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Homeless Policies from Day Laborer Ghettos to the Entrepreneurial Welfare City

An Account on Osaka City's Changing Geographies of Public Assistance

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Content

1. Introduction

In Japan public assistance used to be strongly residualized since the oil crisis of the 1970s. Keynesian welfare policies were rejected in favor of supply-side accumulation strategies, focusing strongly on work provision as poor relief. Active informal welfare practices, a status-segregated social insurance system based on occupational welfare for "core" workers, and low spending on personal social services, designed to support self-help, mutual aid, market welfare activities and enterprise welfare developed instead (Kono 2005). For instance, policies concentrated on keeping down the cost for social welfare by strengthening the role of families as providers for personal care, involving a tightening of eligibility for public assistance, cutbacks in the child allowance program and special child-rearing allowance for single mothers, as well as encouraging co-residency (Peng 2002). Therefore, the Japanese welfare state was often referred to as "residual" or in Bob Jessop's (1993) words, advanced "Schumpeterian workfare state".

This situation started to change at the beginning of the 2000s, when public assistance became to be widely applied to solve rising issues of homelessness and poverty after the burst of the bubble economy. The results were rapidly increasing numbers of public assistance receiving households, concentrating heavily in inner city areas of major Japanese cities. This tremendous increase of public assistance receiving households, its geographical concentration and the housing business related to it became soon a major concern of the public debate, and governmental bodies at all administrative levels started to engage in the planning and realization of new policies to mitigate emerging issues.

1.1. Research Aim, Data and Method

These changes of public assistance have been studied from various points of view, that can be roughly divided into four groups. The first group relies heavily on publications of governmental institutions, and focuses on policy changes of public assistance over time (Makizono 2017, Takechi 1989, Uchida 2014), working out contradictions between the constitution and the praxis of public assistance allocation (Ikeda 2011), or analyzing the relation between policy changes and the number of public assistance recipients (Zhou & Suzuki 2011). The second group focuses on welfare facilities run under the Public Assistance Act (*seikatsu hogo-hô*), unveiling how their role and clients changed over time (Eguchi 2003, Takama 2004), or how they engage in supporting an independent life in the community of their clients (Mizuuchi 2010a, ZKSK 2012).

The third group of research that focuses especially on the role of public assistance as

support for homeless people – a recurring topic also in research without this explicit focus – unveils the weakness of current allocation practices (Saga 1998, Suzuki 2008). Finally, the fourth group consists of considerable research that has been done on housing for public assistance recipients, focusing on its role for the revitalization of old buildings and local communities (Mizuuchi 2013, 2018, Yamamoto 2010), on the role of special types of housing like supportive houses (Inada 2011, Shirahase 2014, 2017) or free and low budget hostels (Yamada 2016), or showing how housing for public assistance recipients geographically dispersed over wider inner city areas (Mizuuchi 2007, 2010b).

While this research brought many valuable insights, it has some shortcomings. First, research that analyzes public assistance over a longer period of time lacks other empirical material than documents of government institution. Second, research employing empirical material, like those focusing on homelessness or housing for public assistance recipients has always a short-term perspective. Third, most empirical research engages with short term policy aims, like "How can we support the homeless?" or "How can vacant buildings be revitalized?" Fourth, a focus on the city as geographical unit in which public assistance policies are reinterpreted is missing.

This research aims to fill these gaps by analyzing government documents and empirical data on public assistance over a timeframe of 25 years from 1990 to 2015. Osaka city, an administrational unit that can actively influence the provision of public assistance, is employed as field of analysis, focusing especially on its policies towards homeless people, including day laborers and other people without adequate housing. The aim of this approach is to uncover the public assistance geographies and their changes, by focusing on welfare state restructuring at the urban scale, the so called urban welfare regime. The analysis employs three questions to describe the relation between Osaka city's policies and the geographies of public assistance:

- How does the urban welfare regime reframe individuals who receive public assistance, and which changes can be identified over time?
- How does the way of providing public assistance and the role of state agencies in it change over time?
- How are actors engaged in the provision of public assistance change over time and how are they governed by the local state?

Out of the particular local context of Osaka city I deploy my inquiry on public assistance and its changing geography, by focusing on homeless people. This research aims to contribute to following five discussions found in the academia:

1. Contribute to long-term accounts on the restructuring of public assistance, through a comprehensive picture of changes in a local public assistance system that relies on

both the study of government documents and empirical data.

2. Contribute out of the Japanese context to the international discussion on welfare state restructuring, strongly coined by the experiences of America and European cities.
3. Contribute to the discussion on the distribution of welfare services and their clients in cities.
4. Contribute to the discussion on inner city housing by describing changes that go beyond the popular topics of gentrification and decay.
5. Finally, by linking this research to the ongoing debate on public assistance, I also attempt to contribute to current political discussions aiming to improve the provision of public assistance, especially in regard to housing.

The data used for this research consists of three separated sets, that were roughly collected between 2010 and 2017 during a permanent research stay in Osaka city. Nevertheless, for certain interview series a stricter research design, conducted during a controlled timeframe, was adapted. The data itself is confined to the time period from 1990 to 2017 (often only available until 2015) and to the geographical region of Osaka city. In the following an overview on the data is provided.

A) Restructuring of public assistance in Osaka city

The first data set aims to capture the major changes of public assistance allocation in Osaka city mainly utilized in chapter three and four. It consists of two major groups. The first group aims to capture changes that had an impact on Osaka cities welfare regime and were induced by the central government. These are notifications regarding public assistance released by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (*kōsei rōdō-shō*). Based on secondary literature notifications considered to have an impact on the handling of homeless people were identified and gathered from the *Collection of ordinance notifications in relation to public assistance (Seikatsu hogo kankei hōrei tsūchi-shū)*. Further this was also the revision of the Public Assistance Act in 2014, and other laws considered to influence public assistance, namely the Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People (*hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien tō ni kansuru tokubetsu sochi-hō*) and the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People (*seikatsu konkyūsha jiritsu shien-hō*). The text of the revision and the laws was looked up on the homepage *e-Gov Japan (Denshi seifu no sōgō madoguchi e-gov)*, which provides the original texts of all laws.

The second group of data illustrates the changes that occurred in Osaka cities welfare regime. Based on the secondary literature, interviews and onsite visits, all institutions

in Osaka city that deal with public assistance, the two other related laws, or were support programs for homeless people run by Osaka city were identified and their particular role for welfare provision as well as its changes were outlined. In order to identify the weight of a particular institution in the welfare regime and eventual changes of it, the number of facilities, beds and clients per fiscal year (from the begin of April to the end of March) during the research period, was collected. For facilities run under the Public Assistance Act data was collected from the *Data Collection of Osaka City's Civilian Program (Osaka-shi minsei jigyō tōkei-shū)* (1990-1999), the *Data Collection on Health and Welfare (Kenkō fukushi tōkei-shū)* (2000-2010), and the *Data Collection of Osaka City's Welfare Program (Ōsaka-shi fukushi jigyō tōkei-shū)* (2011-2015). For all other institutions data were provided directly through their homepages or personal requests.

B) Public assistance geographies and the inner city

The second data set is used to identify the inner city areas that were most effected by public assistance in Osaka city and outline their characteristics. It is mainly utilized in chapter five. This is conducted through a spatial analysis employing the *National Census (kokusei chōsa)* (1990-2015), that provides information on the characteristics of the inhabitants, and data from the *Survey on Housing and Land Statistics (jūtaku tochi tōkei chōsa)* (2013), that provides information on housing units.

Spatial information about public assistance recipients is further provided by the before mentioned *Data Collection of Osaka City's Civilian Program* (1990-1999), the *Data Collection on Health and Welfare* (2000-2010), and the *Data Collection of Osaka City's Welfare Program* (2010-2015). This data was complemented with spatial information from the *Osaka City Statistical Yearbook (Ōsaka-shi tōkei-sho)*, in cases it was necessary.[1] Since all data, with the exception of the National Census from 1995 on, is provided on the ward (*ku*) scale the analysis was confined to Osaka city's 24 wards.

C) Welfare housing in Nishinari Ward

The final data set that was utilized were qualitative interviews. In order to give an account on housing for public assistance recipients, so called "welfare housing", identify the actual problems it is facing and understand the strategies, that were applied to house

[1] The results of both data sets differ slightly, because the *Data Collection of Osaka City's Civilian Program*, the *Data Collection on Health and Welfare* and the *Data Collection of Osaka City's Welfare Program* use the numbers of a fiscal year's average month, and the *Osaka City Statistical Yearbook* uses the numbers of March, the last month of every fiscal year.

public assistance recipients, half structured interviews with people involved in the development of housing were conducted. These were mainly landlords or real estate agents that operate in Osaka city's Nishinari ward, which had the highest share of public assistance receiving households. In the case of real estate agents, their representatives or long serving staff were interviewed in their shop, in a nearby coffee shop or the Nishinari Plaza of Osaka City University. The interviews itself were conducted between August 2015 and January 2017 and were supplemented with data from a previous survey conducted in 2007. An outline of the topics the interviews focused on is provided below.

- About the interviewee: In order to provide information about the relevance of the interviewee and the reason for engaging in housing business for public assistance recipients some personal questions were asked. This involved questions about the age, educational and employment background, or the motivation and timing of her/his involvement in this business.
- About the company: In order to get an outline of the business some questions about the company were asked. This involved questions about the history of the company, the employees, the services provided by the company, the number of buildings it deals with, methods of procuring buildings, methods of finding residents, or the reason for running business in this area.
- About the buildings: In order to get an image about the living environment provided, information about the owned or contracted buildings were collected. This involved questions about the location, building type, installed facilities, renovation or other physical characteristics. In addition, also questions concerning the operation, maintenance, rent, contracts and rentability were asked.
- About the neighborhood: In order to give an account on the relation between the housing business for public assistance recipients and a particular location, information about the neighborhood of the buildings were collected. This involved, accessibility, welfare facilities in the vicinity, the relations between local communities, the landlords, real estate agents and their residents, or major changes that occurred in recent years in a particular building's vicinity.
- About the residents: In order to get an idea about the typical customers, questions about the residents were asked. This involved questions about the residents' sociological characteristics, their source of income, health and social issues, or reasons for moving in and out.

In addition, also interviews with builder's offices involved in the development of welfare housing and members of the local communities were conducted. These interviews were unstructured and used to get wider information about the neighborhood and

especially its buildings, and their history.

1.2. Osaka City, the Geographical Focus

In recent years studies of welfare regimes employ increasingly an approach that focuses on the city scale, on so called "urban welfare regimes" (Marr 2016). Although the welfare state is an institution that determines the provision of welfare through policy outlines there are a number of reasons for assuming that welfare policies differ according to cities. At the very basic level this derives from a gap between problem interpretation of policy makers and practitioners. As Michael Lipsky (1980) points out, organizations engaging with the poor – termed by him "street-level bureaucracy" – have their own views of how to provide care to their clients, that cannot be subsumed under sate imperatives.

Regime theorists that focus on governmental and non-governmental actors as well point to local differences of the welfare state. They argue that for the delivering of distinct but also congruent agendas resources need to be mobilized and coordinated (Davies & Pill 2012). This means that the realization of welfare is constrained by local conditions (for instance fiscal and economic necessities). While it is possible to overcome local constrains by reshaping them through cross-sectoral governing arrangements, they carry the potential of forming local differences (Mossberger 2009).

Further difference is also created by the competition for influence among various actors in urban settings, reinforcing political, economic, and social differences (Marr 2016). Further, differences emerge out of the spatial concentration of services in hubs, or on the other side a rather even distribution of them over the whole city. These local differences are created by NIMBY (not in my backyard) movements, whereby residents or other urban actors oppose the positioning of social service providers in certain areas of the city (Marr 2016).

The Japanese welfare state does not only differ strongly from its European and American counterpart by a lack of the succession of a Keynesian welfare state by a leaner Neoliberal welfare state model, mostly described in the literature on welfare state restructuring (for instance Jessop 1993, Peck 2003, Wolch 1990), described earlier. It used to be also characterized by welfare services, provided mainly by the state and firmly in the hands of the central government. It directly administered public assistance and strictly controlled social services, that were outsourced to private organizations (Fujimura 1999).

Nevertheless, in Osaka city a public assistance system developed around the local

yoseba Kamagasaki, a day laborer district, that differed strongly to other places, often referred to as “Osaka System (*Ōsaka hōshin*) (Saga 1998). Through interventions by the state, Osaka prefecture and city, in the 1960s the *yoseba* was transformed into a place where in a confined area with all the issues concerning the lives of day laborers were dealt with (Haraguchi 2003). Inside of this area a set of mainly by the city provided services, channeling away day laborers from public assistance, was set up.

Next to this historical legacy, also recently the city government actively interfered into public assistance policies, especially after the number of recipients increased dramatically in the aftermath of the global financial turmoil in 2008. In order to prevent business that provides inferior services to public assistance recipients to maximize profit, dubbed "poverty business (*hinkon bijinesu*)”, the city discussed already in 2009 countermeasures, and started them in 2010, long before the national government took action (Shirahase 2014). When subsequently Hashimoto Tōru the former governor of Osaka province, who had founded the Osaka Restoration Party (*ōsaka ishin no kai*) in 2010 which is still in office, became major of Osaka city, Kamagasaki became once again the center of policy intervention. In 2013 the Nishinari Special Ward Initiative (*Nishinari tokku kōsō*) was started with the definite aim of improving the *yoseba* Kamagasaki (Suzuki 2017).

Further, the presence of Kamagasaki, the largest *yoseba*, in Osaka city attracted also a large number of day laborers, who are at high risk to become homeless people, and are therefore a crucial issue concerning public assistance. It was estimated that during the bubble economy in 1986 around 25,000 day laborers stayed in this area. At its height in 1989 on an average day 5,220 people found work through the Airin Center (*Airin sōgō sentā*), that had been installed in order to monitor the local day laborer market (Shirahase 2017).

There was always a considerable number of homeless people in and around Kamagasakai, and during the height of the bubble economy in 1990 more than 400 homeless people were counted (Niwa 1992). During the 1990s the number of homeless people increased and when in 1998 the first homeless survey was conducted in Osaka city 8,660 people were counted (Mizuuchi 2001) far more than in any other city of Japan at that time. A survey conducted in the following year revealed that 57.9% of the homeless people at that time had experienced the life in Kamagasaki before (OSDTMK 2001). Although this rate decreased over time, it stayed in Osaka city a crucial factor, and accounted in 2012 still for 47.9% of the homeless people (MHLW 2012).

Finally, Osaka city has one of the largest inner city areas in Japan, which is in two ways an important factor for the analysis of public assistance geographies: First, the

population of the inner city, including the day laborers in Kamagasaki, is highly prone to public assistance because of the socio-economic disadvantages it experiences; Second, the inner city housing stock provides affordable housing that is able to absorb public assistance recipients who are on a low budget.

Focusing on its origin in the process of urban development, David Ley (1991) defined the inner city as a working class residential area mixed with factories and warehouses that developed during industrialization, and is characterized by high residential density and a poor living environment. Nowadays it is often depicted as a residual of older times in which development occurred as monocentric agglomeration, persisting in an environment of increasing metropolitan implosion, fragmentation and dispersion (DeVerteuil 2015).

In Osaka city, inner city areas developed from the start of industrialization in the late 19th century. Next to laborers' quarters adjacent or inside major factories of the heavy and machinery industry or textile industry, relatively marginal laborers' districts were growing at the fringe of the old urban core. These districts were typically inhabited by workers of small factories, descents of the *burakumin*[1], day laborers, and immigrants from the Korean peninsula (Mizuuchi 2011). With the enactment of the first Urban Building Act (*shigaichi kenchikubutsu-hō*) and Urban Planning Act (*toshi keikaku-hō*) in 1919, streets were (re)adjusted and the quality of buildings improved (Terauchi 1991). However, the construction of substandard wooden tenement houses continued beyond the end of the Second World War. Along with the flophouses for day laborers (Haraguchi 2003) and shanty towns, which emerged after the aerial bombings of the Second World War (Motooka 2015), these wooden tenement houses made up the bulk of the inner city housing stock.

The fate of inner city housing in Japan changed during the second half of the 20th century. This was partly a result of the Improvement Act for Residential Areas (*jūtaku chiku kairyō-hō*), which facilitated especially the redevelopment of *burakumin* areas into public housing estates (Mizuuchi 2011). In spite of this partial upgrading, there has been disinvestment in the remaining private rental housing stock since the 1970s. Due to strengthened regulations for industrial production in urban areas, factories were being relocated, causing the tenant base to erode gradually (Takayama 1982).

After serious economic crises at the beginning of the 1990s, Japan oriented itself stronger globally, further accelerating deindustrialization. Consequently, the number of blue collar workers living in the inner city rapidly decreased. Especially Osaka city, which used to be a vibrant industrial city, was heavily hit by this development and has lost more than 50% of its blue-collar workers (Kiener 2018). As a result, the inner city

population steadily declined, and some areas have lost nearly half of their residents since the mid-1960s (Mizuuchi & Kiener 2017). This translated into high vacancy rates, declining land prices, dilapidation of the built environment and even the complete abandonment of unprofitable property (Makino 2014), eventually pushing the inner city housing market into serious crisis.

1.3. Japanese Public Assistance

In Japan public assistance is a stable institution, based on the Public Assistance Act. The act has a long history starting already before the Second World War. The first law providing support for the poor was the Poor Relief Act (*kyūgo-hō*) enacted in 1929. Although it was at that time a progressive law that defined the provision of welfare as task of the state, it had some major shortcomings. Under this law the status of poor relief recipients was not guaranteed and the provision of welfare to the poor was not defined as state duty. Next to these shortcomings its importance decreased relatively due to the enactment of other new laws, like the Mother-child Protection Act (*boshi hogo-hō*) and the Military Assistance Act (*gunji fujo-hō*) in 1937, and the Medical Care Protection Act (*iryō hogo-hō*) in 1941.

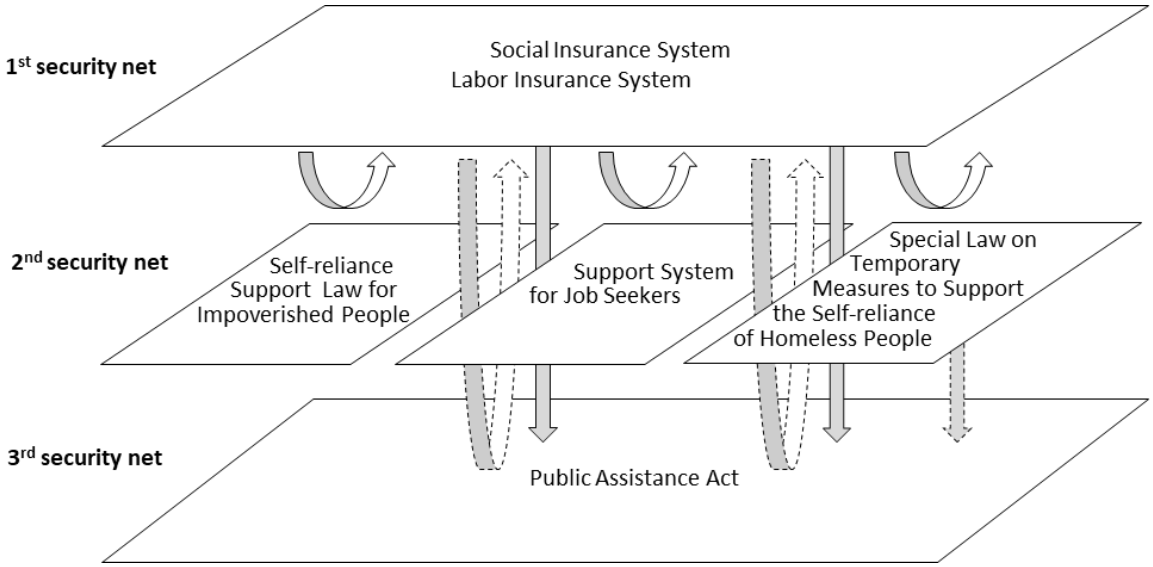
The first Public Assistance Act was enacted in 1946, in the chaotic period right after the Second World War, a time in which poverty was a striking problem. The most significant achievement of this first law was, that it defined the provision of public assistance as duty of the state, that has to be conducted non-discriminatory and equal. But nevertheless, it did not grant its recipients the right of actively claiming public assistance payments. This was in conflict with the new constitution enacted in 1947, and its legal status became to be widely interpreted as unlawful (KGK 1986).

As a respond to this problem, the Public Assistance Act was completely revised in 1950 and is operating since then without other major revisions (Uchida 2014). In contrast to its predecessor the new Public Assistance Act is firmly based on article 25 of the Japanese constitution, stating that "all people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living (MJ 2017)." Article one of the Public Assistance Act responds to this: "…, the [Japanese] state is providing the necessary public assistance according to the level of poverty to all citizens who are living in poverty, intending to guarantee a minimum standard of living as well as to promote self-support (Uchida 2014:2)". This gives all in poverty living Japanese citizens the right to receive public assistance and defines a living standard it guarantees. Together with a wider range of benefit types a system for filing complaints was also implemented in the

new Public Assistance Act (KGK 1986).

Today public assistance forms the lowest security net in the Japanese social security system shown in figure 1.3.1. This system is based on three security nets that prevent people from extreme forms of poverty. The first security net consists of the social insurance system and labor insurance system that protects all people under regular employment, aiming to overcome crisis while in employment.

