after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Write in every box how many people helped you. In the case that nobody lent you something or it was not necessary to borrow money, the answer is “0”.					
family members		work colleagues		former clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

④ People who are not in employment do not have to answer the following two questions (4-1, 4-2). Please select the best matching answer.

4-1 How many times do you met with your work-colleagues at social gatherings after you left the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> .				
<input type="checkbox"/> more than 1 time a week	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 or 2 times a month	<input type="checkbox"/> nearly never	<input type="checkbox"/> never	

4-2 How many times did you eat together with your colleagues at work after you left the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> .				
<input type="checkbox"/> nearly every day	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times a week	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times a month	<input type="checkbox"/> nearly never	<input type="checkbox"/> never

⑤ How do you think about the following three sentences. Select one answer. (For comparison I use here the same questions used before in a survey on the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū.)

5-1 Around me are many people, but when it matters there is no one I can rely on. In the end everyone is alone.				
<input type="checkbox"/> I think it is exactly like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I think it could be like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't really think that it is like this	<input type="checkbox"/> it is really not like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know

5-2 Although you do something clever, in the end the successful people win				
<input type="checkbox"/> I think it is exactly like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I think it could be like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't really think that it is like this	<input type="checkbox"/> it is really not like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know

5-3 I am in this world an existence that is important for society.				
<input type="checkbox"/> I think it is exactly like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I think it could be like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't really think that it is like this	<input type="checkbox"/> it is really not like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know

8.5.3. Questionnaire of the survey conducted on the current clients

Osaka City University, Graduate School of Letters

Johannes Kiener, research student

I am a master student from the University of Vienna, and stay now at the Osaka City University as a research student financed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. In the moment I write a thesis about the effect of the homeless self-sufficiency support in Japan. This survey has the aim to examine social relations of people who use the *jiritsu shien sentās*. Social relations are “your relations to other people”.

In the following I ask you to write about your present situation. Furthermore don't forget the questions about social relations on the backside of this sheet of paper and answer as detailed as possible.

I will use this personal informations only for research, and will analyse it in a way that one particular individual can't be identified. To fill out the survey will take a view minutes, and I ask you kindly for your cooperation.

① About your present situation

Jiritsu Shien Sentā Maishima 2/Ōyodo/Yodogawa				/ /2011	
1-1 Year of birth (A.D.)		1-2 The total time of living as rough sleeper	(days)	months	years
1-3 The last time of entering the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>			month	year	
1-5 The highest education (check only one)	<input type="checkbox"/> junior high school	<input type="checkbox"/> high school	<input type="checkbox"/> professional school	<input type="checkbox"/> university	<input type="checkbox"/> others
1-7 The present employment situation (multiple answers possible)					
<input type="checkbox"/> normal employment	<input type="checkbox"/> contract, temporary job	<input type="checkbox"/> part-time job	<input type="checkbox"/> day labour	<input type="checkbox"/> unemployed (<input type="checkbox"/> looking for a job)	<input type="checkbox"/> others
1-8 Average working hours in one week (including overtime work)			1-9 Average number of free days in one month		
1-10 Do you feel any physical or psychological hindrances in your daily life? (check only one answer)		<input type="checkbox"/> I think so	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't think so	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know	

1-11 Did you participate in any social activities ⁴¹ after leaving the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> (check only one)		
<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't know

②③ With how many people did you meet at the following occasions.

2-1 To how many people did you have contact on average during a normal day after coming to the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Here having contact is not only when you greet, talk or discuss with someone one-to-one, but also when you speak to someone at the phone, write a letter or have contact through the internet. It does not matter if the opponent is someone you know or you don't know. In the case you had contact to nobody, the answer is "0".