Figure 1.3.1 The Japanese social security system



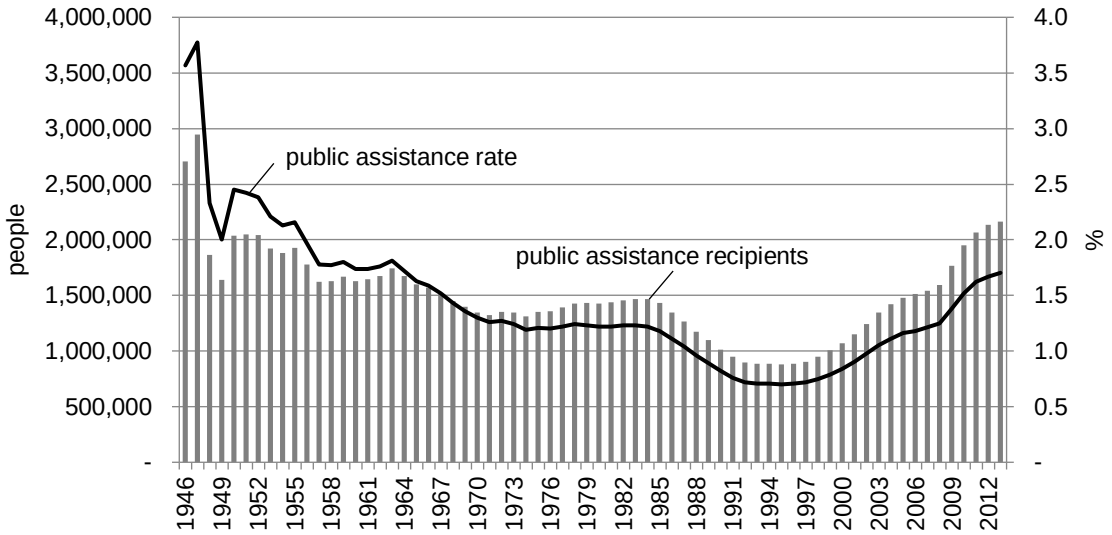
Source: Illustration is a modified version of MHLW (2013)

Under this layer a second security net exists, that supports people that dropped out of employment by helping them to find a new job. Initially, this security net was provided by a Support System for Job Seekers, but was extended by two further support programs. This is the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People that was enacted in 2002. It aims to counter homelessness through so called self-reliance support, utilizing employment assistance as central support strategy. Subsequently, for people not considered as job-ready a second road into public assistance was introduced to this program. Furthermore in 2015 the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People, aiming to make people self-reliant through work, was added to the second security net. The second security net is followed by the third security net formed by the Public Assistance Act (*seikatsu hogo-hō*).

While the Public Assistance Act underwent no major revisions, the public assistance rate, shown in Figure 1.3.2, exhibits considerable fluctuations. After the Second World War it reached its all-time high of 3.8% (2,947,295 people) in 1947 under the old law and

2.5% (2,038,474 people) in 1950 under the new law. Although not in absolute numbers, from there on the public assistance rate decreased almost continuingly until the 1990s. But in the years between 1990 and 2015, this trend made a fundamental change. At the beginning of the 1990s the public assistance rate was still decreasing under the influence of the bubble economy and reached its all-time low of 0.7% (882,229 people) in 1995. From there the development changed radically showing a steady increase until today. In 2013 the public assistance rate had more than doubled, reaching 1.7% (2,161,612 people), a height that was last seen in 1964.

Figure 1.3.2 Public assistance rate and public assistance recipients in post war Japan



Source: MHLW (2016);

Not all areas in Japan are equally effected by the increase of public assistance recipients as is shown in figure 1.3.3. The comparison of Japan's six largest cities reveals, that Tokyo metropolis, Yokohama, and Nagoya city have generally a lower rate of public assistance receiving households, than Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe city in the Kansai region. Furthermore, these three cities have a less developed concentration of public assistance recipients in particular (special) wards.[2]

Nevertheless, following pattern and wards that exhibit a particularly high rate of public assistance receiving households can be identified. Tokyo metropolis is divided into

[2] Partly this can be explained by the differing number of households per ward in different cities. The average number of households in 2015 per (special) ward are 208,748 in Tokyo metropolis, 91,423 in Yokohama, 66,156 in Nagoya, 64,170 in Kyoto, 56,450 in Osaka, and 78,384 in Kobe city.

two areas, where the central and western part of the city has a low rate of public assistance receiving households and the northern and eastern areas have a higher rate. Especially Daitō ward, which is home to San'ya, the local *yoseba*, stands out with a rate of public assistance receiving households of 4.4%.

Compared to Tokyo metropolis, more wards in Yokohama city exhibit a higher rate of public assistance receiving households. Only three wards in the North and Kanazawa ward in the South have a rate under 2.0%. An especially high rate of public assistance receiving households has Naka ward with 11.0% that is home to the local *yoseba* Kotobuki-chō.

In Nagoya city only Midori ward in the South of the city has a rate of public assistance receiving households under 2.0%. Compared to other cities one center in which public assistance receiving households concentrate is not distinctively developed. Nevertheless, Minami ward and Nakamura ward, which was in the past home to the *yoseba* Sasajima, with a rate of 7.5% and 7.3%, stand out.

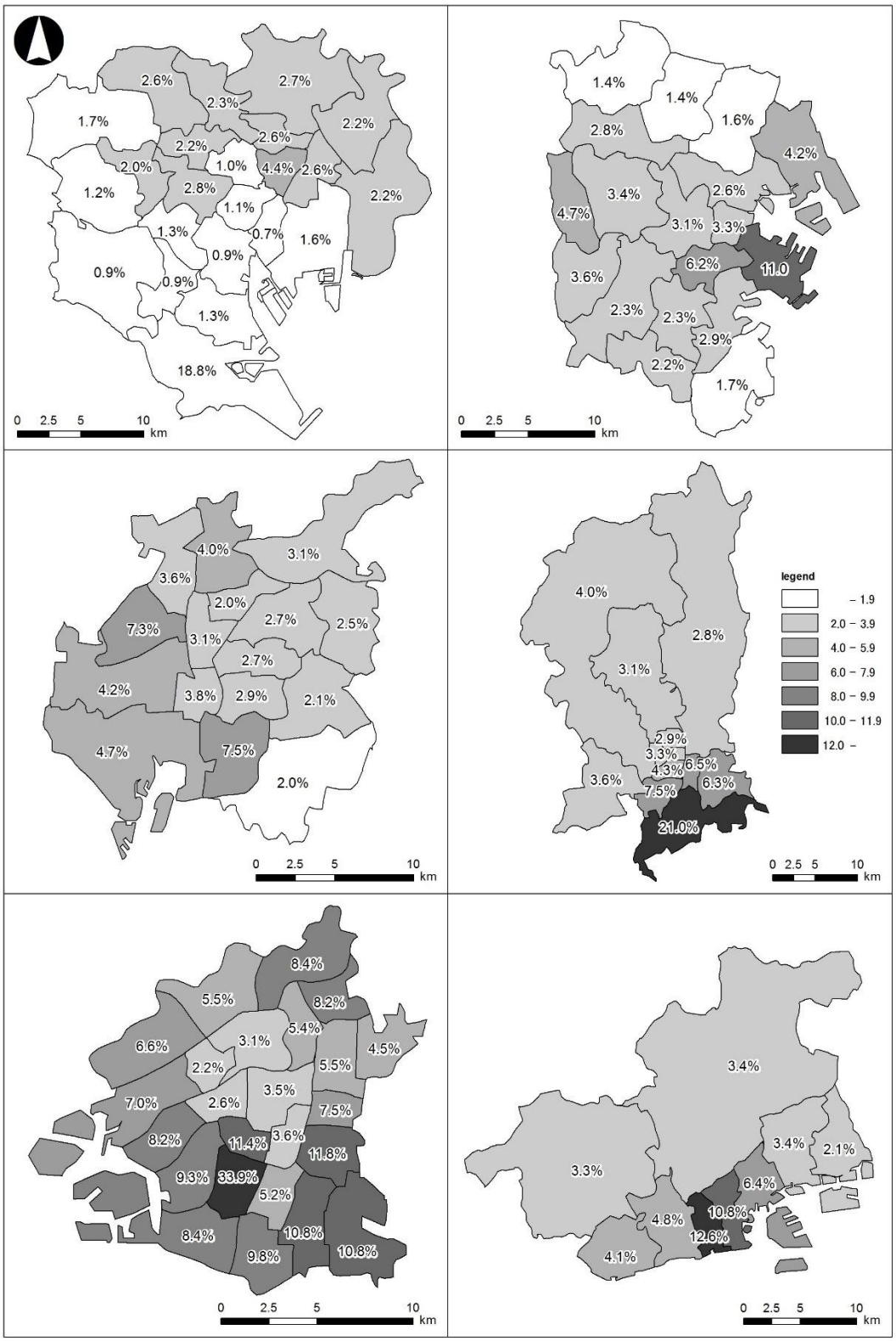
Kyoto city has an overall higher rate of public assistance receiving households having no ward with a rate of under 2.0%. especially in the South of the city public assistance receiving households are concentrating. Fushimi ward with a rate of 21.0% stands out, having the second highest rate in the six largest cities' wards.

Osaka city which has the highest rate of public assistance receiving households, shows also a very distinctive spatial pattern. While only the five of the central wards have a rate under 4.0%, especially the wards in the South of the center exhibit high numbers. Nishinari ward, which is home to Kamagasaki, Japan's largest *yoseba*, has with a rate of 33.9% not only the highest rate in Osaka city but also the highest rate under the wards of the six largest cities. With a considerable distance Nishinari ward is followed by Ikuno and Naniwa ward which have a rate of 11.8% and 11.4% respectively.

Finally, Kobe city as well has no wards with a rate of public assistance receiving households under 2.0%. Public assistance receiving households are concentrating in the center of the city, especially in Suma and Nagata ward, which have a rate of 12.6% and 10.8% respectively. Suma ward is after Nishinari and Fushimi ward the ward with the third highest rate in the six largest cities.

Its high public assistance rate and the pronounced uneven distribution of public assistance receiving households make Osaka city a promising research field for a geographical approach. The following section gives an overview on homelessness in Japan, describing those people that slipped through the social security net.

Figure 1.2.3 Rate of public assistance receiving households per (special) ward in the six largest cities of Japan (2013)



Source: TST (2017), YSSTJ (2017), Nagoya-shi (2017), KSKJS (2018), OTCT (2014), KKCSC (2017);

1.4. Homelessness in Japan

Since in Japan homeless people have been excluded from public assistance over a long time (Gill 2001), a crucial part of the discourse on public assistance evolved around this issue. Therefore, a short description of homelessness in Japan and its changes over time is provided in this section. A rough subdivision into three phases in which homelessness took on distinctive patterns is possible (Kiener & Mizuuchi 2017).

First, from the 1960s onwards homelessness was strongly associated with the lives of day laborers. It was an episodic phenomenon, applied by day laborers as strategy to overcome crisis, and locally confined to *yoseba*. According to Hideo Aoki (1999), day laborers are characterized by a low level of proficiency, single life and mobility, referring to their low status in the workforce, their single male lifestyle and their frequent change of workplace and residence. They consist of former lower and upper-class workers, farmers, and nominal self-employed individuals who were pushed out of stagnating industries (Aoki 2003). During the 1960s and 1970s, *yoseba* attracted many younger people in their teens or twenties. Although new day laborers continued to come, over time their number decreased, and people that were joining the day laborer workforce in the 1990s were in their mid-forties, men that had left a family and a career behind (Fowler 1996). In the 1960s and 1970s, day laborers worked in the construction, heavy and manufacturing industry and at harbors, driving forces of Japan's high economic growth. From the beginning of the 1970s, day labor shifted increasingly to the construction industry, making day laborers more vulnerable to movements in its business cycle (Aoki 2003).

Day laborers are hired for a certain period of time, during which the employer provides board and lodging, but costs are subtracted from the wage. While accommodation is secured in this way during the contract time, day laborers who work only for one day or who are out of work need to find other forms of accommodation, usually the flophouses of the *yoseba* (Watanabe 2010). Due to the requirements stipulated by the Hotel Business Law (*ryokangyō-hō*), flophouses have some common characteristics, like rent can be paid by the day, single rooms are provided and facilities like toilet and bathroom are shared (Hirakawa 2011). Although this kind of accommodation is very well adjusted to day laborers' lives, this unstable housing situation puts them at high risk of becoming homeless.

Thus, sleeping rough became an unavoidable reality for day laborers, and developed as an episodic phenomenon of their lives. For them, rough sleeping became a necessity to overcome times in which they cannot work because of economic depression, bad weather, or bad health conditions (Shima 1999). Especially during the new-year holidays,

a period in which no jobs are available, many day laborers were forced to sleep rough, although seasonal shelters were operating (Haraguchi 2011). At that time rough sleeping was strongly associated with the special living conditions in the *yoseba* and therefore the public did not consider it as a social issue that requires further intervention (Haraguchi 2010).

Second, under the influence of the economic depression during the 1990s, homelessness became chronic and turned into a phenomenon no longer confined to *yoseba* and day laborers. To an extent completely unknown before, homeless people could now be seen in every big city.

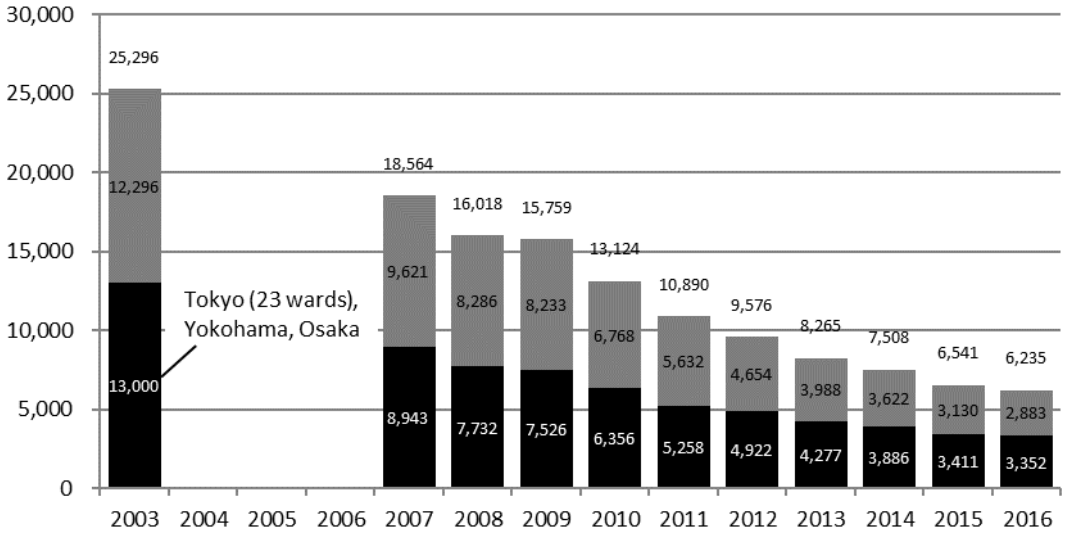
The people who became homeless under these new conditions were divided by Masami Iwata (2007) into three categories. The first consists of people whose longest employment was regular or self-employment providing social insurance and who lived under stable housing conditions before becoming homeless. They had a relatively high education and many had been married. This type of homeless people was observed during the 1990s for the first time. The second category consists of people who had a secure workplace but were living in accommodation provided by the employer before becoming homeless. Although they are skilled workers or have some professional qualifications, most of them have never been married and their social life was restricted to the workplace. The third category involved people who frequently changed their job and who were without any permanent accommodation. This group refers to day laborers who became unable to work because of age or illness and cannot afford the rooms in flophouses.

When in Japan the first nationwide homeless survey was conducted in 2003, 25,296 individuals were counted (Yamada 2009). Their number was especially high in metropolitan areas like Tokyo metropolis, Yokohama and Osaka city, which together account for more than half of the whole homeless population as shown in figure 1.4.1 below.

Homelessness itself changed crucially on several points. First, it turned into a chronic phenomenon. The 2003 national homeless survey revealed that 67.2% of the homeless were living on the streets for more than one year. Further, 84.1% had a permanent sleeping place, often in the form of shacks, tents, or cardboard boxes (MHLW 2003b). Second, homelessness was no longer confined to *yoseba*, but could be seen all over the city. Homeless people slept in building entrances, arcades of shopping streets, public buildings like stations, or built their encampments in parks and along river sides (Mizuuchi 2001). Third, the number of people living in precarious housing conditions increased as well and came to be included under the label “homeless”. So-called “internet cafe refugees (*netto kafe nanmin*)”, people living in 24-hour shops and working in low

paying jobs, became popular through media reports (Tsumaki & Tsutsumi 2010). Finally, although most of the homeless still were middle aged and elderly men (Iwata 2007), a gradual diversification was observed. Increasingly, younger people and women were also experiencing homelessness (Hayashi 2013).

Figure 1.4.1 Number of homeless people in Japan



Source: MHLW (2003, 2005, 2007-2016);

Third, the homeless self-reliance policy and especially the expansion of the scope of welfare benefits had a profound impact on homelessness in Japan. As shown in figure 1.4.1, the number of homeless people decreased between 2003 and 2016 by 75.4%, making them less conspicuous in Japanese cities today. This decrease is evenly distributed over most cities suggesting that it is related to the national homeless policy and not the effort of some municipalities. Also, the degree of rough sleeping has changed. Between 2003 and 2016, people sleeping rough for less than one year decreased from 32.8% to 22.2%. Those sleeping rough for more than three years increased from 43.7% to 65.6%, suggesting that long term rough sleepers who do not respond to support remained on the streets. Nevertheless, encampments that were quite frequent in the 2000s are disappearing. The percentage of homeless people sleeping in shacks or tents decreased from 54.4% to 34.3%. Thus, homeless people became virtually invisible in urban space. Accompanied by the disappearance of homeless encampments, the locations for rough sleeping have changed as well. In the same time period, the number of homeless people sleeping in parks decreased from 40.8% to 23.1%, while those sleeping in roofed facilities increased from 18.7% to 28.3% (MHLW 2003b, 2017). Recent surveys show that many

people consult with the local welfare office before or shortly after they became homeless. They are often transferred to facilities or apply for public assistance and those who actually sleep rough are likely to be picked up by social workers or park staff that connects them to further support (Shirahase 2018).

By covering the time period from 1990 to 2015, the analysis of public assistance geographies covers all three phases of homelessness. The next section gives a short overview on the thesis structure.

1.5. Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured in seven main chapters illustrated in figure 1.5.1. In chapter 1 "Introduction", the research aim of uncovering the public assistance geographies and their changes, by focusing on welfare state restructuring on the urban scale, is formulated. The data through which this aim is persued was identified as government documents, published data on public assistance and the local socio-economic context as well as interviews with housing providers. As field Osaka city was selected, because of its well developed urban welfare regime, its high number of homeless people, and its large inner city areas that have the potential of creating a distinctive public assistance geography.

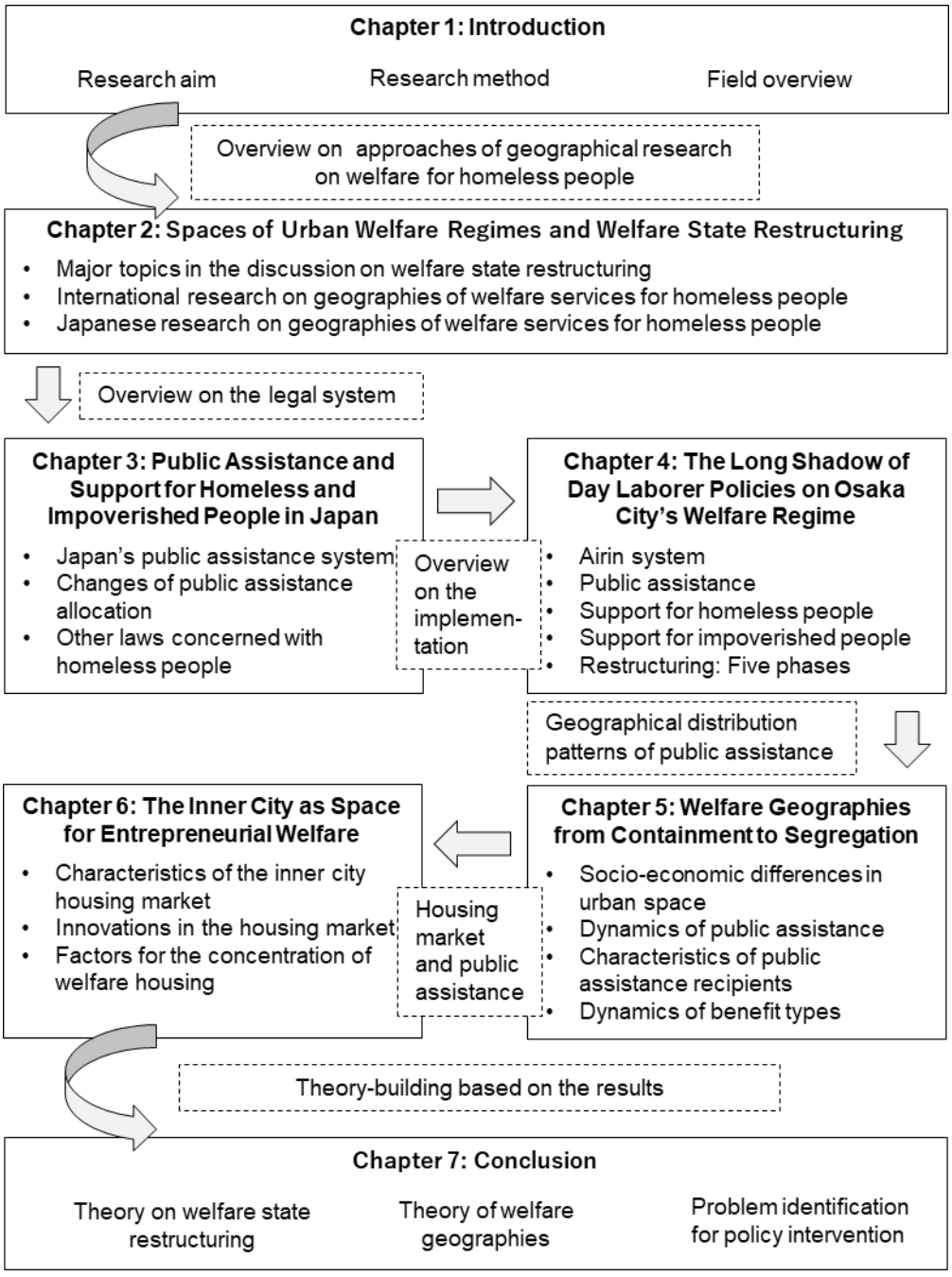
In chapter 2 "Spaces of Urban Welfare Regimes and Welfare State Restructuring", three major topics of welfare state restructuring – reframing individuals, changing role of the state, and governance – are identified. This follows a review on international and Japanese geographical approaches towards welfare for homeless people. Based on the insights of the literature review on these two topics, finally a research framework to understand the (re)creation of space through welfare state restructuring is proposed.

Chapter 3 "Public Assistance and Support for Homeless and Impoverished People" gives an overview on the legal system that deals with homeless people. This is on the one side the Public Assistance Act and the changes it underwent since 1990, but also related laws, like the Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People and the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People.

Chapter 4 "The Long Shadow of Day Laborer Policies on Osaka City's Welfare Regime" builds on the previous chapter and shows how the three laws were implemented by Osaka city's welfare regime. The four support systems – Airin System, Public Assistance, Homeless Support and Support for Impoverished People – that were created through these laws and their changes since 1990 are analyzed. Finally based on their changing

interaction the research period is split up in five distinctive phases of urban welfare regime restructuring.

Figure 1.5.1 Thesis Structure



In chapter 5 "Welfare Geographies from Containment to Segregation" Osaka city's 24 wards are summed up into four clusters with distinctive socio-economic characteristics. Based on the five phases of urban welfare regime restructuring, the growth and decline

of public assistance receiving households, the change of household type and benefit type is analyzed in the four different clusters.

In chapter 6 “The Inner City as Space for Entrepreneurial Welfare” the relation between the housing stock in Nishinari ward, a particular inner city area in Osaka city, and the restructuring of the urban welfare regime is examined. Reasons of landlords and real estate agents to engage in housing business for public assistance recipients, innovations of housing providers necessary to house them and factors in the primary housing market that lead to a concentration of welfare housing in the inner city are analyzed.

Chapter 7 “Conclusion” attempts to build a theory of public assistance geographies out of the insights from this research. This involves a contribution to the research fields listed prior, but especially to restructuring of inner city housing. Finally, the thesis concludes with a contribution to current political discussions by pointing to two major problems of the public assistance geographies, aiming to improve inner city housing.

2. Spaces of Urban Welfare Regimes and Welfare State Restructuring

2.1. Welfare State Restructuring

During the last decades many welfare states that had developed in the post war area experienced crucial restructuring. This phenomenon was observed in most of the developed countries, and advocates of the regulation theory approach linked it to wider changes of the economy. Jessop (1993), one of its most prominent proponents, brought forward the concept of "Schumpeterian workfare state" in which he theorizes the relation between the economy and the welfare state. Although lacking any immediate connection, Jessop defines the Schumpeterian workfare state in contrast to the Keynesian welfare state, which was succeeded by the former. Both of them are "modes of social regulations" and develop in strong relation to the prevailing "accumulation regime" (1993:8).

The Keynesian welfare state developed in the context of post-war Fordism. It's contribution to capital accumulation was the promotion of full employment, through demand-side policies, in a relative closed national economy. Through welfare rights and new forms of collective consumption, the production of norms for mass consumptions were promoted (Jessop 1993). This enabled all citizens to benefit from economic growth, and supported the rather inflexible system of Fordist mass production through stable domestic demand. But from the early 1980s onwards accumulation regimes increasingly adapted to the new economic situation, followed by restructuring of the welfare state. Together with the shift from a Fordist to a post-Fordist production system new modes of social regulation emerged in western countries. Nevertheless, it is worth noting, that the force behind this shift is rather a discursive field in which failures and crises are interpreted, than events in the real world. Politicians and interest groups form and challenge these discursive constructions of the "real world", which implies that it always exists in multiple competing and rather unstable forms (Torfing 1999).

In contrast to the Keynesian welfare state, its successor, in Jessop's case the Schumpeterian workfare state, is concerned with the conditions for the valorization of capital and the securing of labor power, through interventions on the supply-side. It has three major objectives: 1) promoting innovations of product, process, organization and market, 2) enhancing structural competitiveness of open economies through interventions on the supply-side, and 3) subordinating social policy to the demands of labor market flexibility and structural competitiveness; In the new economic environment structural competitiveness is prioritized over full employment and welfare services that benefit business are prioritized over social rights of citizens and their

individual needs (Jessop 1993). Ongoing globalization undermines the role of social benefits as stabilizers of domestic demand, putting downward pressure on public social spendings (Torfing 1999).

This welfare state restructuring was reflected in academic research by a perception change, describing it no longer as a stable unit, like it was the case with the Keynesian welfare state, and increasingly applying a terminology of change. Jamie Peck (2001:449) for instance advocates for an understanding of the welfare state "not as some lumbering bureaucratic monolith but as a (political) process *in motion*." In the endeavor to critically analyze this welfare state restructuring several new concepts emerged, summing up the crucial changes that it underwent and the consequences it had for the lives of welfare recipients.

Like Jessop's (1993) Schumpeterian workfare state, most discussions of welfare state restructuring describe transitions from an assumed Keynesian welfare state, that used to be a major pillar of Fordism, to a regressed and leaner form. Although there is wide consensus on the nature of the Keynesian welfare state, debate about its' successor is going on, as the multitude of differing new concepts is proving (DeVerteuil & Wilton 2009). For instance, next to the "Schumpeterian workfare state" concepts like the "shadow state (Wolch 1990)", "post-welfare regime (Dean 1999)", "workfare state (Peck 2001)", "disorganized welfare mixes (Bode 2006)", or "post-welfare age (Fairbanks 2009)" were proposed to describe these new forms into which the Keynesian welfare state had developed. The following gives an overview on the three most prominent topics that were discussed under welfare state restructuring, unraveling the major issues that are related to it.

A) Reframing the individual

One of these recurring topics is the reframing of the individual through the welfare state. In the Keynesian welfare state the individual is rendered as something that has to be protected from personal and economic crises. Therefore, the state installs a "safety-net" of passive welfare benefits and services. Welfare itself is rendered as an unconditional right of all citizens and comes with almost no obligations. Moreover, the benefit system functions also as a redistribution mechanism that enables all citizen to profit from the benefits of economic growth (Torfing 1999).

But this conception of the individual that has to be protected by collective rights, associated with the post-war welfare state, is eroding in the process of welfare state restructuring. Typically, welfare recipients are reinterpreted as "active citizens", individuals who have the will and the ability to improve their own situation (DeVerteuil

& Wilton 2009:471). Collective rights are replaced by individualistic competition, reframing citizens as active consumers of the welfare state, solving their problems without the welfare state at best (McDowell 2004). In this interpretation the citizen is seen not only as the problem, but also as the solution to the problem (Cameron 2007). This shifts the attention away from causes of unemployment and poverty, and the consequences associated with them (Walters 1997), putting the welfare recipient itself into the center of the political discussion.

In its most typical form this change emerges through the replacement of welfare rights with workfare programs. While workfare, a neologism consisting of the term "work" and a contraction of "welfare", was already coined in the 1960s, it became a widely discussed policy since the 1990s. Its introduction eroded the prevailing no strings attached welfare entitlements through welfare to work programs. By focusing on behavioral modification, these mandatory programs shift the focus of policy intervention to personal shortcomings of the poor (Peck 2003). By replacing the norms of the welfare state workfare frames "all citizens as (potential) participants in the paid labour market." Everybody, without respect to individual needs, is depicted as an active citizen who is responsible for his own well-being (MacLeavy 2011:612).

In order to realize workfare new forms of state intervention emerge that effect also the moral economy of the poor (Peck 2003). New technologies are introduced that aim to make citizens active in their own government. They take on the guise of technologies associated with marketisation like monitoring procedures and surveillance, that produce competition under individuals. Generally speaking, indirect mechanisms are employed "to translate the goals of political, social and economic authorities into the choices and commitments of individuals (MacLeavy 2011:612)" as described in Foucault's (1991) concept of the "self-governing individual." Usually workfare itself has no dominant regulatory strategy and consists rather of a series of interconnected and mutually-reinforcing reforms that are often conducted at the local level. Therefore, it benefits from subnational devolution and geographical differentiation, enforcing regional disparities (Peck 2003).

The introduction of workfare has a wider impact on the labor market and plays therefore into new forms of accumulation regimes described above. It intensifies the competition for low-wage labor, providing the necessary "flexible" workers that must accept the jobs at offer, further eroding wage-levels and working conditions. Workfare frequently fails to provide primary employment, and most clients end up in contingent jobs, that turn over frequently and do not provide perspectives of improvement. On the other side those who are rendered as "unemployable", are increasingly confronted with

a “mean-spirited and grudging system of residual welfare (Peck 2003:81).”

Nevertheless, the example of Demark shows that the implementation of workfare is not necessary connected to the moral economy of the poor and labor market changes described above. Through the adaption of workfare before a social-democratic background integration of unemployed people into the labor market was employed in an offensive way, attempting to deal with socio-economic issues proactively and producing a positive-sum solution. This could be realized through more inclusive workfare programs that focus on activation, skills and work experience improvement, training and education, and empowerment, while referring from repressing and punishing (Torfing 1999).

The reframing of citizens into “active citizens” is also fostered through the introduction of market principles into spheres of welfare provision. Restructuring of long-term care towards the market had occurred in many Western European countries in order to cope with the increasing demand and address financial issues. Through a clear separation between financing and providing functions, NPOs and private companies became service providers that stand in a competition to each other. This came along with a greater recognition of the citizens freedom of choice, that empowered welfare recipients to select their preferred combination of cash and/or care services and providers. These changes produced quasi markets, where through a contract the welfare beneficiary takes on the role of the employer and the caregiver the role of an employee. But, the entry of private companies into the market for long-time care and the reduction of costs were accompanied by de-professionalization and low-quality employment, instead of the hoped improvement of quality standards. As a result, deregulations were followed by new regulations that were employed to guarantee competition, freedom of choice and reduce the risk of market failure (Pavolini & Ranci 2008).

B) The role of the state

Another recurring topic in welfare state restructuring is the diminishing role of the state for the provision of welfare. This topic was discussed mainly from three angles: 1) Austerity measures that dismantle certain welfare programs run by the state, 2) devolution of the central state, that gives local authorities more freedom over the provision of welfare, and 3) rising importance of non-state actors, like voluntary organizations or NPOs for the provision of welfare.

In its simplest form state withdrawal occurs in the form of decreasing public investments into urban public goods, or decline of inter-regional transfers for regional development, that lead to a deterioration of the existing welfare infrastructure (Storper

2016). Usually these austerity measures are discussed in regard to social citizenship rights that are undermined by the introduction of workfare. The introduction of workfare erodes welfare entitlements through practices like the turning away of unemployed people at the welfare office under the pretext that they are "job-ready". Those who qualify for welfare benefits become subject to a strict regime of state-administrated market triage (Peck 2001). As Geoffrey DeVerteuil et al. (2002: 236) pointed out regarding workfare programs in Los Angeles, that their thrust is "not to extract work but rather to disqualify recipients based on confusing rules that impose high temporal, informational and psychological costs." This is realized through a penalty system that effectively reduces the number of welfare recipients (DeVerteuil et al. 2002). Despite these arguments, some long-term analyses showed that in many cities public sector investments and public goods steadily increased over time, debunking advocates of this interpretation of a nostalgia for the "good old days" of mid-20th century welfare (Storper 2016).

Further, devolution of the central state, the transfer of its functions to other authorities, was identified as another form of state withdrawal. This transfer can occur on two different levels. On the one side it can be an offloading of responsibilities to local or regional authorities in order to increase economic competitiveness. On the other side, it can also work in the different direction, and supranational state systems and bodies take over state functions (Jessop 1993). Devolution itself can occur on a wide range, involving resources, personnel, institutional capacities, delivery systems, governance arrangements and others (Peck 2001).

At the core of the discussion on devolution stands the question if this downloading opens up new opportunities for local political agency and bottom-up policy or whether it is just another form of shaking off risk and responsibility. Jessop (1993) argued that the state keeps in this process many of his headquarter functions, but his capacities to turn authority and sovereignty into effective control are challenged. "[T]he formal articulation and operational autonomy of national states have major repercussions on forms of representation, intervention, internal hierarchies, social bases, and state projects across all levels of state organization (Jessop 1993: 22)." In contrast Peck's (2001) findings showed that devolution does not necessarily correlates with a real transfer of state power down to local agencies, because of the continuing power of the state over institutional coordination and ideological control. Crucial for this is a dynamic of almost perpetuating reform associated with neoliberalism, and realized through accelerating turnover times of policies, policy transfer and policy learning, that overstretch available capacities and diffuses the energy of opposing movements.

Finally, state withdrawal is also pushed forward through the offloading of state functions and responsibilities to non-state organizations, which is in fact a special form of devolution. This takes on the shape described in Jennifer Wolch's (1990) concept of the "shadow state", where volunteer organizations, but also NPOs and private companies (Trudeau 2008), become crucial providers for welfare services. The state itself provoked this development by retrenchments of public welfare services and reorganization towards investment stimulation and labor supply incentives. In this process many welfare services and benefits were dismantled and privatized. The void left by the state retreatment, was filled up by private social service agencies, housing and community development groups, nonprofit health care institutions etc., that take over previous state duties and functions.

Policies that shift responsibilities to this non-state organizations and provide them with resources like financial support or staff members contributed to their growth. This turned them into key agents for the provision of collective services (Wolch 1990). But as such they prove to be unable to respond fully to all citizenship claims for people who have to rely on the shadow state. Non-state welfare organizations face a series of limitations that necessitates selection and excludes certain groups from their programs. These limitations are dictated by their context, namely the available financial resources, the established policy requirements, the public sector's capacity, and the politics of the urban regime in power (Lake & Newman 2003).

Next to the obvious goal of reducing welfare expenditures the depoliticization of welfare is also a motive for loading welfare services down to private organizations (Manzi 2015). The downloading of welfare provision to non-state organizations reduces the risk of policy failure and establishes new means of control from a distance, rather than leading to a total absence of politics (Kerry, Byrne, and Foster 2011). This puts local charities and cooperatives, rather than established political institutions in the center of public policy making, changing crucially the relation between communities and the state. The words of the former British prime minister David Cameron (2010 from Manzi 2015) point this clearly out. He intended through the offloading of state responsibilities to non-state organizations that "people don't always turn to officials, local authorities or central government for answers to the problems they face (Manzi 2015)."

Central state devolution can be realized by the state through several strategies. Jacob Torfing (1999) distinguishes between three different strategies that were mainly deployed. This is 1) the neo-liberal strategy that promotes a market guided transition by downplaying the role of the state and corporatist networks, and reinforces the market as the primary decision making mechanism; 2) the neo-statist strategy, that while relying

mainly on the state for social reorganization, is transforming it crucially through the introduction of framework laws, new public management, increased competition and new forms of user involvement in the public sector; and 3) the neo-corporatist strategy, that reconciles economic decisions together with the activities of public and private agents, through open policy networks that operate rather via "regulated self-regulation", than corporatist arrangements.

C) New forms of governance

Both the reframing of the individual through workfare and the devolution of the central state, especially the offloading of state functions and responsibilities to non-state organizations, shifted the attention of the academic debate on welfare state to the new forms of governance that were emerging. Next to a quantitative increase of welfare providing non-state organizations, a crucial change in the relation between these organizations and the state was identified, manifesting itself in new forms and technologies of control.

While several researches, especially on Anglo-American welfare states, identified the emergence of non-state welfare providers as the main reason for new governance methods (Dean 1999, Wolch 1990), non-state organizations were already in the past involved in welfare provision. As Ingo Bole (2006) pointed out in his analyzes of "disorganized welfare mixes" in most European states welfare had been provided for several decades not only by the state but also by non-state organizations and the changes that occurred through welfare state restructuring were mainly issues of governance. In the past private-public partnerships constituted an organized welfare mix, that allowed the civil society to be involved in the planning, delivery and supervision of welfare. Through high commitment to their cause and milieu non-state organizations established long-term support programs and were cooperating close and uncritical with the state.

But, these organized welfare mixes were modified by an increasing scope of partnerships and a more active engagement of civil society (Bole 2006). In the "post-welfarist regime of the social" described by Mitchell Dean (1999) the differentiation between state and society or the public and the private sector had ceased. Based on the believe that it is impossibility to acquire a theoretical knowledge of the society or on the dictum that people must rely on themselves instead of society, areas of public provision are reformed according to structures and values of the market and turned into quasi-markets for services and expertises. State interventions are reduced and institutions and individuals reformed towards the notion of enterprise and customer. For example,

> [...] it is no longer enough to provide services on the labour market; access to such services and expertise must take the form of a market so that the unemployed can *learn* to exercise their freedom on such a market as a customer (Dean 1999:172).

In this new situation non-state welfare organizations had to alter their resource management in order to respond to increasing short term patterns of funding and inter-agency rivalry. The use of flexible workforce, the creation of innovative projects in reaction to new funding streams, new routines of service marketing, or joint ventures with private investors became common strategies (Bole 2006). These changes occurred together with instituting or raising fees, that increased the commodification of welfare services (Wolch 1990). Because of the increasing distance to the civil society that emerged out of these adaptions the implementation of public relations departments and stronger and more aggressive political campaigning became strategies for fundraising (Bole 2006) to generate alternative revenues from clients or private business. Professional planning was not only a tool for survival and sectoral development, but was also fostered by the state through the introduction of state-defined operational planning procedures that became obligatory in order to get state funding (Wolch 1990). This change of governance weakened the position of non-state organizations against the state and made them rivals in "'civil markets' where smart 'just-in-time' projects are in much more demand than complex interventions with unknown or non-measurable outcomes (Bole 2006:354)."

Before this background the task of the national government turned from governing directly social and economic processes to securing the institutions and mechanisms of governing. This is realized through the employment of two new technologies: First, the capacities of participation, agreement and action of society are enhanced through the technology of agency. This can be contracts, that enable the outsourcing of formerly public services to private and community organizations, and the empowerment of groups to become agents capable of controlling their own risks in the most ideal sense. Second, also technologies of performance are employed, that make these capacities calculable and comparable, and consequently allowing optimization. These are for instance the setting of performance indicators and benchmarks or the devolution of budgets. The social is transformed from a sector governed by the ineluctable logic of bureaucratic rationality into quasi-markets consisting of a range of public funded private organizations and bodies that provide services and expertise (Dean 1999).

The offloading of state functions and responsibilities to non-state organizations was also discussed regarding the ability of these organizations to bring progressive social change. While early accounts of this phenomenon were rather pessimistic, seeing the

agenda of non-state organizations undermined by the state, recent enquiries into this topic come to more ambivalent conclusions. Wolch (1990) termed this para-state apparatus formed by multiple voluntary sector organizations, that is not administered by democratic politics and had taken over responsibilities for major collective services, as “shadow state”. initially she concluded that “the benefits and costs of the shadow state are highly contingent upon context and the response of the [voluntary] sector itself (Wolch 1990:215)”. The institutional interdependence between welfare providers and the state can not only have a constraining effect on the agenda of non-state welfare providers, but it can also strengthen the ability to influence the state itself. Principally, the growing resources non-state service providers can secure, enabled them to involve in the shaping of political discourses on service provision and in the formation and implementation of state policies. However, Wolch observed that in reality attempts of the non-state sector to fight cutbacks of social spendings, were countered by the state through stronger constrains, transforming them into a shadow state apparatus and undermining their “potential to create progressive social change (Wolch 1990:15).”

The shadow state phenomenon poses four dilemmas to independent organizations missions and social welfare protection: 1) The increased dependence of non-state organizations on state funding undermines their ability to be critical towards the state, and campaigning efforts are directed towards preserving and increasing state funding; 2) The overtaking of contracted out welfare provision has for non-state organizations the risk to undermine their range of activities and shape their modes of operation; 3) Efficiency and accountability, the two factors that usually qualify welfare organizations for collaboration with the state, undermines the strengths of many non-state organizations like innovation, flexibility and participation, and penalizes smaller, newer or other organizations that lack the necessary experience and know-how; 4) The final dilemma is that non-state welfare providers may become puppets to goals that are antithetical to their organizational mission, becoming especially troublesome under an ideologically rigid or zealous state.

Since the relationship between the state and non-state institutions has changed and grown more complex, alternative views of the shadow state were proposed by several authors. Dan Trudeau (2008) framed the shadow state more relational and argued that its ability to affect functions of non-state organizations is only one of several possible outcomes. He interprets “the shadow state as the arrangement of state-civil society relationships that manifest in the institutional interactions between government agencies and nonprofit organizations (Trudeau 2008:684).” Therefore, influence in state-nonprofit relationships travels in multiple directions, allowing also non-state

organizations to influence political agendas. Although these relationships are embedded in space, interaction that leads to influence can occur across multiple scales.

2.2. Geographies of Welfare

These distinctive welfare states create on the ground certain geographies, formed by recipients of welfare benefits, welfare services and their clients. Welfare services refer here to health care facilities, counselling services, housing etc. for socially disadvantaged people, like the homeless, substance abusers or ex-prisoners. Usually the distribution of welfare services, their clients and recipients of welfare benefits take on certain patterns in urban space, typically concentrating in poorer neighborhoods rather than spreading evenly across the city (Law 2001). Therefore, I continue the analysis with a literature review on welfare geographies and changes inflicted on them. The review aims to clarify how these welfare geographies were theorized in the international literature. A detailed discussion on the Japanese literature follows in a separated section.

A) First accounts: The service dependent ghetto

The first accounts on welfare geographies of homeless people date back to America and Canada of the 1980s. Although, neoliberalism was already advancing, the prevailing accumulation system had a Keynesian character. The provision of welfare services was mainly in the hands of local communities, concerned with the confinement and control of welfare dependent individuals, while NPOs and private organizations were on the rise, filling in the gap left by the retreating welfare state.

Most characteristic for the geography of welfare services at this time is Michael Dear and Jennifer Wolch's (1987) description of the "service dependent ghetto". Based on an analysis of the increasing concentration of a wide range of welfare dependent individuals in American and Canadian inner cities, that had followed the deinstitutionalization movement in the 1960s and 1970s, they identified the welfare state and capitalist urbanism as major forces of its production. The result of deinstitutionalization was a growth of the "public city", manifesting itself in the increasing demand for community care. Inner city areas became the sites in which welfare services were provided, although to an insufficient degree. A considerable welfare service infrastructure, that had been founded by the public and private voluntary organizations (often religious orders) in the early 19th century, existed already in these areas. Although originally positioned at the city fringe, they had gained central positions due to rapid urbanization. Next to this informal and formal support network, the inner city housing market provided cheap

accommodation, and less community opposition towards welfare services and their clients existed. Nevertheless, Dear and Wolch concluded, that local communities were ill prepared to admit welfare service dependent populations and their rights to care could be met only insufficient. Since communities lacked obligations to provide welfare services, they failed to provide them on a wider geographical scale.

In the concept of "malign neglect", a later account of Wolch and Dear (1993), they developed this argument further. Mainly local communities were identified as the administrative body that realizes homeless policies and responsible for creating a distinctive geography of welfare services. Due to NIMBY pressure from local residents, many communities refrained from providing services to homeless people, ruled them out through planning regulations or even actively drove them away. In their need to survive in this environment, homeless people were drawn to "skid rows" and other places where some welfare services and a more welcoming environment existed. As a result, areas that provide for homeless people attracted even more of them. On the other side, areas that did nothing or actively shunt homeless people could externalize their problems to more charitable neighbors.