2-2 Please write in the matching boxes to how many people (estimate) you had repeatedly contact after coming to the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . The definition of contact is equal to the definition in 2-1(prior). In the case there is nobody you had repeatedly contact to the answer is "0".					
family members		work colleagues		current clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

2-3 With how many people did you consulted about problems at work and in life or exchanged opinions after coming to the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Please write in every box. If there is nobody you consulted or exchanged opinions with, the answer is "0".					
family members		work colleagues		current clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

3-1 3-1 How many people did you help or were helped, lent something or borrowed something after coming to the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> . Please write in every box. In the case that there is no one of this kind of people the answer is "0".					
family members		work colleagues		current clients of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>	
employees of the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i>		people form social activities		other people	

41 "Social activities" are following four kinds of activities: neighbourhood associations or resident's association; other organisations formed around the living area (clubs for elderly people and others); sport-, hobby-, or amusement-organisations (every kind of sport, art or culture activities and others); NPOs, volunteer organisations and citizen movements (elderly people, welfare for handicapped people or children, cleaning, disaster prevention and others);

④ People who are not in employment do not have to answer the following two questions (4-1, 4-2). Please select the best matching answer.

4-1 How many times do you met with your work-colleagues at social gatherings after you came to the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> .				
<input type="checkbox"/> more than 1 time a week	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 or 2 times a month	<input type="checkbox"/> nearly never	<input type="checkbox"/> never	
4-2 How many times did you eat together with your colleagues at work after you came to the <i>jiritsu shien sentā</i> .				
<input type="checkbox"/> nearly every day	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times a week	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times a month	<input type="checkbox"/> nearly never	<input type="checkbox"/> never

⑤ How do you think about the following three sentences. Select one answer. (For comparison I use here the same questions used before in a survey on the Jiritsu Shien Sentā Kitakyūshū.)

5-1 Around me are many people, but when it matters there is no one I can rely on. In the end everyone is alone.				
<input type="checkbox"/> I think it is exactly like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I think it could be like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't really think that it is like this	<input type="checkbox"/> it is really not like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know
5-2 Although you do something clever, in the end the successful people win				
<input type="checkbox"/> I think it is exactly like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I think it could be like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't really think that it is like this	<input type="checkbox"/> it is really not like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know
5-3 I am in this world an existence that is important for society.				
<input type="checkbox"/> I think it is exactly like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I think it could be like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't really think that it is like this	<input type="checkbox"/> it is really not like this	<input type="checkbox"/> I do not know

8.6. About the author (in German)

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Lebenslauf

1982 Geboren in Seewalchen am Attersee in Österreich

2002 Matura an der Höheren Technischen Lehranstalt für Kunst und Design, HTL1 Linz

2004-2008 Bakkalaureatsstudium der Japanologie an der Universität Wien

2008-2012 Masterstudium der Japanologie an der Universität Wien

2009-2010 Erasmus Aufenthalt an der Oxford Brookes University in England von September 2009 bis Jänner 2010

2010-2012 Forschungsaufenthalt mit einem Stipendium des japanischen Ministeriums für Erziehung, Kultur, Sport, Wissenschaft und Technologie (Monbukagakushō) an der Osaka City University von Oktober 2010 bis März 2012

8.7. Abstract (in German)

Der Einfluss der japanischen Strategie der Unterstützung zur Wiedererlangung der Selbständigkeit von Obdachlosen auf soziale Netzwerke

Eine alternative Evaluation des *jiritsu shien sentā* als Instrument zur sozialen Integration

Die japanische Regierung reagierte auf den Anstieg von Obdachlosigkeit in den 1990ern mit einer Reihe von unterschiedlichen Gegenmaßnahmen. Den Kern dieser Maßnahmen bildet das im August 2002 beschlossene Sondergesetz zur Unterstützung der Selbständigkeit von Obdachlosen (*hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien nado ni kan suru tokubetsu sochihō*). Dieses Gesetz stellt die finanziellen Mittel und einen Leitfaden für die Unterstützung Obdachloser bereit. Der Leitfaden sieht vor, dass den Obdachlosen durch Vermittlung von Arbeit, die ein Leben ohne weitere Unterstützung ermöglicht, geholfen werden soll.

Neben einigen anderen Maßnahmen wurden in den großen Ballungszentren *jiritsu shien sentās* (Zentren zur Unterstützung der Wiedererlangung von Selbständigkeit) errichtet und zirka 19% aller Obdachlosen, die um Hilfe ansuchen, nützen diese. Ziel dieser Einrichtungen ist es den Obdachlosen durch die Bereitstellung eines Schlafplatzes und allen zum Leben notwendigen Gütern sowie medizinischer Betreuung, Unterstützung bei der Arbeitssuche und anderen Hilfeleistungen, zu ermöglichen durch ihre eigene Arbeit selbstständig zu leben.

Während sich die Forschung, die sich mit den *jiritsu shien sentā* beschäftigt, sich meistens auf die beiden Themen Arbeit und angemessene Wohnverhältnisse konzentriert, beschäftigt sich diese Arbeit mit den sozialen Beziehungen die ehemalige Klienten zu anderen Menschen aufbauen können. Die zentralen Fragen sind: Wie beeinflusst der Aufenthalt in einem *jiritsu shien sentā* die sozialen Netzwerke der Klienten? Trägt die Unterstützung der Einrichtung dazu bei soziale Netzwerke aufzubauen? Sind diese Netzwerke stark genug um eine erneute Obdachlosigkeit zu vermeiden? Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, stützt sich die Arbeit auf eine Hypothese von Joel F. Handler, die besagt, dass Inklusion durch Arbeitsverpflichtung widersprüchlich ist, weil Personen die nicht den Anforderungen der Arbeitswelt entsprechen ausgeschlossen werden.

Da die regionalen Behörden, die die Unterstützung der Obdachlosen durchführen unterschiedliche Strategien verfolgen, beschränkt sich diese Arbeit nur auf die Stadt Ōsaka. Im Zeitraum zwischen Dezember 2010 und Oktober 2011 wurden mehrere Interviews mit den Direktoren der *jiritsu shien sentās*, einem Sozialarbeiter und vier ehemaligen Klienten

durchgeführt. Zusätzlich stützt sich die Arbeit auf zwei Umfragen die im September 2011 realisiert wurden und die vorhandene Fachliteratur.

Zunächst wird in der Arbeit das Phänomen Obdachlosigkeit in einem japanischen Kontext analysiert. Meist sind ältere Männer, die ihre Arbeit verloren haben und noch zu jung sind um eine Pension zu beziehen von Obdachlosigkeit betroffen. Auch Charakteristika von sozialen Netzwerken Obdachloser werden angeführt. In Folge bietet die Arbeit eine Übersicht über verschiedene in Japan praktizierte Arten der Obdachlosenhilfe. Schließlich folgt eine Analyse des *jiritsu shien sentā* und seinem Unterstützungsangebot, die dieses auf die Fähigkeit zum Aufbau von sozialen Netzwerken überprüft. Das letzte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den sozialen Netzwerken von ehemaligen Klienten, gestützt auf Umfragen und Interviews.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass sich die sozialen Beziehungen der ehemaligen Klienten, die Arbeit finden konnten, großteils nur auf den Arbeitsplatz beschränken und sie dies nicht dazu befähigt wieder Ihre Familien oder ehemalige Freunde zu kontaktieren. Im Gegensatz dazu haben ehemalige Klienten in unsicheren Beschäftigungsverhältnissen, wie Teilzeitarbeit oder Vertragsarbeit, und Arbeitslose ehemalige Klienten vermehrt Kontakt zu anderen ehemaligen Klienten und Freunden. Da sich die Beziehungen der ehemaligen Klienten in sicheren Beschäftigungsverhältnissen großteils nur auf den Arbeitsplatz beschränken, würde der Verlust der Arbeit auch zu dem Verlust der meisten sozialen Kontakte führen und verhindert dadurch nur zu einem sehr geringen Teil den Wiedereintritt in die Obdachlosigkeit.