This particular welfare geography was created by the high metropolitan fragmentation typical for American cities. When at the end of the 1980s homelessness increased, poor inner city areas could no longer accommodate all homeless people. Although welfare services were adapted by other communities, their uneven geography was further enforced. In their decisions to initiate welfare services, local governments were influenced by residents' characteristics (household size or income), the extent of local needs and the awareness of available facilities in neighboring communities. Since regional alliances of local governments developed only slowly, communities that provided welfare services, had to carry the financial and political costs of intense public controversy, while risking to become "suckers", attracting even more homeless people. In this scenario coordinated regional alliances were often generated not by local governments, but by voluntary sector initiatives (Shawn 2001).

Despite this criticism, some attention has been also payed to the necessity to organize welfare services in proximity. Most notably this was laid out in the "service hub" concept by Michael Dear, Jennifer Wolch and Robert Wilton (1994). While propagating a decentralized system of service hubs, they also point out the necessity of a physical focus within a neighborhood. Through physical proximity of small scale community based welfare services the interaction between different service providers is promoted, enabling them to serve to a wide range of clients. Linkages that can develop through proximity between facilities enable not only the smooth transition between services, but

allow them also to share infrastructure and help to provide a range of different services at the same time. Proximity strengthens also networks of clients and facilities, supporting the effective delivery of welfare services. Client networks of peer groups and helping agencies can foster the development of relationships and help to learn acting in a communal group.

Although Dear, Wolch and Wilton (1994) assessed the service hub as an effective way of organizing welfare services, they pointed to two fundamental problems. First, this is its contradiction to the fair share approach of service provision. This approach requires the society as a whole, including every region and community therein, to take on responsibility for welfare service dependent populations. Because of its strong restriction in space the service hub fails to achieve that. Moreover, through ghettoization it cannot realize community-based service delivery and fails to integrate service-dependent populations into society at large. By denying access to housing in suburban locations civil liberties are infringed, and more generally as an outcome welfare services are unequally distributed in space.

Second, the service hub reinforces difference as a social construct. While not denying the reality of difference, Dear, Wolch and Wilton point to the service hub's social significance for generating perspectives that enforce the stigmatization of welfare service dependent populations. By employing the ideas of Iris Marion Young (1992) they see the ideal of urban life based on social differentiation without exclusion, variety, eroticism and publicity. To achieve this goal the structure of the political authority must be fundamentally altered, employing neighborhood assemblies to voice local priorities and opinions, and strengthening regional assemblies in which the representation of all groups is guaranteed by right. Through these institutions justice in the organization and distribution of welfare services can be promoted (Dear, Wolch & Wilton 1994).

B) The revanchist city

During the 1970s and 1980s many North American and West European cities underwent some dramatic changes. The combination of a decline in national fiscal support, rapid deindustrialization, suburbanization of high-income earners, and increasing concentration of impoverished people in city centers, placed enormous stress on urban administrations. This convinced many city governments to reconsider their welfare policies, their strategies of political intervention, and their policy priorities. Backed by a "roll-back" neoliberal ideology, cities adapted an entrepreneurial approach, especially strongly felt in their attitude towards welfare services and their clients (MacLeod 2002).

During the 1990s a new form of policy towards homeless people emerged, that took in New York it's most radical form, termed by Neil Smith (1996) "revanchist city". Under the pretext of raising the "quality of life" and providing a business-friendly environment, many different policies were adapted to evict homeless people from public space, and punish those who were not able to adjust themselves to market conditions. Smith borrowed the term "revanchist" from the political movement that emerged in opposition to the Paris Commune at the beginning of the 1870s. This movement had a nationalistic character and made a wide appeal to "traditional" values, while devoting itself to a vengeful and reactionary retaking of the country in its struggle against the working class.

The movement against homeless people, observed from the end of the 1980s in New York, resembled the same attitude. Before the background of a shift to neoliberal politics, and intensifying gentrification, New York started a new anti-homeless and anti-squatter policy "intended to 'take back' the parks, streets and neighborhoods from those who had supposedly 'stolen' them from 'the public' (Smith 1996:221)." Parks and streets were cleared from homeless people, shanty towns were bulldozed and afterwards quickly fenced to prevent homeless people from squatting again in these places. A broad swath of activities in public space were criminalized, involving panhandling or squeegee windshield cleaning many homeless people used to make a living from. The remaking of public space to serve a rising neoliberal economy was also accompanied by welfare cuts, involving the closure of soup runs and the introduction of fees to homeless shelters (Smith 1996). Further, workfare was introduced, public-housing construction stopped, and existing anti-immigration legislation strengthened (MacLeod 2002). The resulting climate of hostility against the homeless accompanied by an increase of police violence, made rough sleeping even more dangerous. All these policies had the aim to encourage the poorest of the population to move out of the city. Rudy Giuliani, who was as mayor of New York responsible for this policy, left no doubt about it: "That's not an unspoken part of our strategy. That is our strategy (Smith 1996: 230)."

While first accounts on revanchism came from the USA, it was also observed in European cities, although in a slightly different guise. The role of the state differs considerable (MacLeod 2002). While in the USA politics are revanchist in principle, European urban policies and practices contain only some revanchist elements and promote emancipatory goals and results at the same time. In contrast to the "heavy-handed" American revanchism, European "soft" revanchism is more selective in whom it impacts. Instead of always targeting ethnic minority groups, also the black middle class can become the driving force of gentrification processes. Nevertheless, the social costs of this process are carried by the "undesirables", like homeless people or substance abusers,

who are hounded and chased away. Although "soft" policies towards these people are applied, they often enfold their effect only in the long run, and are therefore usually implemented together with revanchist strategies towards space in order to provide a feeling of security on the short run (Aalbers 2011).

C) The post-justice city

While having many analogous findings with Smith's "revanchist city", Don Mitchell's (2001) concept of the "post-justice city" raises wider questions about justice, "the public," and the citizenship rights of homeless people. This theory emerged before the background of increasing globalization combined with disciplinary "roll-out neoliberalism". This new environment undermines any attempts of wealth redistribution, which is increasingly judged as outdated and lacks political support (MacLeod 2002). Instead, urban governments put the aesthetics of place over all other considerations, adapt neoliberalism as prevailing ideology and realign towards global capital and tourists (Mitchell 1995). Under these circumstances the "malign neglect", that dominated the liberal area (Wolch & Dear 1993), turns into a war on welfare and a sadistic criminalization of poverty in the city (MacLeod 2002).

The central problem of the post-justice city is that it is undermining the rights, in particular the "right to the city", of poor people. Through the installation of automated surveillance (CCTV), the introduction of new and tightening of existing trespass laws, and the criminalization of sharing food in public places a structure of visibility is constructed, that secures urban space for specific classes, and excludes others. This has a series of effects for homeless people like a changing geography of surviving or the altering of oneself's behavior in a way considered as appropriate for a certain space. But the major problem is that this not only excludes homeless people from being part of the public, but also from the right to inhabit and form the city. Don Mitchell and Nik Heynen (2009:616) formulate this as follows:

> The value of the concept of a right to the city is precisely its capaciousness. The fact that it can signify not only a right to habitat (as the UN conferences have largely interpreted it) or La Fête (the ability to participate in the spectacle and shape it to new ends, a primary concern of Lefebvre), but also a right to the oeuvre (the ability to participate in the work and the making of the city) and the right to urban life (which is to say the right to be part of the city—to be present, to be).

New forms of surveillance, expose every aspect of homeless people's life, denying their right to solitude and communication. The only place in which they are accepted is the

shelter, which has a highly monitored and controlled nature. Organizations that try to mitigate spaces for homeless people find them in a fierce conflict against the state, who attempts to criminalize their actions (Mitchell & Heyen 2009). Under these circumstances public space "has become less a place of critique, debate, and struggle, and more an area for legitimizing a political economy – and landscape – so brutal as to convince us that calling for a pogrom against homeless people is just (Mitchell 1997:328)."

D) Neo-Haussmannization

Before the background of rising dissatisfaction with capitalism, most strongly articulated in the Occupy movement at the beginning of the 2010s, the concept of "neo-Haussmannization", was proposed by Andy Merrifield (2014). Today, he argues, the spatial transformation Paris underwent in the 1850s according to the plan of Baron Haussmann, is applied in many cities. The strategy of mobilizing public money to disperse working-class neighborhoods and create new speculative outlets for investors in the real estate market, together with the sense of loss and dispossession felt by the poor, can be observed all over the globe.

By referring to Manuel Castells (1979) he developed a concept of urbanism under a "parasitic" accumulation system, that is primary concerned with making money, without producing any value in form of goods or services, while holding a strong dispossessing power. Castells defined "the urban" as goods of "collective consumption", like housing, schools, hospitals or mass transit. These goods are necessary for the reproduction of labor-power, by ensuring that workers are housed, people get to their work in time, or are educated in a way they can become a useful part of the labor force. For these goods of collective consumption the state took on a paramount role, sponsoring, orchestrating and planning them. But in recent years many states changed their stance towards goods of collective consumption, preferring to sponsor ideologically and materially financial and merchant capital. "[C]apital now actively dispossesses collective consumption budgets and active land by valorizing urban space as a commodity, as a pure financial asset, exploiting it as displacing people (Merrifield 2014: xii)."

Although Merrifield speaks about a broad urban remaking process and not explicitly about welfare benefits and services, by understanding them as goods of collective consumption neo-Haussmannization can be considered of making a crucial difference. While the stance of the state towards welfare services under neo-Haussmannization has many parallels with the revanchist or post-justice city, the mode of accumulation system reframes the individual in a very different way. Parasitic capitalism differs from previous forms of capital accumulation because it is no longer concerned with the production of

goods and services. It is a mode of producing money out of money. The implication for the individual is drastic. Since it is not necessary for this process it can become easily the object of displacement and state neglect.

E) Spaces of care

While most researchers demised the state as proponent of a punitive policy towards homeless people, serving the realization of its neoliberal goals, the role of organizations that provide welfare services, especially those belonging to the voluntary sector, was interpreted differently. They were principally attested a mission of providing genuine help, that stands in opposition to the state. Nevertheless, initially their stance was seen as a fragile one, easily undermined by the influence of the state – most famously advocated by Wolch's "shadow state" (1990) – becoming for city managers nothing more than a means for containing homeless people to certain inner city areas (Wolch & Dear 1993). Further, their agenda was often criticized of failing to address structural causes of homelessness, by rendering it as a personal problem, caused by sins that call for spiritual salvation, or by diseases or dysfunction that call for medical or therapeutical support (Gowan 2010). This led to the conclusion that their support is rather ill functioning, unable to provide adequate solutions to address homelessness. Against these interpretations, in recent years research that renders voluntary organizations as creators of "spaces for care" in cities that increasingly employ punitive homeless policies (Johnson, Cloke & May 2005) emerged.

In their account on day centers for homeless people in the UK Sarah Johnson, Paul Cloke and Jon May (2005) list up several functions these institutions fulfill: These are preventing survivalist crime and having the potential to provide a road into housed life. Next to providing essential "maintenance" like, food, clothing, bathing facilities and primary health care, they function also as hub for information and advice, and provide opportunities for social interaction. At a very essential level they "provide an environment where homeless people may simply 'be'—within a (revanchist) city that (increasingly) does not want them (Johanson, Cloke & May 2005:805)." Although partly embedded into the revanchist city as a way of containment, the providers and clients of services like day centers, understand them as formed by a genuine and deep-rooted urge to care.

Nevertheless, the nature of this spaces of care is highly fragile. While they are always intended by their providers as "therapeutic heaven open to all", they can be perceived very differently. On the one side this is influenced by the fact that many day centers have highly unsustainable funding arrangements and staffing shortages, and operate

therefore frequently under the threat of imminent closure. On the other side this stems from their clients, under whom many behave very challenging and in unpredictable ways. In order to protect themselves and safeguard the sustainability of the service, the day centers conduct "othering", that reflects mainstream understandings and hierarchies of stigma, and practices of self-policing adapted through a life on the streets. Johnson, Cloke and May (2005:806) therefore concluded, that "as homeless people themselves emerge as more complex subjects than either the proponents or critics of revanchism would acknowledge, so the day center too emerges to challenge dystopic accounts of the revanchist city and their utopic counterpart: uncritical celebrations of interstitial 'spaces of care'."

F) Spaces of social inclusion

The welfare state was also theorized as producing spaces of social inclusion, where service dependent populations can realize their citizen rights. This happened before the background of the economic restructuring and social-demographic changes since the 1970s in most of the developed countries, that had caused a crisis of the post-war welfare state. Its existing arrangements were unable to respond to the emerging new forms of poverty, and parts of the society became to be excluded from the labor or housing market, and in terms of citizenship, from full participation in society. These developments were calling for far reaching reforms (Jeon 2015).

This new exclusion was approached by the welfare state through the creation of spaces for social inclusion, through which the life of social excluded people should be improved permanently. Yamamoto (2014) showed on the example of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside how the introduction of housing first programs for homeless people enabled this social inclusion. The concentration of support organizations, that provide physical as well as psychological support for free or at a low budget, enables a stable housed life in the inner city. In this constricted space, social interaction is also fostered, having in many cases the effect of promoting the mental stability of the clients. Therefore, also people who manage to live outside of the inner city, have a strong tendency to continue to use its welfare services and maintain social contacts in the area. Yamamoto concludes that the securing of stable housing, and medical or welfare care in inner city areas, improves the life of social disadvantaged people considerably, realizing social inclusion.

But nevertheless, she warns also that with the increase of social disadvantaged people the inner city is turning more and more to welfare, and it becomes a highly excluded environment. From an economic and life skills point of view living outside of the inner city is a difficult task. But also the care services themselves have the effect to reduce the

will of people that depend on them to live in other areas. Therefore, in many cases clients were not moving to regular housing and instead continue to live in transitional housing in the inner city. In this way the inner city location becomes an obstacle for the inclusion into the wider society, making it difficult to describe these arrangements as tools for social inclusion. It is rather the concentration of social excluded people in a social excluded area, coming with certain disadvantages that derive from the stigma of the location.

G) Post-revanchism

The stronger orientation towards the market under neoliberalism led to about 30 years of diminishing federal support, putting poverty management today largely in the hands of local jurisdictions. This downloading of responsibilities and authorities, enabled cities to create new strategies of poverty management. Before this background in many cities a deeply ambivalent policy response emerged, that reflects neoliberal imperatives, like entrepreneurialism and urban redevelopment, but also welfare provision that is widely perceived to provide more genuine support, resulting in a "post-revanchist" geography of homeless people (Murphy 2009).

By referring to San Francisco, Stacey Murphy (2009) sees post-revanchism emerging after the city had applied revanchist policies and the urban elites have successfully reclaimed the city through their revanchist struggle. After the danger and brutality that motivated the elite to reclaim the city had largely disappeared and had given way to widespread gentrification space for a deeply ambivalent new benevolence, that manifests itself also in the poverty management, arose.

> This post-revanchist compassion reflects the needs of local policymakers and politicians to mediate, on the one hand, the imperatives of capital investment and, on the other, the inevitable displacement and marginalization of large numbers of the urban poor in the face of neoliberal restructuring (Murphy 2009:311).

In this new climate the city of San Francisco made some crucial changes of its support program for homeless people resulting in a considerable decline of rough sleepers. Most strikingly the benefit program for homeless people was replaced with a program of providing directly services, in order to hinder them to spend the benefits on drugs and alcohol, to prevent a welfare-magnet effect and to provide housing more efficiently. The new program's aim was not to remove homeless people from public space, but addressed – as its proponents claim – "the inability or unwillingness of homeless adults to access

the psychosocial, medical, and other supportive services that would stabilizer their lives, prevent drug overdoses, and provide a safety net to avoid eviction (Murphy 2009:314)." Housing was provided directly by the city which master leased single room occupancy hotels from private owners, often converting them into livable apartments, and paying only a small amount of pocket money in cash. But through the master leasing of single room occupancy hotels, which concentrated heavily in Tenderloin, the local skid row, extreme concentration of poverty became institutionalized through this new policy. Through this policy single room occupancy hotels were set also out of the reach of other people than those homeless willing to accept the terms of program participation. The associated concentration of extreme poverty, brought this policy many critics, involving welfare service providers, hotel managers and the residents themselves.

Murphy (2009) as well is critical to this policy, because the city can remove homeless people from the assistance rolls while claiming at the same time to offer housing and services. By applying soft approaches to compliant homeless and hard approaches to the non-compliant, the city can respond to the neoliberal poverty policies at the federal and progressive political culture at the local scale simultaneously. This highlights "the competing imperatives of attracting capital and managing the fallout of urban restructuring (Murphy 2009:323)", that guide neoliberal urbanism today.

H) Revision of punitive approaches

In recent years an academic movement started, that is aiming for a revision of punitive approaches to welfare service geographies, that was proposed by the revanchist or post-justice city. The punitive framework is increasingly criticized of being too narrow to grasp the often contradictory realities of welfare services and the spaces constructed by them. In his sympathetic critique to punitive approaches Geoffrey DeVerteuil (2012) points out four major shortcomings:

First, without pointing to a temporal sequel like in the "post-revanchist" city, DeVerteuil argues for a co-existing of punitive homeless policies and genuine support. By referring to the work of Cloke, May and Johnson (2010) he argues that heavy-handed punitive responses are countered on the one side at least partially by the ability of homeless people to adapt and by voluntary organizations and charitable donors who ensure a network of support and services. But also like in Murphy's (2009) account on San Francisco, Manuel Aalbers (2011) account on Amsterdam or Sarah Johnsen and Suzanne Fitzpatrick's (2010) account on cities in the UK, this contradiction exists also within the state, which applies punitive policies and genuine help at the same time.

Second, although punitive accounts on welfare services are well received in the

academic literature, they are mostly confined to the USA, and rarely match the political reality in other countries (DeVerteuil 2012). Despite fast policy transfers on all levels, logics of punitive policies differ strongly between countries, and frequently also between or even within cities (May & Cloke 2014). Rather, the reality outside of the USA shows that policies that follow differing logics are applied frequently at the same time, like in the case of Amsterdam (Aalbers 2011).

Third, most accounts of punitiveness apply highly charged language and metaphors, like extermination, pogrom, genocidal politics, Gulag, etc. (DeVerteuil 2012, May & Cloke 2014); While advocating for research that focuses on injustice, DeVerteuil calls for a better reflection on the time horizon of injustice and avoiding the perils of presentism, and to do not confuse recent injustice with that happening in the totalitarian period.

Finally, punitive policies are dependent on the volunteer sector who has the ability to provide spaces of abeyance, sustenance and care. In its attempt to obscure unwanted populations the local state depends on these arrangements. They guarantee the everyday survival and potential rehabilitation of homeless populations and contribute therefore to the creation of sanitized urban spaces propagated by punitive policies. This is reflected in Gordon MacLeod's (2002) work on the clean up of Glasgow's city center in the late 1990s that was accompanied by a significant increase of public funding for services provided by the third sector. The same tendency was also observed by DeVerteuil (2006) in Los Angeles where the intensified policing of street homelessness was accompanied by an increase of shelter beds and their funding.

In this way a notion of a co-existing and inter-dependent relation between the state, who applies punitive homeless politics and voluntary organizations that have the ability to provide genuine help turned up. Through this dialect a series of sometimes overlapping spaces can be created (DeVerteuil 2012). This pluralism inherent to the welfare state "produces different kinds of ethos, expectations and, critically, overlapping spaces that are understood and experienced differently by society at large, service providers and clients (DeVerteuil & Wilton, 2009:464)." Through this interpretation of the welfare state wider varieties of motivations and outcomes can be captured than with totalizing interpretations of welfare state restructuring that "downplay or deny the locally-contingent and piecemeal nature of the welfare state (DeVerteuil & Wilton, 2009:464)."

DeVerteuil (2012) identifies three different types of spaces: First, these are spaces of abeyance which ty into the punitive logics of displacement and obscuring of homeless people, by providing alternative places to be – often highly regulated and monitored – without providing any support; Second, these are "spaces of care" that provide genuine

help to people that need assistance, like mentally ill persons or substance abusers. Finally, these are "spaces of sustenance", that ensure the survival of vulnerable populations, but are structured through their own agency.

This approach does not deny the increasing punitive policies applied in many cities during recent years, but suggests that homeless policies are rarely entirely punitive. As Jon May and Paul Cloke (2014:898) pointed out, "the 'balance' between the more obviously punitive and apparently supportive, would appear to be strongly path dependent, with significant variation between countries, different cities within the same country, and according to individual practices on the ground."

I) Resilience of welfare services

While most of the previous approaches see the state as a monolithic entity that follows one particular logic – in most accounts the logic of neoliberalism – that is challenged by voluntary organizations, recent accounts on the resilience of welfare services give credit to the contradictions within the state (national and local). They stage their enquiry in a neoliberal setting, in which previous welfare arrangements are rejected, and face active dismantlement. This strategy was termed "roll-back" neoliberalism, manifesting itself in the hollowing out of the Keynesian welfare state, through deregulation, devolution, privatization and austerity measures. As response to the apparent failings of welfare state hollowing out, this was followed by a phase of "roll out" neoliberalism. In it the welfare state deepened its interventions proactively by employing workfare, criminalization and labor market flexibility, re-regulating and micromanaging the poor (Peck & Tickell 2002). The result of roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism is the post-welfare city, characterized by entrepreneurial policies that promote the marketing of the city while infamize and punishing the poor (Fairbanks 2009).

DeVerteuil (2015:6) opposes these holistic narratives and focuses on the "incomplete and uneven realities of current neoliberalism and the post-welfare city." He interprets neoliberalism as an assemblage of arrangements that are disparate, hybridized and intrinsically precarious, while existing side by side with residual welfare settlements form the previous Keynesian area.

The battleground where neoliberalist governments launch their attacks on residuals of the Keynesian welfare state was envisioned as the inner city. Midst the increasing metropolitan dispersion, fragmentation and implosion, the inner city remains politically and socially as a residual arena of collective consumption from the Keynesian area and tolerance for difference (Caulfield 1994). Until today it is home to a comparable large number of voluntary sector organizations which value the central location of the inner

city to maximize their accessibility as well as increase their visibility. Neoliberalism on the other hand, emerges in the inner city in the guise of gentrification, threatening the voluntary sector through rising land prices, NIMBY movements and displacement of its clients. Nevertheless, as DeVerteuil (2015) scrutinized, most of the volunteer sector organizations manage to "stay put" in this gentrifying environment by becoming resilient. By doing so the voluntary sector organizations enable the everyday survival of their clients through the care – sometimes taking on coercive forms - they facilitate.

But DeVerteuil points also out that resilience of the voluntary sector comes always with strings attached and requires some compromises, having the potential to erode its caring and sustaining functions. Nevertheless, most of the voluntary sector organizations operate with relatively little exogenous help, and although not aiming for spectacular resistance or reworking, they are able to defend successfully their centrality, accessibility and power to enable the everyday slog of survival.

2.3. Characteristics of Welfare Geographies in Japan

A) Districts of disorganization

The *yoseba*, which developed after the Second World War as areas in which most of the homeless concentrated, were started to be researched at the beginning of the 1960s, at the same time first policies were enacted to address social problems. Especially researchers associated with social pathology were involved in this early research, rendering *yoseba* as ripe for (welfare) intervention.

One of the most famous advocates of social pathology was Kaoru Ōhashi (1972) who classified *yoseba* under the category of "districts of disorganization (*kaitai chiiki*)". He characterized these districts of disorganization as neighborhoods in which social groups concentrate, which's community structure and organization had collapsed. Because of what he identified as abnormal and differing basic structuring elements, like aims, roles, standards, resources, etc., mutual coordination becomes impossible, recognition and understanding as group disappears and agreements on concepts of value and attitude dissolve, undermining the whole purpose of a group. These areas arise when "fallen people" are segregated under certain local characteristics. Physical dilapidation, the disorganization of the residents' lives and an abnormal and differing social or cultural structure, were considered by him to be characteristics that facilitate the formation of districts of disorganization.

This social pathology approach was mainly criticized out of two reasons. The first one is that this approach lacked the recognition of the structural context that formed districts

of disorganization. Unemployment, poverty or deviancy were dealt with as separated phenomenon, giving only little insights on the whole structure of society. Further it was also criticized that norms for the pathology were to academic. Most of the categories were not qualitatively evaluated, did not include the average level of the public opinion, and therefore did not fit to get insights into social pathologies (Nakamura 1967).

Nevertheless, this kind of social pathology research was a crucial contribution, because based on its insights for the implementation for social welfare policies a series of experiments were conducted by the government. Ōhashi himself determined with his surveys the pathologies under the residents of Kamagasaki in terms of population structure, housing and occupation situation, and living standard, being the main concern of later policies. Other representatives of social pathology research like Juichi Ōyabe (1980) played an active role in the following *yoseba* welfare policies. Ōyabe was a constituent member of Osaka City's Social Welfare Council recommending policies for work and relief in emergency situations, as well as the welfare policies for the Airin District (Niwa 1992). While research in social pathologies had a considerable impact on the formation of a particular *yoseba* welfare system, it did not provide a theory on the spaces of welfare services. The first accounts on welfare services, which were a response to the welfare system that had emerged around the *yoseba* in the 1960s and 1970s, is the topic of the next sub-section.

B) The exclusionary space of yoseba

Policies concerning day laborers and *yoseba* were started in Japan, during the era of high economic growth and under the influence of restrictive policies towards labor immigration. In this time *yoseba* were institutionalized, through intervention on the federal state, prefectural and city level, turning them into highly exclusionary spaces of poverty concentration. These interventions were criticized by most of the academic literature as discriminatory aiming to contain poverty in segregated spaces. Welfare services that were mostly provided by the public sector or organizations working close together with it, enforced this tendency aiming actively to spatially contain day laborers and the to their lifestyle related homelessness.

While the Japanese economy was heavily hit by the Second World War, it entered a period of high growth between 1950 and 1972. In this time the GDP grew by about 9% annually, increasing the economy in 22 years by a factor of seven. The economic growth was generated by a profit-investment-led growth pattern. Although the typical Fordist productivity-index growth of wages was missing, the massive domestic demand, produced by the construction of industrial and agricultural infrastructure, which had

been underdeveloped and needed investments, generated a steady growth. After being heavily hit again by the oil crisis in the 1970s, Japan's economy soon recovered, due to Keynesian deficit spending and due to a stronger orientation towards export. Before this background the day labor market became a crucial factor for poverty policies (Hayashi 2013).

After the Second World War, homelessness was omnipresent and conceived as a consequents of the war. Under this perception countermeasures were placed in prime urban spaces. For instance, the Osaka Municipal War Era Counselling Office (*ōsaka shiritsu senji sōdan-sho*), and its successor were located in the Osaka station building (Niwa 1992). But with the heightened demand for labor, during the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s and the continuing day laborer riots that called for an improvement of the situation, *yoseba* were transformed into suppliers of cheap labor, with the aim of effectively utilizing the day laborer workforce (Haraguchi 2017). The institutionalization of *yoseba* was promoted by interventions on the natinal scale, confining day laborers to certain places where with all aspects of their lives were dealt with. This involved next to surveillance also the construction of worker welfare centers and in Osaka the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center (*shiritsu kōsei sōdan-sho*), which had been moved from its Osaka station location. Around these institutions a rudimentary welfare system for day laborers, evolved (Haraguchi 2003). As result, homeless countermeasures became equivalent to *yoseba* policies, containing homelessness through a highly localized welfare regime (Niwa 1992). But this system worked also to exclude day laborers from the primary social security system. Day laborers who lost their job and ran out of money could not rely on public assistance and were forced to sleep rough (Haraguchi 2017).

Due to the harsh policies adapted in the *yoseba*, day laborers had a deep-rooted distrust towards publicly run welfare facilities. For instance, in Kamagasaki in a survey conducted in 1988 only 40% of the people visiting the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center, were repeaters proving the deep distrust that existed at that time (Niwa 1992). Therefore, the management of the Airin Work and Welfare Center, that was assigned with the improvement of the work conditions for day laborers, was entrusted to a private organization although it had been publicly funded. In the same way as welfare facilities run under the Public Assistance Act, the housing assistance for day laborers, that was only provided in the form of seasonal shelters for the winter, was entrusted to social welfare legal entities (Haraguchi 2016).

The concentration of rough sleepers in *yoseba* was enforced by strong exclusionary sentiments towards homeless people by local residents. For instance, in Osaka city it

was reported that in 1981 residents living close to Kamagasaki consulted with the police to "build an environment hard to habilitate by vagrants". This led to a modification of public spaces, including countermeasures like enclosing parks with fences, or modifying benches and places under elevating structures, making it difficult to use them for rough sleeping (Niwa 1992). Although, rough sleeping was accepted in the *yoseba*, research was eager to point out it's negative implications. For instance, Niwa (1992) reported that in Kamagasaki a high number of attacks on rough sleepers, robbing their possession and causing heavy injuries, occurred. As a result of this many homeless people tried to avoid the *yoseba* and slept rough in nearby urban areas (Niwa 1992).

According to Takeshi Haraguchi (2003) through the institutionalization of *yoseba* both the negative social image of day laborers and their usability as labor force were reinforced, giving no credit to the welfare services provided through the Airin system. The institutionalization of *yoseba* strengthened rather the social borders that separate "us" from "them", increasing the negative image of day laborers. It is rather a political maneuver, an attempt of capital to discipline labor (Haraguchi 2017).

Under these conditions genuine care was provided as part of the political activity formed by day laborers and young people from the student movement that started in the 1970s. The winter struggle or summer festival, that developed at that time had the outspoken aim to support the lives of day laborers and consolidated as a stronghold of their collective spirit. This "people's infrastructure" consisted of self-organized institutions created by those who are shunned in order to survive, built on seized infrastructure (public parks) (Haraguchi 2017).

In their endeavor they were joined by other activists, motivated by Socialism, Marxism, religion (mainly Christianity), and other humanitarian convictions (Yamamoto 2010). Christian organizations, although being a much smaller factor than in the European and American context, were operating as well in *yoseba*. They had given up direct proselytization, due to the low spiritual needs of the day laborers and focused therefore stronger on structural issues of unequal power relations, poverty and discrimination. Due to this agenda they started to work closely together with the day laborer unions, providing support that filled into the holes left by public welfare (Shirahase 2015). In Yokohama's Kotobuki-chō young local officials joined this movement on an individual level. Their major contribution was to educate the laborers on their fundamental rights as laborers, stimulating the day laborer movement (Yamamoto 2010).

C) Spaces of social inclusion

An interpretation of *yoseba* as spaces of social inclusion developed during the 2000s,

when a whole set of new homeless policies was adapted in several Japanese cities. The major changes were described as follows: a) Together with new facilities existing welfare facilities were geared towards transitional facilities, b) public assistance became available for homeless people, and c) NPOs emerged as agents for homeless support and its promotion (Mizuuchi 2010).

After the bubble economy had ended in 1992 Japan faced a serious recession. As consequences GDP growth and domestic consumption stagnated, and unemployment increased dramatically, while Japan's international competitiveness considerably decreased. It was not until the mid of the 2000s that an export-led growth pattern could be established that brought some stability to the economy. But from this growth not all parts of Japanese society could profit, a situation that called for new modes of poverty regulation (Hayashi 2013).

Under this changed economic situation, homelessness increased dramatically, and became a citywide phenomenon. Many day laborers were unable to find work, due to a slowly advancing process of "deyosebaisation", that dismantled their function as providers for casual workers. They were joined by other casually employed workers, who lost their job due to a shift from manufacturing to service industry, mechanization of manufacturing processes and intensification of intercorporate competition, that necessitated a rationalization of labor management (Aoki 2003). Concerns towards homeless people in the city center, residential areas and around terminal stations heightened, perceiving homeless people in public space as nuisance, turmoil or threat. Comparing this to the reaction towards homeless people in Kamagasaki and its vicinity, Mizuuchi (2001) termed the latter as "peaceful coexistence (*heiwa kyōzon*)". Not only were the homeless people here not perceived as such a crucial problem, but the local residents engaged actively in solutions. They were used to share the public space with homeless people, and in many cases problems could be solved locally through individual or institutional negotiations.

Further, with the start of a new national homeless support framework in 2002, that introduced new facilities like shelters (*ichiji hinan-sho*) and self-reliance support centers (*jiritsu shien sentā*), aiming to provide a rout into regular employment, as well as the gradual extension of public assistance to homeless people changed the research agenda drastically. In the face of this changes, many researchers focused on how these new institutions and resources can be utilized to enable social inclusion.

Research on public assistance focused on specialized kinds of housing. In Osaka city this were the so called supportive houses, former flophouses in the *yoseba* that were converted into apartments for public assistance recipients. This private housing is

designed especially for elderly and handicapped people by providing services to apply for public assistance, attend residents to hospitals or the ward office, manage their finance etc., that were considered to be necessary to make their housing situation sustainable. Since these services are not covered by public assistance benefits, they are charged with the rent (housing benefit). As Tatsuya Shirahase (2014) argues this makes them very sensitive to changes in the benefit framework, and blurs the line to "poverty business", that aims at poor people, but is consolidating poverty rather than providing an exit. Nanami Inada (2011) points out that in contrast to the short-term support for day laborers that was common in the past, the new support of private organizations has a long-term nature supporting permanent residents. This let to the formation of networks, like a new neighborhood organization that includes also residents of the supportive houses and the formation of the NPO Supportive Houses Council (*NPO sapōtibu hausu renraku kyōgi-kai*), that aims to optimize their support. By providing the community space of supportive houses to voluntary organizations and self-help groups the empowerment of the residents is planned. But, despite all this optimism, Inada points out that troubles concerning daily life issues inside the supportive houses are frequent, the continuing aging of the residents requires further adaptations of the building and services, and the local community strongly opposes this development.

But the development of housing for public assistance recipients was not confined to *yoseba* alone. Toshio Mizuuchi (2007) who surveyed housing for public assistance recipients in Osaka city's Nishinari ward showed that this phenomenon was far exceeding the *yoseba* area and housing for public assistance recipients was present in many other places. More than 70% of public assistance recipients residing in these so-called "welfare apartments" lived in the past as day laborers in Kamagasaki and/or had experienced homelessness. Aiming to evaluate if this new approach enables the public assistance recipient's "self-reliance (*jiritsu*)" – a term that became popular in the Japanese policy discourse, meaning in this context that a person is able to live a housed life on its own – the lack of social contact and possibilities to work, as well as the fact that about 30% of the residents need some kind of support to continue their housed life were pointed out. Public assistance works also as a supplement to existing income in the case that it is not sufficient for living. Former homeless people, mostly single elderly man, utilize these benefits to secure a housing, mostly in inner city areas of major Japanese cities (Mizuuchi 2010b).

In Yokohama city a contrary dynamic was observed. Since, Yokohama city accepted flophouses as proper residence for public assistance recipients, many flophouse owners started to actively reach out to public assistance recipients, preferring them over

laborers. This triggered already at the end of the 1990s a reconstruction boom of flophouses, which resemble today one room apartments geared to elderly people. In combination with a strong opposition to public assistance recipients outside of Kotobuki-chō, this situation attracted also many other elderly single man who never worked as day laborers to the area. The newly created homeless support facility contributed also to this development. In order to avoid NIMBY opposition it was placed in the *yoseba*, where it worked as a magnet for homeless people who were seeking help. Since there were no other facilities for homeless people in the city, it attracted many of them to the area, where their presence was more likely to be tolerated than in gentrifying central city locations (Yamamoto 2010).

Because housing for homeless people is not provided through the public sector in Japan, in combination with public assistance benefits this gave rise to NPOs and private providers who specialize on welfare housing. In the Tokyo metropolitan area NPOs utilized especially free and low budget hostels (*muryō teigaku shukuhaku-sho*), a second class social welfare business[3]. While many of them are run by NPOs, they suffer from bad living environment and unclear business practices. To improve the situation Tokyo metropolis and later the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare intervened and published new guidelines. While many of the free and low budget hostels charged the maximum of housing benefits as rent, a new standard for calculation was introduced that orientates itself on the room size. Attempts for a stronger regulation through the introduction of a standard for management costs showed less effect, although many free and low budget hostels provide care and/or self-reliance support (Inada & Mizuuchi 2009).

D) Towards a bourgeois utopia

Next to this reading, also research emerged that focused on emerging threats to the new spaces, created by the welfare state and homeless people. These took on the guise of a new public discourse that threatens the solidarity with homeless people, the switch of many flophouses to the tourism industry, and the challenging of homeless people's spaces in the city.

Hayashi (2015) interpreted the sharp increase of public assistance recipients in 2009 as gain of the homeless urban social movement, that was achieved through the rescaling

[3] Japan's Public Assistance Act distinguishes between first and second class social welfare businesses. While first class social welfare businesses are financed through public assistance and their management is restricted to the public sector and registered social welfare entities, second class social welfare businesses get no financial support and have no restrictions regarding the managing body. For them only business outlines are provided.

of its base through mobilizing events in 2008 in Tokyo from *yoseba* to the national scale. While this achievement translated directly in an expansion of the public assistance scope, it was soon countered by an othering of homeless people, that rescaled them outside of the Japanese social rights framework.

This new discourse on public assistance, promoted by Japan's political, intellectual and moral elites, focused on the purported "destructive" effects of public assistance increase, that lead to "welfare dependency" and produce "parasitic" social classes. In this way the increase of public assistance recipients was rendered as threat and the Japanese government accused of lavish welfare spending. Backed by this discourse the rebuilding of public assistance was started, through the introduction of a second safety net layer that channels people away from public assistance, the reconstitution of the best balance between self-help, mutual help and public help, as well as harsher regulatory activities at the local level.

By referring to Friedrich Engel's (1954:17) "bourgeois utopia", in which also working-class families can realize an own little house, Mahito Hayashi (2015) illustrates how the othering of homeless people functions. Through ongoing suburbanization and the construction of public housing this bourgeois utopia was nearly realized, and in contrast to the private spaces taking on the form of housing, open spaces evolved into spaces that serve public or quasi-public purposes. Homeless people who occupy these public spaces for their private needs do not fit in this evolving public-private divide and are therefore conceived as other. "In short, as urbanization fully encircles the globe, the homeless find hardly any spaces in which to settle outside of capitalistic cities, outside the firm division between 'public' and 'private' spaces (Hayashi 2015:437)."

The slow dismantling of *yoseba* as home for day laborers and public assistance recipients is as well of concern to this sort of research (Haraguchi 2015). In all *yoseba* it was observed that flophouses are shifting their business more and more to the tourist industry (Matsumura 2009, Suzuki 2011, Yamamoto 2010). This process was pushed forward by the increase of foreign inbound tourists who are not as sensible to the areas stigma as permanent residents. The declining day labor market that erodes more and more the customer base of the flophouses, in combination with cheap land prices and the central location of *yoseba,* made catering to tourists a lucrative business alternative for flophouse owners (Suzuki 2011).

Further, cause of the strong similarities between the eviction of homeless encampments from public parks in Osaka city during the 2000s and the eviction of homeless encampments in New York described by Smith (1996), Haraguchi (2015) argues for a revanchist like approach to homelessness in Osaka city. This is manifesting in two

concrete problems. First, this are attacks on homeless people form the civil society, causing heavy injuries and frequently even death, and bashing of public assistance recipients in the media. Second, in a wider sense this refers to the ongoing class remaking of the city, that is erasing the memory of the working class, and the conflicts it fought from the urban landscape.

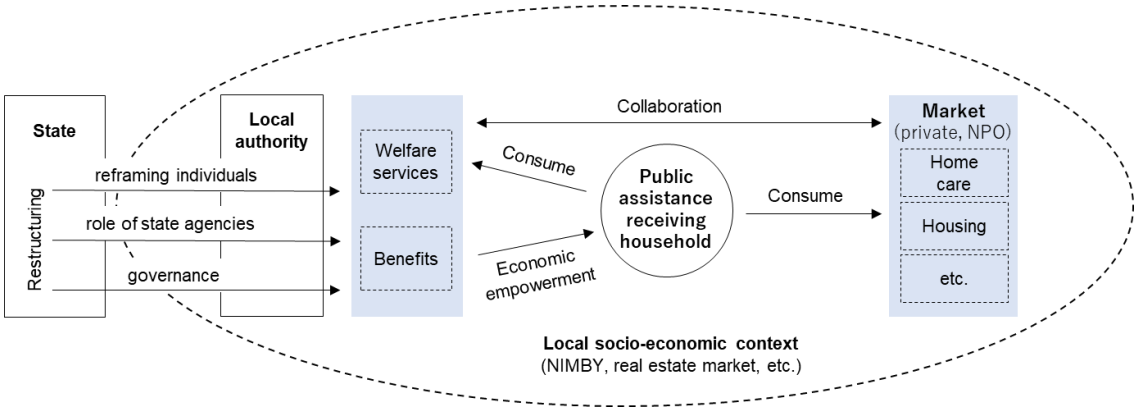
2.4. Summary

The discussion above revealed a wide range of factors that contribute to the production of space by the welfare state and showed the diversity of the spaces they can create. In the following the most crucial factors for the production of these welfare spaces are summed up, and a framework (compare to figure 2.4.1) for the spatial analysis of restructuring of public assistance allocation in Osaka city is developed.

A) A framework for the analysis of welfare spaces

First, welfare state restructuring is occurring mainly on two levels, the central state, that has a guiding and financing function, and the local authority assigned with the realization of welfare and its restructuring in a particular area. Despite this coordinating role of the central state, the literature review showed that the local authority that is assigned with the implementation of welfare policies creates distinctive local interpretations. This was well illustrated by the revanchist city (Smith 1996), the post-justice city (Mitchell 2001), and the post-revanchist city (Murphy 2008), phenomena that were created primarily by urban authorities.

Figure 2.4.1 Research framework



The local authorities create these spaces of welfare through the provision or reduction of welfare services. Like shown in figure 2.4.1 welfare services can be provided in three different ways: First, local authorities can provide welfare services directly, like housing run by the city authorities in Murphy's (2009) post-revanchist city. This gives local authorities total control not only over the kind of welfare service and the conditions to which it is provided, but also the place in which it is located. Through their management spatial aims can be employed, like the reduction of impoverished people in New York through the stop of public housing construction (Smith 1996).

Second, welfare services can be provided through other organizations, like NPOs or private companies that collaborate with the local authorities. This can have the effect, that they create spaces that do not follow the prevailing political impetus, like Johnson, Cloke and May's (2005) spaces of care, actively countering a neoliberal political environment. These spaces have not only a different quality, but can effectively resist urban remaking processes, for instance by staying put in a gentrifying inner city area (DeVerteuil 2015).

Third, although only insufficient discussed in the literature, welfare services can be also provided through welfare benefits, that economically empower individuals to get the services they need on the market. But this method gives the local authorities only limited control over what they actually consume, giving space for concern of its efficiency (Murphy 2009). In a spatial sense this means that individuals are no longer bound to a certain welfare service infrastructure, but can tap into regular consumer markets, although strongly limited by financial means they get.

All three ways of welfare provision are heavily influenced by welfare state restructuring, both on the national and local scale. The literature review showed the way in which the reframing of the individual through welfare provision can influence welfare geographies. In the revanchist (Smith 1996) and the post-justice city (Mitchell 2001) the individual was reframed as a threat to the economic development of the city, justifying the eviction of homeless people from public space, and reducing their presence to only some few places. Neo-Haussmannisation (Merrifield 2014) pushed this notion even one step further, rendering the individual as needless for the economy, legitimizing the eviction of an even wider group of people. But, as shown in the post revanchist city, a more supportive approach, that renders homeless people as individuals unable to care for themselves, can create also precarious geographies. Like the direct provision of housing through single room occupancy hotels by the city showed, this can create high concentrations of extremely poor people in inner city areas, highly criticized by various observers (Murphy 2008).

The role of the state as well proved to be influential for the formation of welfare geographies. The concept of "malign neglect" (Wolch & Dear 1993) showed well how the lack of obligations in the national legal framework for welfare enabled local communities to respond to NIMBYism by refraining from the provision of welfare services, creating a strong concentration of homeless people in more welcoming inner city areas. Further, by retreating from direct welfare service provision and assigning voluntary organizations to this task, spaces of care could be created (Johnson, Cloke & May 2005). In fact, as described above this opens up space for contradictory welfare realities, in which voluntary organizations have the ability to provide genuine help while the state is applying punitive homeless policies at the same time (DeVerteuil 2012).

Finally, also different forms of governance can contribute to the creation of certain welfare geographies. The deliberate confining of welfare services to inner city areas can produce spaces of social inclusion, in which housed life for people with high support needs can be realized, while suffering from all the negative aspects of highly concentrated poverty (Yamamoto 2014). Equipping voluntary organizations with a tight budget shapes the ability of the spaces they create to cater to certain groups and can undermine their mission of genuine care (Johnson, Cloke & May 2005). On the contrary, high independence from state funding can give voluntary organizations the ability to resist attempts of governance by the state, enabling them to resist threats from outside by getting resilient (DeVerteuil 2018).

But at the same time, the literature review showed that welfare geographies are not only created by welfare state agents alone. Other factors, called here local socio-economic context, are involved, coproducing together with the welfare state its geography. This involves NIMBY activities of local residents that protest against the placement of new welfare services, but also a longer presence of welfare services in some communities, that make it more likely to accept new ones (Dear & Wolch 1987). It can be also the real estate market, that allows the placement of welfare services only in certain areas through its price setting or scarcity of particular types of buildings (Murphy 2008). Further also changes of the urban environment, like gentrification can have effect on the welfare geographies through their impact on the lives of disadvantaged populations (DeVerteuil 2015).

B) Some remarks on Japan

In Japan, homeless people were strong subject to othering, rendering some individuals as outside of the Japanese mainstream society. This emerged first in the districts of disorganization (Ōhashi 1972) where its "residents" were rendered as pathological

different and was further reinforced through the installation of the Airin District, that produced this othering through institutionalization, confining day laborers and homelessness, to the *yoseba* (Haraguchi 2003). The in 2002 enacted homeless policy, the strengthenenig of self-reliane under public assistance and the in 2015 enforced policy for impoverished people, reframed homeless people through their inabilities that became subject of behavioral modification policies. At the same time othering reemerged at the end of the 2000s in the guise of public assistance bashing, that was soon adopted to public assistance through austerity measures (Hayashi 2015).

In Japan the role of the state proofed to be throughout a dominant one. On the one side this is in regard to the urban unity of Osaka city, that enabled a coordinated approach towards homeless people, the construction of the Airin District (Haraguchi 2003). On the other side, although some social welfare legal entities and private organizations were traditionally entrusted with the provision of direct welfare services, the facilities were partly erected by state agents, who continued to stay highly influential. As new actors NPOs emerged in recent years that took on the provision of direct welfare services. The expansion of the public assistance scope on the other hand allowed former day laborers and homeless people to rely increasingly on the private market for welfare services they need (Mizuuchi 2010b).

Finally, in regard to governance it was pointed out that many of the new facilities for homeless people that had opened during the 2000s, were run by social welfare legal entities, having usually a strong bond to the local authorities (Gill 2005). The increase of NPOs and private housing providers became a challenge to the established systems governance that called for new methods of governance. In Yokohama city spatial control of welfare recipients could be realized by the local authority through the direct referral of public assistance applicants to flophouses, confining them to the local *yoseba* (Yamamoto 2010). In Tokyo metropolis the use of free and low budget hostels to house homeless people gave the authorities the possibility to amplify their governance framework through the introduction of new standards for these registered welfare facilities, although having not the desired effect (Inada & Mizuuchi 2009).

The literature review provides only these preliminary findings, that are here employed to refine the analysis. Based on these insights in the following chapters a systematic inquiry on the spaces created by public assistance under Osaka city's welfare regime is provided.

3. Public Assistance and Support for Homeless and Impoverished People in Japan

3.1. Basic Outlines of Public Assistance

In this section an outline of the basic characteristics of the Japanese public assistance system is provided. It gives an overview on the major ideas that guide the allocation of public assistance, the institutions involved and the benefits and services that are provided through it.

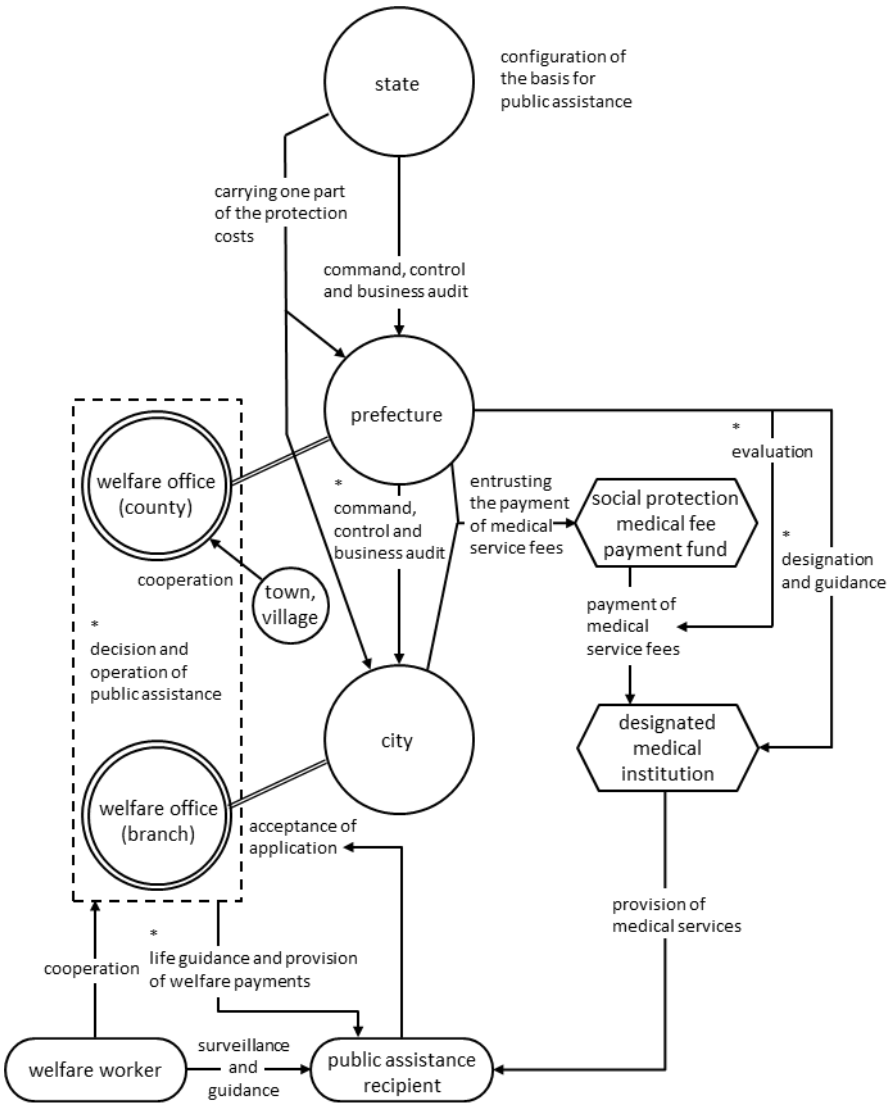
A) The implementation of the Public Assistance Act

The Public Assistance Act determines that the Japanese state has the duty of providing public assistance, but in praxis he is not directly operating it. Instead he entrusts the implementation of public assistance to the local governments, i.e. prefectures, cities and towns and villages with welfare offices. The state itself takes on command and control functions and is conducting business audits (KGK 1986). In the past this cooperation took on the form of assigned functions (*kikan inin jimu*), obligating municipalities to conduct programs according to the guidelines of the central government. But due to the enactment of the Decentralization Act (*chihō bunken ikkatsu-hō*) in 1999 assigned functions were abandoned and the administration of public assistance was reorganized into statutory entrusted functions (*hōtei jutaku jimu*) of the state and municipal administration (*chiji jimu*) (Makizono 2017). Municipal administration can be conducted with a certain autonomy and notifications from the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare take generally not legally binding "technical advices". In contrast, statutory entrusted functions, as the operation of public assistance, are functions of the state, which's operation is entrusted to the municipalities, allowing specific and case by case direct interventions of the state.

The functions of public assistance treated as statutory entrusted functions and those treated as municipal administration are clearly defined. Their sphere is defined according to the two basic functions of public assistance. The first one is to guarantee a minimum standard of living to all Japanese citizens, which is generally dealt with as a statutory entrusted function. Its second function, the promotion of self-support, is treated as municipal administration defined under the Local Government Act (*chiji chihō-hō*). This division is considered as necessary, because counselling, advising and directing that is conducted to promote self-support has to be in accordance to the local circumstances. Therefore, it cannot be dictated by the central government, and interventions take on the form of technical advices (Uchida 2014). Figure 3.1.1 gives an

overview on the institutions dealing with public assistance. It shows that the state takes on command control and business audit functions and carries a part of the costs, while the actual provision of public assistance is carried out by the local welfare offices. A federal system is applied, in which the state conducts command control and business audit of the prefectures, and the prefectures conduct command control and business audit of cities as statutory entrusted functions.

Figure 3.1.1 Official institutions dealing with public assistance



Source: KGK (1986); Note: * statutory entrusted functions;

Although the Public Assistance Act is firmly grounded in the Japanese Constitution and further guidelines are provided through the Ordinance for the Enforcement of the

Public Assistance Act (*seikatsu hogo-hō jisshi-rei*) and the Regulations for the Enforcement of the Public Assistance Act (*seikatsu hogo-hō jisshi kisoku*) (all of them were enacted in 1950) who are regulating the scale and operational practices of welfare provision, its enforcement is object to frequent adjustments (Uchida 2014). Uchida (2014:2) goes even so far as to say that "the history of the Public Assistance Act is the history of adjustments." In comparison to the Anglo-American Public Assistance Acts, the descriptions in the Japanese law are rather limited, defining only its basic subjects, and work rather as outlines. For instance, article 34 states that "medical expenditures are provided in in-kind benefits. But in cases this is not possible, not appropriate, or necessary to accomplish the goal of another type of protection, it is possible to provide financial benefits." Since, it does not say what falls under "medical examination", in which cases in-kind benefits are not appropriate, or what kind of formalities are necessary to provide financial benefits, it is very difficult to judge how to handle actual cases (Takechi 1989).

The details regarding the enforcement of the Public Assistance Act are regulated through adjustments and circulars (Takechi 1989). These adjustments and circulars are issued by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare and go directly to the implementing agencies, which are usually the prefecture governors or majors of designated cities, entrusted by the state with the operation of public assistance. The municipalities are obligated to provide public assistance and follow these adjustments and circulars (Uchida 2014). Consequently, the municipalities are not allowed to directly control the number of welfare recipients or the height of welfare expenditures.

The control the correct execution of laws in other ministries is usually done by voluntarily self-control, but welfare recipients, who are characterized by a low grade of organization, are not able to dos so (Takechi 1988). Therefore, the correct execution of the Public Assistance Act and the implementation of adjustments and notifications is verified through an annual business inspection. This inspection is conducted by the province governors through designated officers, who supervise the work of the municipal officials that directly execute public assistance. In the case irregularities are discovered corrections must be conducted, which are object to further reports (Uchida 2014).

The discussion above showed that the Japanese Public Assistance Act is a relative stable institution, continuing since 1950 without major changes. The Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare was identified as major constitutor of change that is realized through adjustments and circulars to the implementing agencies. These implementing agencies are entrusted with the operation and adaptation of public assistance and are subject of strict control. Formally, only the promotion of self-support, which is treated as municipal

administration, allows influence of the municipalities in order to react to local peculiarities of the job market.

B) Principles and general rules

Public assistance is provided according to certain principles and general rules, discussed here in detail. The Public Assistance Act lines out three principles.

1) Principle of "indiscrimination and equality (*musabetsu byōdō*)" (Article 2): It states that "all citizens may receive public assistance under the Public Assistance Act in a nondiscriminatory and equal manner as long as they satisfy the requirements prescribed by it (MIAC 2012)." Therefore, under the Public Assistance Act all impoverished people must be treated equal, without discrimination according to believe, sex, social status, origin etc. or according to the cause for their hardships. Nevertheless, the law is not providing unified benefits that ignore individual living conditions, and the benefit scheme is sensitive to individual needs (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000).

2) Principle of "minimum standard of living (*saitei seikatsu*)" (Article 3): "The minimum standard of living guaranteed by the Public Assistance Act shall be where a person is able to maintain a wholesome and cultured standard of living (MIAC 2012)." In reference to Article 25 of the Japanese Constitution, this principle regulates the guarantee of the minimum standard of living, defined here as wholesome and cultured living (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000).

3) Principle of the "supplementary nature of public assistance (*hogo no hosokusei*)" (Article 4) consists of three paragraphs. Paragraph 1: "Public assistance shall be provided based on the condition that an impoverished person shall utilize his/her assets, abilities and every other thing available for maintaining a minimum standard of living (MIAC 2012)." This means that the use of assets, abilities and other available things are a precondition for receiving public assistance. Only if these are not sufficient for reaching a minimum standard of livinga person is eligible to public assistance. Exceptions are only granted in the case that now or in the future retaining an asset is more effective to sustain the applicant's minimum standard of living or its self-reliance, or in the case it is not possible or profitable to sell it (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000).

Paragraph 2: "Any support given by a person responsible for support prescribed by the Civil Code (Act No. 89 of 1954) and any assistance prescribed by any other Act shall be provided in precedence to public assistance under the Public Assistance Act (MIAC 2012)." This means that aliment payments from persons under duty of support defined by the Civil Code have to be applied prior to public assistance. This include not only those who have an absolute duty of support, referring to relatives with a direct line of

descent and siblings, but also those with a relative duty of support, referring to up to third degree relatives and persons who are determined as having a duty of support by the family court (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000). Furthermore, people who have access to other support like pension payments or childcare allowance must apply for these first and are only eligible to public assistance if they do not reach the minimum standard of living (KGK 1986).

Paragraph 3: "The provisions of the preceding two paragraphs shall not preclude the provision of necessary public assistance in the case where there are urgent circumstances (MIAC 2012)." This paragraph relativizes the previous two paragraphs, by pointing out that in urgent circumstances assets, skills etc. as well as the support duty and other acts do not have to be utilized. These three principles are supplemented by general rules, outlining the conditions under which public assistance is provided. Following four general rules are pointed out in the Public Assistance Act.

1) "General rule of public assistance based on applying (*shinsei hogo no gensoku*) (Article 7)": The right for public assistance is principally realized through an application a person itself, the persons under duty of its support or another relative it is living together has to submit to the welfare office. Based on this application the welfare office decides if public assistance is granted or rejected. But, since there are impoverished people who cannot exercise their right of applying for public assistance, the welfare office has the authority to provide public assistance in exceptional cases.

2) "General rule of standard and extent *(kijun oyobi teido no gensoku)*" (Article 8): The right of receiving public assistance is based on a living standard, determined by the Minister of Health, Labour and Welfare. This standard allows to fully appropriate all necessities for life, but not more than that (KGK 1986). The actual height of benefits is calculated by the difference of a particular household's actual income to the determined living standard, which is sensible to attributes like age, household size, or location (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000).

3) "General rule of conforming to individual needs (*hitsuyō sokuō no gensoku*)" (Article 9): The kind, extend and method of providing public assistance must be set effective and appropriate according to the real needs of the recipient. Since the situation of every recipient is differing, the necessary assistance, like livelihood assistance, educational assistance, or medical assistance, and the appropriate method, like home assistance or facility assistance must be adjusted in every case in order to protect the minimum standard of living or promote self-reliance.

4) "General rule of household basis (*setai tani no gensoku*)" (Article 10): The basis for deciding if public assistance is granted or rejected and to verify its extent is the

household, and only in exceptional cases the individual. This general rule is based on the assumption that the economic life is centered on the household and consequently the whole household has to experiencing hardships in order to qualify for public assistance (KGK 1986). At next the different kinds of benefits that can be granted through public assistance based on these principles are discussed.

C) The benefit scheme of public assistance

The benefit scheme that is granted through public assistance showed only some minor changes over time. Initially, the old Public Assistance Act had provided five different kinds of benefits. These were livelihood, medical, maternity, occupational, and funeral benefits. With the introduction of the new Public Assistance Act in 1950, the type of benefits were increased to seven, including now also educational and housing benefits (KGK 1986). After 50 years without any change, a further type of benefits, care benefits, was added in 2000, making eight different categories available today. Care benefits were added as a reaction to the increase of elderly people and the decreasing capacity of families to provide necessary care. In order to react to this development already in 1997 the Care Insurance Act (*kaigo hoken-hō*) was introduced. Care benefits provided through the Public Assistance Act supplement this law by being granted to people unable to pay the out-of-pocket expenses for the care insurance because of their economic situation (Soeda 2014).

There are two different kinds of how these benefits are provided: 1) The most common way is the financial benefit scheme (*kinsen kyūfu*), through which usually livelihood, educational, housing, maternity, occupational, and funeral benefits[4] are provided. 2) Medical, and care benefits are provided in a material benefit scheme (*genbutsu shikyū*) through medical facilities, welfare facilities or home care providers (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000). The eight different kinds of benefits are described in detail below.

1) Livelihood benefits (*seikatsu fujo*) (Article 12): There are two different kinds of livelihood benefits. A) First these are ordinary expenses (*keijōteki keihi*), designed to cover the costs of daily life. Ordinary expenses are further divided into basic living expenses (*kijun seikatsu-hi*), various additional expenses (*kakushu kasan*) and artificial nutrition expenses (*jinkō eiyō-hi*). Basic expenses cover the food, clothes and other necessities of daily life as well as transport costs, that are necessary for a minimum standard of living. Principally they are provided to sustain the life of the recipient in its own home. In the case the recipient has to move to a hospital or welfare facility the

[4] In exceptional cases the financial benefits scheme allows also the direct provision of certain goods.

livelihood benefits are paid to the institution. Furthermore, the ordinary expenses are calculated on two components, personal expenses of each household member and household expenses. To respond to the needs that are not covered by the minimum standard of living, additional expenses are provided. These are as follows: Additional expenses for expectant and nursing mothers (*ninsanpu kasan*), additional expenses for handicapped people (*shōgaisha kasan*), additional expenses for home-care patients (*zaitaku kanja kasan*), additional expenses for people damaged by radiation (*hōshasen shōgaisha kasan*), additional expenses for child upbringing (*jidō yōiku kasan*) [5]. Finally. the artificial nutrition expenses are granted to toddlers of zero years who are 20% or more dependent on artificial nutrition.

B) Second these are temporary expenses (*rinjiteki keihi*) consisting of two groups. These are one-time benefits (*ichiji fujo*) which are paid at special occasions like, child birth, hospital discharge, or the start of public assistance to people who are not expected to be able to bring up the necessary money for some extra payments themselves. Furthermore, these are one-time benefits at the end of the year (*kimatsu ichiji fujo*) paid in December. Nevertheless, in the case a welfare recipient has earnings from work a part of the earnings is cut, called labor subtraction (*kinrō kōjo*). These consist of a basic subtraction (*kiso kōjo*) that can be expanded by various further subtractions.

2) Educational benefits (*kyōiku fujo*) (Article 13): These benefits are granted to households with children that cannot sustain the minimum standard of living by themselves. It covers expenses necessary for the compulsory education of the children, for instance study materials, school dinner, or transport costs.

3) Housing benefits (*jūtaku fujo*) (Article 14): On one side these benefits cover the rent or a part of the rent in the case more households share a tenement, room or land. Every year a standard rent is determined by the prefecture governor or the major of the designated or core city that must be approved by the Minister of Health, Labor and Welfare. The housing benefit does not exceed the standard rent, regardless the actual amount of rent. Deposit costs and other costs related to housing are carried as well by this kind of benefit. On the other side housing benefits are also granted for paying the land rent or maintenance costs of a building owned by a public assistance recipient.

4) Medical benefits (*iryō fujo*) (Article 15): These benefits are provided through designated health institutions. They are applied in order to provide services at the health institutions, like medical examinations, medication or operations, to provide care for

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[5] Further additional expenses for elderly people (kōrei kasan) and additional expenses for mother and child (boshi kasan), existed as well, but were abolished during the 2000s.

recovery at the recipient's home, hospital or clinic, and to cover the transport costs of patients. While as a general rule medical benefits are provided as material benefits, in exceptional cases they can be provided also as financial benefits.

5) Care benefits (*kaigo fujo*) (Article 15): People who are designated as being in need for support or care and cannot sustain a minimum standard of living by their own are eligible to care benefits. Through these benefits care equipment, adaptation of buildings, or care in welfare facilities etc. are provided using the material benefits scheme. Expenses necessary to pay care insurance are subject to livelihood benefits.

6) Maternity benefits (*shussan fujo*) (Article 16): People who are not able to sustain a minimal standard of living by their own are eligible to these benefits. It covers the costs for child delivery assistance, treatment before and after the child delivery and necessary hygienic products. It is principally provided as financial benefit.

7) Occupational benefits (*seigyō fujo*) (Article 17): People not able to sustain a minimal standard of living by their own are eligible to this kind of benefits. It provides means of production like instruments or documents, means to acquire skills and things necessary to find employment in order to enable the recipient to become self-reliant. Occupational benefits are usually provided as financial benefits, but in the case the recipient is using a welfare facility for occupational support it can be provided as material benefits.

8) Funeral benefits (*sōsai fujo*) (Article 18): People who are not able to sustain a minimum standard of living by their own are eligible to this kind of benefits. It covers the costs for the certification of the death, the transport of the corps, and other costs necessary for the funeral (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000).

D) Housing protection

As outlined in article 30 of the Public Assistance Act: "Livelihood assistance shall be provided at the home of a welfare recipient. But, in the case this is not possible or the welfare recipient desires it, public assistance may be provided by having the welfare recipient admitted into a relief facility (*kyūgō shisetsu*), a rehabilitation facility (*kōsei shisetsu*) or any other appropriate facility, by entrusting such admission into any such facility, or by entrusting nursing care to the home of a private individual (MIAC 2012)." Therefore, public assistance can be realized in following three places: The welfare recipients' home, a welfare facility and the home of a private individual (MJ 2017). An exception to this rule are only medical benefits, that are accessible also for persons without a registered home (Makizono 2017).

Although welfare recipients have principally the right to choose freely their place of living, in reality this used to be undermined by the praxis of public assistance provision.

The right to choose freely a place of living is guaranteed by Article 22 of the Japanese Constitution, stating that "every person shall have the freedom to choose and change residence and occupation to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare (MJ 2017)." The Public Assistance Act emphasizes this, and points in Article 62 out, that the implementation agency of assistance cannot enforce care against the will of welfare recipients. According to Kazuhiko Ikeda (2011) this is undermined by the fact that the same article states also, "when a public assistance recipient has violated any obligation under the provisions of the preceding two paragraphs [concerning advices from public assistance administrators and rules of welfare facilities], a public assistance administrator may change, suspend or discontinue public assistance (MIAC 2012)," giving the public assistance administrators the authority to sanction public assistance recipients.

While public assistance is usually provided at the home of welfare recipients, institutionalization into welfare facilities is only applied in exceptional cases. This exceptional treatment is applied when the welfare recipient desires to live in a welfare facility, or the public assistance administrator decides to. Only when the welfare recipient agrees, facility protection is applied. Shinjirō Koyama (2004), the former Head of the Ministry of Health and Welfare's[6] Social Welfare Department, who was in office during the enactment of the Public Assistance Act, pointed out that facility protection is considered for cases in which a home is existing, but it cannot be used as living base because of its extreme unhealthy condition, the welfare recipient has not the ability to live on its own, has no one who takes care of him, has major physical or mental issues, or it is necessary to separate the him from a particular household. In other words, these are people in inappropriate or without housing, people lacking the ability to live on their own, and people who live in troubled households (Ikeda 2011).

For this group of people the right for a minimum standard of wholesome and cultured living is protected through facility protection. But in order to do not harm the right for a free choice of residence, for them living in facilities is not compulsory. Since public assistant administrators deny housing assistance for this group of people, they can only choose between a life in facilities where their right for a minimum standard of a wholesome and cultured living is protected or a life on the streets, where their minimum standard of living can not be realized. This custom was justified through the reasoning, that when welfare recipients do not want to live in welfare facilities provided for them, their right to a wholesome and cultured living can be abandoned (Ikeda 2011).

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[6] The Ministry of Health and Welfare is the predecessor of today's Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, which was founded in 2001.

E) Facility protection

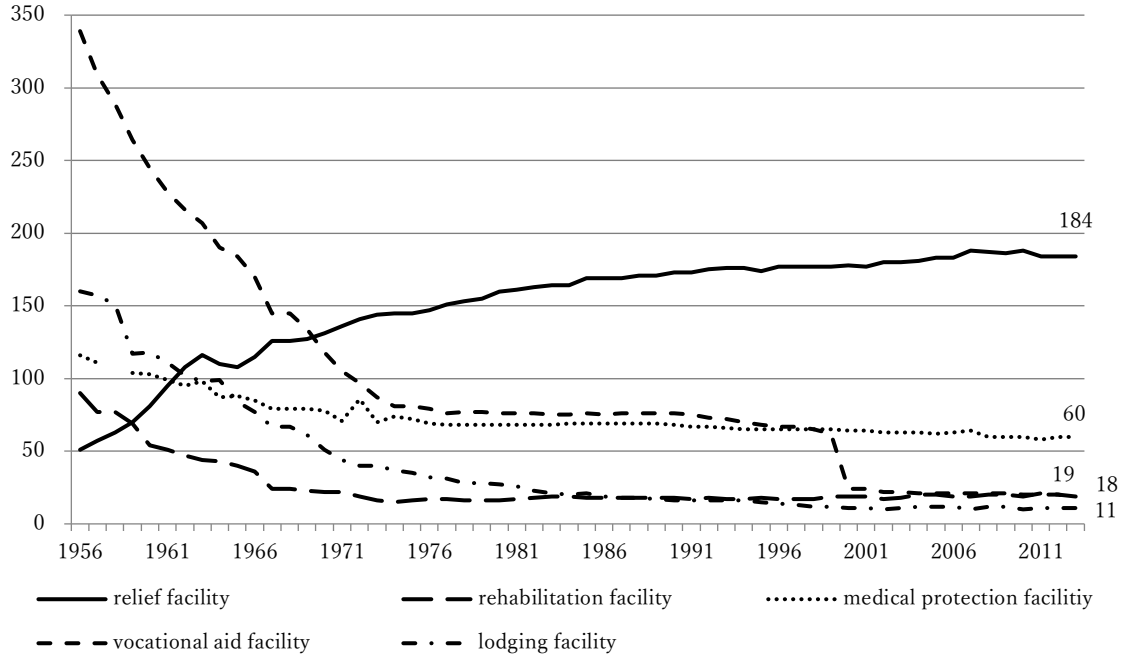
There are five different kinds of welfare facilities run under the Public Assistance Act. These are three housing providing facilities, the relief facility (*kyūgo shisetsu*) and rehabilitation facility (*kōsei shisetsu*) for singles, especially for handicapped people and disabled veterans, and the lodging provision facility (*shukusho teikyō shisetsu*) for families. In addition the medical protection facility (*iryō hogo shisetsu*) and the vocational aid center *(jusan shisetsu*) exist, that provide also shelter, but have primarily a different purpose。

These public assistance facilities are run by the state, municipalities, social welfare legal entities (*shakai fukushi hōjin*), civil legal entities (*minpō hōjin*), the Japanese red cross and other organizations. But most facilities that provide housing are run by local authorities or social welfare legal entities. This is specially the case for relief facilities, which's operation is restricted by law to local authorities and social welfare entities. Treatments and a system for entrusting treatments to specific facilities were established, allowing the public to finance welfare facilities according to the treatments they provide and their number of clients (KGK 1986).

In the case the facility is run by a municipality, the costs are treated like the administration costs of an imposed administration function (*kikan inin jimu*), but in the case the facility is not run by the state or directly by a municipal, a commission contract is signed with the organization running the facility and payments take the form of commission fees. The burden of the costs is carried by the state and the municipality the facility is located in. The state is paying 8/10 and the local government 2/10. The costs for the construction of facilities are carried by 2/4 by the state, 1/4 by the municipality and 1/4 by the organization that is running the facility (KGK 1986).

According to figure 3.1.2 rehabilitation, lodging provision, medical protection and vocational aid facilities reached their peak during the middle of the 1950s but, with the improvement of employment conditions and the decrease of unemployment, their number dropped rapidly until the 1970s. On the other hand, relief facilities increased until the 1980s and their number is maintained at a high level until today (Mizuuchi 2010a). In the following the welfare facilities run under the Public Assistance Act that mainly provide housing are outlined.

Figure 3.1.2 Welfare facilities run under the Public Assistance Act



Source: NIPSSR (2016);

1) The relief facility: This facility is the most common welfare facility under the five public assistance facilities. In 2013 with 184 about two thirds of all 294 facilities were relief facilities. By serving to 16,448 clients of the whole 18,651 clients of all five facilities they have by far the largest capacity (NIPSSR 2016). According to the Public Assistance Act "relief facilities admit persons who have difficulties leading their daily lives due to serious physical or mental disabilities, with the aim to provide livelihood assistance." Due to the diversification and specialization of welfare facilities that is advancing in recent years, the relief facility is often described as "left behind", because of its character as welfare facility based on the Public Assistance Act and its character as a class one social welfare enterprise[7] (Kyōgoku 2008). While the role of other facilities was taken over by new welfare facilities based on other specialized laws, the relief facility continues to be run under the Public Assistance Act. Nevertheless, the character of relief facilities changed after the revision of the Mental Health Act (*seishin eisei-hō*) in 1965 that promoted the social rehabilitation of handicapped people. As a result, relief facilities turned into catch basins for people with multiple disabilities and social handicaps, that

[7] Class one social welfare enterprises are considered to have a big impact on their clients and need therefore a stable management. Only the government or social welfare legal entities are allowed to run class one social welfare enterprises.

had no prospect of improving their health condition through training or rehabilitation. Joined by aged, handicapped and homeless day laborers, most of the relief facilities turned into permanent homes suffering from a bad reputation as being "at the bottom of social welfare (Mizuuchi 2010a:56)."

2) The rehabilitation facility: The number of this facilities reached its peak in the 1950s, but declined rapidly in the 1960s. From this time on their number is maintained on a low level, counting 19 facilities with 1,417 clients in 2013 (NIPSSR 2016). According to the Public Assistance Act, "rehabilitation facilities admit persons who need nursing care and livelihood guidance due to physical or mental reasons, with the aim to provide livelihood assistance." They were created after the war with the aim of providing shelter to homeless single men. These facilities exist only in the former six largest cities. Since high numbers of day laborers used to live in these cities, this concentration pattern is reflecting the important role rehabilitation facilities played in the past for day laborers (Mizuuchi 2010a).

3) The lodging facility: Like the rehabilitation facilities, the number of lodging facilities reached its peak in the 1950s (Mizuuchi 2010a). Today their number is maintained on a low level, counting 11 facilities with 370 clients in 2013 (NIPSSR 2016). According to the Public Assistance Act "lodging facilities aim to provide housing assistance to households with persons requiring public assistance without home." In contrast to the relief and rehabilitation facilities they are designed not for singles, but for families.

F) Security of public assistance

Public assistance realizes the right of every Japanese citizen to a minimum standard of a wholesome and cultured living, defined by the Japanese Constitution and is therefore an institution with a strong legitimation. Nevertheless, there exist some cases in which it is denied to particular individuals. In principle case workers can deny public assistance if recipients are not fulfilling their duties. In this case sanctions or eventually a total cut of public assistance is possible. Typically, this is the duty to utilize all possible abilities and devote oneself to become self-reliant, or the duty to report every change in household income, place of residence, or number of household members. Also not fulfilling the duty to follow the directions and instruction of the welfare office case workers, or the pay back duty of payments the recipients received in case of emergency when they have again sufficient financial means, can become reasons for sanctions or the cut of public assistance (Nakagawa & Narikiyo 2000).

But there are also cases reported where the right to public assistance was denied without legal basis. The activist Haruki Konno (2013) who worked for many years with

public assistance recipients as representative of the NPO Posse, points out to two different ways this right is undermined by welfare offices. First, they deny impoverished people to apply for public assistance or create unnecessary exorbitant obstacles, called also "shoreline operations (*migiwa sakusen*)". By denying an application these tactics make use of the principle of applying. This "shoreline operations" can take on an uneasy systematic pattern but are tolerated by the central government. For instance, Kitakyūshū city became infamous for its "Kitakyūshū system", that sets an implicit limit of public assistance expenditures for 30 billion yen a year. This is reflected in the published numbers from the 1990s until the middle of the 2000s who do not surpass this number (Inaba 2013).

Second, people who receive already public assistance can be deliberately excluded by the abusive application of the case workers right to infringe the privacy of public assistance recipients or their right to terminate public assistance. This can occur in the form of extensive observation of recipients, or by giving them instructions for assignments that have a low prospect of success or are immoral. By giving unrealistic directions to the applicant they make use of his/her obligation to follow the caseworker's directions and instructions (Konno 2013).

3.2. Major Changes of Public Assistance

In the 25 years of observation, public assistance underwent several major changes that were introduced mainly through circulars of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. Several gradual changes occurred, under which the expansion of housing protection to homeless people, the introduction of support for community life to welfare facilities and the introduction of self-reliance support, are most influential. Based on a review of the circulars and other documents these changes are discusses in the following sub-section.

A) Expansion of housing protection to homeless people

Through several circulars of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare housing protection was altered in order to solve the increasing homelessness and poverty issue. The first circular was already issued in 1996, calling for assessing the eligibility of homeless people for public assistance equally to non-homeless citizens. But this circular had only a minimal effected and was not able to change the discriminatory practices of local welfare offices against poor single males, constituting the bulk of homeless people (Hayashi 2013). Further circulars and legislations followed, and those shown in figure 3.2.1 were considered of having a major effect on the scope of housing protection.

Figure 3.2.1 Major circulars and legislations concerning the adjustment of the housing protection scope

Date	Title
07.08.2002	About the application of public assistance to homeless people
31.07.2003	The basic guidelines for homeless self-reliance support*
31.07.2003	About the application of public assistance to homeless people
18.03.2009	About the commitment to support for people who lost their work and home
27.03.2009	First revision of the second circular from 2003
25.12.2009	About the points of concern for support regarding people who struggle for living because of job loss or other reasons

Note: * A supplement for the "Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People";

The first document that strengthened the right of homeless people for public assistance, was the circular “About the application of public assistance for homeless people” in 2002. By emphasizing that “the application of public assistance for homeless people is the same as for usual people, and someone cannot be denied public assistance because of simply being a homeless person or failing the preconditions for public assistance by lacking a home or having the ability to work”, the major reasons for denying public assistance to homeless people were addressed. Nevertheless, this circular recommended strongly to grant housing protection to homeless people after they had stayed in transitional facilities or hospitals. This was considered as necessary to address health, financial or lifestyle issues homeless people were assumed to have. Public assistance facilities and hospitals were designated to provide the necessary support. After discharging from them, public housing, homes for elderly people or other welfare facilities were recommended as adequate housing (NIPSSR 2017).

Treating homeless people like usual people was also demanded by “The basic guidelines for homeless self-reliance support” a supplementary document to the "Special Measure Law for Homeless Self-sufficiency Support" (MHLW 2003a) and the second circular “About the application of public assistance to homeless people” issued in the following year. The second circular provided more details regarding the handling of homeless public assistance applicants. It recommended an interview about -life, employment, health, housing history and current situation of the applicant at the welfare office to identify the necessary support or enabled those without obstacles to apply for public assistance and move directly into appropriate housing. Furthermore, it provided also outlines for the handling of deposit payments and suggested further support for those who live in apartments to prevent them from becoming homeless again

(SHHK 2016). Backed by the enactment of the new law in 2002, it had wide reaching effects especially on elderly homeless people (Mizuuchi 2007).

Further adjustments were made after fierce protests in Tokyo's Hibiya Park demanding action against increasing poverty following the global financial turmoil in 2008. The third circular "About the commitment to support for people who lost their work and home" was issued on the 18th May 2009. Next to strongly urging welfare offices to support public assistance applications of homeless people and denying the lack of address as a reason for refusing applications, it provided also government subsidies to increase the number of case workers, or to higher subsidiary staff specialized in work support. The fourth circular "About the points of concern for support regarding people who struggle for living because of job loss or other reasons", issued on the 25th December 2009, positioned a secure home as highest priority, for homeless people or people on the verge of becoming homeless. It urged welfare offices to provide support as fast as possible and to do not reject applicants just for one single reason (SHHK 2016). These circulars had the effect that public assistance could also be applied to younger homeless people (Hayashi 2015). Through this policy change the number of public assistance recipients rose nationwide from 1,344,327 in 2003 to 2,161,612 in 2013. Especially after the circulars from 2009 there was a remarkable increase with 170,952 new public assistance recipients in 2009 and 188,491 in 2010.

B) Re-examination of housing benefits

As shown above, the scope of housing protection was adjusted to cover homeless people, formally closing the hole in the public assistance system. But, due to the increase of public assistance recipients the reduction of expenditures on public assistance became a central concern. As result of a wider re-examination of public assistance payments, the circular "About the limit of housing benefits (apartment rent, room rent, etc.) set by the Minister of Health, Welfare and Labor based on the standards for benefits provided by public assistance" was issued on the 14th April 2015 and came into action with the begin of July the same year. Based on the nationwide development of rents between 2008 and 2013 (Shirahase 2017), the upper limit of housing benefits was reduced, the dependence on household size strengthened, and a system that made it relational to the actual room size introduced (SE 2015). In Osaka city the upper limit of the housing benefit scheme was downscaled from 42,000 to 40,000 yen (Shirahase 2015b).

These measures were propagated as "adjustment", saving about 19 billion yen of national expenditures until March 2017 (Shirahase 2017). Nevertheless, critics saw it responsible for a further deterioration of the living level of public assistance recipients.

It causes pressure from the welfare office to move in the case the rent exceeds the new upper limit and makes it temporarily difficult to find a new place to live that fits the tightened terms (Yoshinaga 2014). But also housing providers that specialized on homeless people, and financed their support through the rent, like the supportive houses, were expected to face difficulties to continue providing their services (Shirahase 2015b).

C) Hospital discharge

Next to housing protection, social hospitalization that was very frequent under mentally handicapped people, became a major concern of policy makers. The first attempts started already in 1987 with the enactment of the Mental Health Act (*seishin hoken-hō*) that promoted the discharge of mentally handicapped people from hospital but had only less effect.

More impact had the enactment of the Mental Health and Welfare Act (*seishin hoken fukushi-hō*) in 1995. Through this law many of the mentally handicapped people were discharged from hospitals and admitted to public assistance facilities. Especially relief facilities turned into their new homes (Makizono 2017). Today as well under the clients of relief facilities mentally handicapped people are strongly represented. In the National Survey on Relief Facilities, conducted in 2013 on 16.950 clients of 188 relief facilities, 37.7% (6,394 people) were identified as mentally handicapped people. In addition, 10.8% (1,828 people) of the clients had mentally and intellectual, and further 2.5% (421 people) had mentally, intellectual and physical handicaps. In sum, more than half of relief facilities' clients belonged to this group (ZKSK 2013).

D) Transformation of public assistance facilities

As pointed out above, facility protection developed as the way to provide public assistance to people without home, hamper them from using housing protection. But in recent years the character of the relief and rehabilitation facilities changed, opening up the way into a housed life for their clients. Starting in 1989 a series of cir5culars from the Ministry of Health and Welfare aimed to change relief facilities and subsequently rehabilitation facilities into transitional facilities, providing support and bridging the way into a housed life were issued. According to the National Relief Facility Council (*zenkoku kyūgo shisetsu kyōgi-kai*) three major programs were introduced that support people to live outside public assistance facilities. These are 1) the ambulatory support for public assistance facilities (*hogo shisetsu tsusho jigyō*), 2) the home-life training program for relief facilities (*kyūgo shisetsu kyotaku seikatsu kunren jigyō*), and 3) the temporary admission program (*ichiji nyūsho*) (ZKSK 2012:30). Major circulars related to

these programs are listed in figure 3.2.2.

Figure 3.2.2 Major circulars affecting the transformation of public assistance facilities into transitional facilities

Date	Title
01.07.1989	About the implementation of ambulatory support to relief facilities
24.06.1994	About the implementation of self-reliant life support programs for leavers from relief facilities and other people
29.03.2002	About the implementation of ambulatory support in public assistance facilities (abolition of the notifications from 1989 and 1994)
25.03.2003	First revision of the 2002 circular
24.02.2004	Second revision of the 2002 circular
14.12.2004	About the installation and operation of satelite type facilities for relief facilities
12.2005	Introduction of the "relief facility's individaul support plan"*
13.03.2006	Third revision of the 2002 circular
4.2009	Guideline for strengthening the relief facility's function*
27.03.2009	Fourth revision of the 2002 circular
29.03.2010	Fivth revisiont of the 2002 circular
11.06.2010	About the adoption of "the support program for the transition into housed life"subsidieced by the 2010 safety net support measures
4.2013	Action guideline for the relief facility's support for impoverished people*

Note: * Guidelines published by the National Relief Facility Council;

The first circular “about the implementation of ambulatory support to relief facilities” was already issued on the 1st July 1989. People discharged from relief facilities, public assistance recipients, and other people who are in need for support, are qualifying for it. Ambulatory support aims to increase the self-reliance of clients through guidance and training, regularly conducted at relief facilities. For this program the already existing guidance and training in the relief facilities was further supplemented with new elements. The support is conducted on five days a week and runs regularly for one year, but extensions are possible if required. Facilities that want to conduct ambulatory support must apply and report every year to the Minister of Health and Welfare.

In 1994, with the circular “About the implementation of self-reliant life support programs for leavers from relief facilities and other people” a new program was installed that aimed to support leavers of relief facilities, especially those on public assistance. In contrast to the ambulatory support, this program is based on consulting and assistance that is conducted on an irregular basis through visits or phone calls. It provides support for daily life (food, health, finance etc.), support to settle human relations at work and the local community, or to foster the relation to the family, aiming to clear out obstacles to the life in the community clients encounter. For the self-reliant life support program facilities must apply and report every year to the Minister of Health and Welfare (SHHK

2003).

In 2002 with the circular “about the implementation of ambulatory support in public assistance facilities” these two separated programs were merged into one, and it was extended to rehabilitation facilities. This time with the explicit aim to “animate clients to leave the facilities and to plan more effective utilization of the admission (SHHK 2005: 913) and was equipped with a larger budget (Mizuuchi 2010a)”. But in praxis this program faced some crucial problems and in 2003 only 16.1% (29 out of 180) of the facilities were running it. The program was criticized as being not adequate for the facilities’ reality. Especially limitations that exclude facilities with a low capacity or certain types of clients, as well as the fixed duration of the program, and a too inflexible support content was in the center of the critic. As a result, the circular was often revised, for the first time already in 2003 (ZJ 2003). Through these efforts the number of facilities conducting ambulatory support was increasing, reaching 26.2% (38 out of 145 facilities) in 2012. The program was used by 27 people per facility on average and served together to 919 people at the time (N.N. 2012).

Because relief facilities became an important housing option for people who were released from hospitals to solve the problem of social hospitalization, the need for them had increased again. To solve this problem, in 2004 the circular “about the installation and operation of satellite type facilities for relief facilities”, was released. It allowed facilities that were unable to increase their capacity through an extension of the building, to open separated small facilities, so called satellites, in their vicinity (SHHK 2016).

Next to these legal changes that enabled a new form of support, the support methods that aim for the self-reliance of the clients advanced as well. The National Relief Facility Council introduced in 2007 the “Guideline to strengthen the relief facility's function” to support clients who are seeking self-reliance in the community or inside of the facility. “Self-reliance, defined as the aim of the support, is here not only the economic independency realized through work, but concerns all kinds of problems client face, like rehabilitation from physical or mental illness, or restoring of an independent social life.”

In 2010 the terms of operation for the home-life training program for relief facilities and ambulatory support for public assistance facilities were eased, followed by the introduction of daily payment for the temporary admission program in 2011. This made the program to support people to live in the community easier to apply. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the program was applied in all relief facilities. Relief facilities have often very different characters. Some of them are only for men or women, or specialize on mentally challenged people, blind people, homeless people or alcoholics (ZKSK 2012:30)”, making it difficult to apply this program to all of them.

E) Public assistance and free and low budget hostels

A further type of facility that became object to support for community life was the free and low budget hostel (*muryō teikaku shukuhaku-sho*). Free and low budget hostels are second class social enterprises. They utilize a "program for lending simple housing for free or a low price to impoverished people or let them use a hospice or other facility (MIAK 2016b)" regulated by the 2nd Article's 3rd Paragraph of the Social Welfare Act (*shakai fukushi-hō*). Most of these facilities are also providing different kinds of daily life support regulated under the same paragraph of the Social Welfare Act (MIAK 2016a). Although they are not directly financed through the Public Assistance Act, many of their clients are public assistance recipients. A survey that was conducted in 2016 by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare on 537 free and low budget hostels revealed that 90.7% (14,143 out of 15,600 people) were public assistance recipients (MHLW 2015).

Free and low budget hostels that had the status of second class welfare enterprises already under the Social Welfare Enterprise Act (*shakai fukushi jigyō hō*) (renamed into Social Welfare Act in 2000) that came into action in 1951. Despite its long history its number was declining continuingly reaching its all-time low in 1998. But from 1999 on free and low budget hostels were reviving and their number increased rapidly. The background of this development is formed by the growth of poverty and increase of homeless people from the second half of the 1990s on. On one side this was because after the Public Assistance Act was adjusted to provide for homeless people, it became relative easily to receive public assistance for people living in free and low budget hostels. Further, Tokyo metropolis financially supported these facilities for a certain time period, leading to a strong concentration of free and low budget hostels in the Kantō region (Makizono 2017).

Figure 3.2.3 Major circulars concerning the implementation of the "home life transition support program" to free and low budget hostels

Date	Title
31.3.2011	About the implementation of the "home life transition support program"
30.3.2012	First revision of the 2011 circular

Although according to the *Explanations of the Social Welfare Act* (*shakai fukushi hō no kaisetsu*) free and low budget hostels are places for "temporary lodging" that can be used for "free or a reasonable prize" (Makizono 2017), the reality is different. 58.8% (9,179 people) of the residents stay longer than one year, and 32,3% (5,046 people) even longer than four years. In addition 79.9% (429 facilities) of the facilities charge rents

equal or even higher than the upper limit of housing benefits (MHLW 2015). This situation raised the suspicion of the authorities, that started to see it as a typical breeding ground for poverty business. Before this background support for community life was introduced to the free and low budget hostels (Makizono 2017). This was done through an implementation program started by the circular "About the implementation of the Home Life Transition Support Program (*kyotaku seikatsu ikō shien jigyō no jisshi ni tsuite*)" issued in 2011. This program introduced individualized support plans, life guidance, work support and home life support for the clients, to the free and low budget hostels. It can be realized by the municipalities in which free and low budget hostels are registered, institutions that are operating public assistance (social welfare legal entities, public interest corporations or NPOs) or social welfare legal entities, who are recognized of being able to conduct the program properly (SHHK 2016).

Nevertheless, in Osaka city this development showed not so much effect than in other parts of Japan. Free and low budget hostels concentrate strongly in the Kantō region, having according to the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare their highest concentration in Tokyo metropolis with 161 facilities that serve for 4,069 clients (3,779 of them are public assistance recipients). In contrast in Osaka city only 9 free and low budget hostels exist, that serve to 278 clients (144 of them are public assistance recipients) (MHLW 2015).

F) Introduction of "self-reliance support" to public assistance

Next to the expansion of housing protection to homeless people, "self-reliance support", a new policy aim, was introduced to public assistance. Although the term "self-reliance" is not new in the Public Assistance Act its meaning crucially changed during the 2000s. This new policy became one driving force for a wider application of housing assistance but aims also to bring people away from public assistance. Below, the implementation of self-reliance into public assistance and the changes it underwent over time are outlined.

Already the Public Assistance Act from 1950 pointed to the "promotion of self-reliance (*jiritsu no jochō*)" as one of its aims providing caseworkers the option to give "guidance and instruction" regulated in article 27. This "guidance and instruction" is conducted on the initiative of the welfare office and not the public assistance recipient. In the case the public assistance recipient is not following the order, Article 62 provides the option to stop or abolish public assistance payments (Makizono, 2017). Concerning this regulation, Yū Nakamura (2002), a public welfare scholar, argues for cases of a passive and an active appliance of self-reliance. Passive appliance means that self-reliance is used to exclude people who are considered of receiving public assistance undeservedly. This strategy was

chosen to provide an option to stop public assistance payments. Active appliance of self-reliance on the other hand, is supporting public assistance recipients to discover their chances to become autonomous and cultivate their abilities. Nevertheless, most of the policies towards public assistance interpreted self-reliance in the passive sense, as providing a possibility for sanctions.

Figure 3.2.4 Major circulars and legislations concerning the implementation of a new notion of self-reliance into public assistance

Date	Title
31.03.2000	Partial revision of the Public Assistance Act
31.03.2005	About the basic guidelines of the self-reliance support program in the fiscal year 2005
31.03.2005	About the guidance for the implementation of the self-reliance support program
31.03.2005	About the implimentation outline of the "work support program for public assistance recipients and others"
31.03.2005	About the points of attention concerning the implimentation outline of the "work support program for public assistance recipients and others"
13.12.2013	Partial revision of the Public Assistance Act

Note: * Business contact;

Influenced by policy changes that occurred all over the world, in Japan self-reliance came up during the 1990s as a new paradigm for welfare-policies. To the previous self-reliance (*jiritsu*) the new connotation of "self-determination *(jiko kettei)*" was added. During the 2000 these changes reached also public assistance leading to the implementation of a new self-reliance policy, through several partial revisions and circulars listed up in figure 3.2.4.

Self-reliance support changed especially the consulting services provided through public assistance, aiming to expand the public assistance system that was built simply around economic benefits. Backed by the Decentralization Law of 1999 the consulting and advising services to encourage self-reliance that have been conducted by the case workers got the status of municipal administration through the partial revision of the Public Assistance Act in 2000. The new legal text provided next to "guidance and instruction" a second regulation for the encouragement of self-reliance. The new Article 27-2 provides the possibility of "consulting and advise" to encourage self-reliance. "Consulting and advice" is conducted by the welfare office when requested by the public assistant recipient and is therefore not of coercive nature. This added self-determination to the previously strongly paternalistic approach of self-reliance in public assistance (Makizono 2017).

Actual "self-reliance support" was introduced in 2005 through three circulars and one

business contact. In the circular “About the basic guidelines of the self-reliance program in the fiscal year 2005” the reason for the introduction are given as follows: “We introduce the self-reliance support program with the aim to transform public assistance from the present system that is based on economic benefits, to a system in which welfare offices are systematically supporting the self-reliance of welfare receiving households (Makizono 2017, 68)”. Subject to this support are public assistance recipients. Self-reliance was broadly defined in three different ways: “Economic self-reliance” that focuses on work that can become the economic base for life, “self-sufficient daily life” focusing on the restoration and maintenance of physical and mental health as well as the ability of health and life management, and “self-sufficient social life” focusing on the restoration and maintenance of social bonds, turning public assistance recipients into members of local communities. To realize this, two programs, the “utilization program for work support projects” and the “individual support program” were introduced.

The utilization program for work support projects are conducted in public job offices in cooperation with the local welfare offices and other organizations. A team, consisting of members of both organizations is providing following five different kinds of support: 1) Support from the employment assistance navigator for public welfare recipients, 2) trial employment, 3) registration support for public vocational training, 4) application for occupational benefits or a private educational training course provided through the utilization of self-reliance support educational training benefits, 5) regular job counseling or referral. This support is provided to people who agreed to participate in the program, are able and willed to work and face no other obstacles to work.

The role of the “individual support program” is defined in the circular “About the guidance for the implementation of the self-reliance support program (proposal)”. “In many cases the precondition to work is the accomplishing and sustaining of a self-reliant daily life or social life (Maikzono 2017:69).” To provide adequate support to public assistance recipients, the self-reliance inhibiting factors are identified and according to them a program selected that convinces to realize self-reliance effectively and systematically. According to the Public Assistance Act public assistance recipients have the duty to utilize their capacity to work and cooperate to improve their lives. Before this background the self-reliance support program is defined as “the method to fulfill this duty”. Initially 11 different programs were proposed: Utilization program for the “work support programs for public assistance recipients”, work support program at the welfare office, work support program for young people at the welfare office, work support program for mentally handicapped people, utilization program for social engagement, motivation increase program for daily life, health management program for people with

lifestyle disorders, utilization program for the "hospital discharge promotion support program for mentally handicapped people", housed life support program for homeless people, and the program for people with multiple debts;

The standardized procedure of self-reliance support for public assistance recipients consists of several steps. These are clarifying the current condition of the public assistance recipient, selecting the individual support program, explaining its content to the public assistance recipient, recording the support progress, and periodical evaluation. In this process the cooperation of the public assistance recipient is crucial. He/she must agree to participate in the program and has to identify the major issues the program should aim to solve in order to set up a self-reliance plan. Since consulting and advice services under the Public Assistance Act are part of the municipal administration, their content varies considerably. Some of the municipalities employed advanced approaches to self-reliance regarding the content of their program and the methods they apply to realize them. Especially in these municipalities parts of these programs were entrust to NPOs, effectively utilizing their new possibilities (Makizono 2017).

From 2005 on the self-reliance support program was run under the previous safety net support measures program (*seifutinetto shien taisaku jigyō*). But through the partial revision of the Public Assistance Act and the enactment of the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People (*seikatsu konkyūsha jiritsu shien-hō*) in 2013, it became a part of the self-reliance consulting support program for impoverished people (*seikatsu konkyūsha jiritsu shien jigyō tō*) from 2015 on. The "Law for a partial revision of the Public Assistance Act", that was issued in 2013, introduced a new kind of "self-reliance" to the Public Assistance Act, aiming to utilize the abilities of public assistance recipients as far as possible and bring them back into work (Makizono 2017). This shift potentially channeled more people, especially those of younger age, away from public assistance.

The number of participants in the self-reliance support program was increasing constantly. 10.7% (188,251 people) of all public assistance participated in 2009 in the self-reliance support programs, and their share increased steadily, reaching 20.0% (432,510 people) in 2014. Nevertheless, the majority of participants were in programs for economic self-reliance, accounting for 63.1% (272,972 people) in 2014. Mainly these were programs for employment support, but also to a lesser share, programs clarifying rights to pensions. 26.7% (115,285 people) participated in programs for self-sufficient daily life, covering primarily general support for daily life, but also health management and life support for housebound seniors. The remaining 10.2% (44,253 people) that were in programs for self-sufficient social life were mainly children and students, that were supported to prepare for high school or prevented from dropping out of school. The self-

reliance support programs were in 48.6% (210,288 people) of the cases successful. Results varied strongly according to the type of support. With 79.5% daily life self-reliance support programs were most successful, followed by social life self-reliance programs with 44.6% and economic self-reliance support programs with 36.2%.

3.3. Newly Introduced Laws Dealing with Homelessness

Next to these changes of public assistance, two new laws dealing with homeless people were introduced that changed the role of public assistance. These were the Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People enacted in 2002 and the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People enforced in 2015. Both are discussed in detail in the following.

A) Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People

During the second half of the 1990s homeless people extraordinary increased throughout of Japan and became highly visible in major cities. On the national level homelessness was first addressed in 1999 with the "Conference on the Homeless Issue (*hōmuresu mondai rengō-kai*)". This conference set out the outlines of homeless support defining three categories of homeless people: 1) People who want to work but are unemployed because they cannot find work, 2) people who need help, like medical or welfare support, and 3) people who refuse social life. Nevertheless, most of the homeless policies dealt with the first group (Tsutsumi 2010). This was followed by the enactment of the Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People in 2002, providing a definition of homeless people and outlining the aims of the support. The new law, originally limited to a ten-year period, was revised in 2007, and extended for another five years in 2012 and 2017. Additional policy outlines were given through the Basic Guidelines for the Self-reliance Support of Homeless People (*Hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien tō ni kansuru kihon hōshin*), which were published in 2003 and revised two times.

In this law, homeless people were defined as "individuals who use without reason city parks, river beds, roads, train stations or other public facilities as place for living and conduct their daily life (MHLW 2002)." Based on the early policies for homeless people they were further divided in the three groups mentioned above (Tsutsumi 2010).

Municipalities that adapt this law must develop implementation plans for the homeless support, that are in line with the basic guidelines. The support itself was built on the clients free will. Policies for self-reliance were given highest priority, while the

support for people who stayed homeless were considered as emergency counter measures with a transitional character. For homeless people who want to become self-sufficient, work should be secured through the provision of stable workplaces and the development of vocational skills. Furthermore, support for stable housing, medical treatment and general life should be provided as well. For people who are on the verge of become homeless, secure job opportunities and life consulting and guidance should be provided. In addition, also temporary shelters and goods necessary for daily life should be provided for emergent cases.

After two years of evaluation the basic guidelines were revised in 2008. The focus on work and housing provision was further strengthened and support for people who live in internet cafes or lost their home due to natural disasters were added. In detail this included seminars for work, work experience and job-hunting support seminars for municipals and support organizations. Further the cooperation between the housing support council and organizations engaging with private rental apartments on the one side and the newly introduced self-reliance support centers and welfare offices on the other side were strengthened. It included also the effective utilization of existing social resources like public facilities and private housing for self-reliance support centers. People who are on the verge of becoming homeless, because of an unstable work like day laborers, temporary workers, or unstable housing, like flophouse or internet café were added to the target group and the counselling support of the homeless work support program was opened to people who are on the verge of becoming homeless, connecting them to other support like from the welfare office or public job office. Finally, stronger consideration was given to the danger caused by floods and other disasters to homeless people.

After the extension of the law in 2013 the basic guidelines were revised again. In this revision, the three different kinds of causes for homelessness were replaced by homelessness occurs because of "many overlapping reason like occupational troubles (bankruptcy or unemployment), illness or injury, relations to other humans or problems inside of a household, which occur to a different degree according to age." Furthermore, before the background of the global financial turmoil in 2008, the Homeless Emergency Temporal Shelter Program was supplemented by providing the means to rent shelters and private rental apartments. It was also pointed out that still a considerable number of people live in insecure housing like flophouses or internet cafes, that many people change frequently between rough sleeping and sleeping under a roof, and that especially under younger people short episodes of homelessness are continuing to exist. Furthermore, the collection and provision of information regarding intermediate work

for people who cannot become self-reliant through regular work, was strengthened (Matsumoto 2016).

Next to regularly conducted homeless surveys the new law provided a budget to support homeless people, giving the necessary financial means to municipalities and private support organizations (Nakano 2017). The budget started with an annual 1.9 billion yen in 2002 but was increased dramatically by the cabinet of the Democratic Party of Japan after the global financial turmoil in 2008 and reached 11.5 billion yen in 2012 (Kiener & Mizuuchi 2017). The actual formulation and operation of the new countermeasures was entrusted to the municipalities. This enabled them to react flexible to homelessness that differed strongly according to the different local background (Matsumoto 2016). In fact, from the enactment of the new law on most of the previous countermeasures, designed to tackle homelessness that were introduced by the municipalities from the 1990s on, became subject to this new law (Tsutsumi 2010). But when in 2015 the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People was enforced most of the Special Act on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People's functions were taken over by it (Nakano 2017).

B) Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People

The Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People, that had emerged out of the Public Assistance Act's self-reliance support program and was established in 2013 and enforced in 2015, introduced support for a new category of people, called "impoverished people". As shown in figure 1.2.1, together with the Support System for Impoverished People it forms a 2nd security net between the 1st (Social Insurance System, Labor Insurance System) and 3rd security net (Public Assistance Act), preventing people from poverty and relying on public assistance (Yoshinaga 2015).

The law gives only a blurry definition of "impoverished people" by naming "people who actually struggle economically and are in danger to become unable of maintaining a minimum standard of living (MIAK 2016b)", as its target group. Therefore, it largely leaves the definition of this new category of people to the welfare offices which realize the particular programs. For instance, the "work preparation support program (*shūrō junbi shien jigyō*)" and the "temporary life support program (*ichiji seikatsu shien jigyō*)" (compare to figure 3.3.1) are limited to people who lack a certain amount of income and assets. The income must be under the level of the sum of the public assistant's life benefits and housing benefits, determined for a certain municipal. Furthermore, assets must be under six months of public assistant's life benefits. In fact, this is under the minimum standard of living defined by the Public Assistant Act, as the sum of all public

assistance benefits a household receives. Therefore, people who have an income that does not allow them a minimum standard of living and do not qualify for public assistance are targeted by this support (Fukawa 2017).

The institutions that realize this support program are municipals with a welfare office, or in the case of town and villages without a welfare office the prefectures. The program can be operated directly by the municipalities and prefectures or by organizations that are entrusted with it. The Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People provides eight different kinds of programs (See also figure 3.3.1), two of these programs (1, 2) are essential programs that must be conducted by all municipalities, five (3-7) are optional programs, and one (8) can be conducted on a voluntary basis.

Figure 3.3.1 Overview on the self-reliance support program for impoverished people

Support program	Support content	State funding
1. Self-reliance counceling support program	One-stop consulting about life and work, individaul self-reliance support plans	4/3
2. Benefits to secure housing	Providing rent cost benefits for a fixed time to support job hunting activities	4/3
3. Work preparation support program	Daily life and social self-reliance training (6 month), work support (6 month)	3/2
4. Temporay life support program	Provision of clothes, food and housing for people who lost their housing until the support guidline is confirmed	3/2
5. Household budget counceling support program	detailed advice and support to recover the houshold budget, mediation of household budget recovering loan	2/1
6. Learning support program	Learining support for children of impoverished housholds and education advice for parents	2/1
7. Other self-reliance promotion programs for impoverished people	Necessary efforts for the self-reliance of impoverished people under local circumstances	2/1
8. Work practice (intermediary work) approval	Providing a workplace with support to people who cannot do regular work	non

Source: Fukawa (2017); Note: 1,2=essential program, 3-7=optional program, 8=voluntary program

The self-reliance support counselling program is the most central one that is not restricted to a certain clientele through an income and asset limit. This program consists on the one side of a service that creates individualized support plans after counseling with the clients and connects them to other support services. Furthermore, it builds up local networks of service providers and develops services that are missing in a certain region. The support is conducted by the self-reliance counseling support authority, that is based on prior existing counseling support agencies which are extended by support for impoverished people. The self-reliance counseling support agency employs its own staff, shares a part of it with the temporary life support program, and forms together with the

public job office a work support team.

Benefits to secure housing are the only economic benefits provided under the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People. It provides financial support equal to the upper limit of public assistance's housing benefits in the concerned region for a period of three months and can be extended to a maximum of nine months. Recipients receive also work support from the consulting support program, often in combination with the work preparation program. It targets people under 65 years who are not longer as for two years unemployed and are currently without home or endangered to lose it. Together with the income and asset requirements discussed before, recipients must commit themselves to job hunting and consult with the staff of the consulting support program and the public job office on a regular basis.

The work preparation support program provides not only skills and knowledge for work but supports also to help clients to find back into a life rhythm that allows them to conduct a regular job. This program is often provided in combination with the benefits to secure housing and the temporary life support program and is entrusted to NPOs or social enterprises. It consists of two parts that last 6 months each. During the first part clients pass through a program of lectures, work experience programs, voluntary activities and personal coaching to get the necessary social skills for work. During the second part, the clients get support for job hunting to find a proper employment.

The temporary life support program aims to provide shelter and board to impoverished people who have no secure home, over a fixed period of 3 months that can be extended to a maximum of 6 months. Clients must fulfill the preconditions outlined above. The program is entrusted to other organizations like NPOs, who are provided with the financial means to employ the necessary staff, shelter and other costs of daily life. In order to provide counseling programs, it is often provided in combination with the self-reliance counseling support program.

The household budget counseling program provides support for household budget managing to prevent arrears of rent, tax, or other payments, prepare clients for the use of public assistance benefits, or support debt and loan management. This program can be used by all impoverished people regardless their income or assets.

The learning support program is aiming to break the "poverty chain" by providing educational counseling, opportunities for learning and space for children. Support staff is visiting the households of clients regularly to advice parents and children on education. Further home teaching by volunteers and a support center is provided as well. This program is for children of impoverished households as well as of public assistance receiving households.

Finally, the work practice (intermediate work) approval provides a flexible approach for people who did not manage to get a regular employment through the work preparation program. It is an autonomous program that is run by social welfare legal entities, NPOs or other organizations that provide easy work support to acquire the skills necessary for regular work. There are non-employment and supported employment programs. The non-employment programs provide easy work and concrete directions for work. In the supported employment program, the clients have a regular contract of employment and are in some cases expected to work and get a salary (Fukawa 2017).

3.4. Summary

This chapter has shown, that the municipalities, or prefectures in the case of municipalities without welfare office, are operating the provision of public assistance on behalf of the Japanese state. Since the guarantee of a minimum standard of living is dealt with as statutory entrusted function and only the promotion of self-support is treated as municipal administration local authorities have only a small margin for place specific policies. Although the operation of public assistance welfare facilities can be entrusted to some selected organizations they are under the tight control of the central state, giving them only the opportunity to implement some optional programs.

With the exception of medical benefits public assistance can be provided in the form of housing protection, requiring a home and giving full access to the benefit scheme, or in the form of facility protection, for people who have no appropriated home or lack the ability or necessary support to live on their own. Usually for homeless people only facility protection was provided and housing protection that provides the opportunity to find adequate housing on the rental housing market was denied.

This means, that public assistance can create welfare spaces through welfare facilities that are either under the total control of the local authorities or can be entrusted to other organizations. Since social welfare legal entities, which become in many cases the partner of the local authorities, are under the strict control of the state, the freedom of the latter should not be overinterpreted. Further, public assistance benefits too create fixed spaces by requiring a home as precondition for their allocation. Only medical benefits, which can be obtained without address do not create necessarily distinctive spaces.

During the observation period public assistance recipients, that were initially framed passively, were reframed as “self-reliant” individuals. This was done through the strengthening of behavioral modifying support, like the strengthening of self-reliance

support in the benefit framework and the introduction of support for community life to public assistance welfare facilities and free and low budget hostels. Although not part of public assistance the same idea of self-reliance was also the guiding idea of the two new laws through which homelessness was approached.

The role of the state shifted from a providing mainly welfare services through welfare facilities, self-managed or entrusted to welfare organizations, towards providing mainly public assistance benefits. Most crucial for this was the expansion of housing protection to homeless people and subsequently to a wider group of impoverished people, enabling many of them to go on public assistance. The active promotion of dispatching clients from welfare facilities and hospitals gave public assistance benefits more weight, while reducing the role of s state managed facilities. Further, the introduction of the two new laws gave NPOs and other non-state organizations more opportunities to participate in the provision of welfare services.

Finally, these changes necessitated the introduction of some new methods of governance. This became especially a crucial issue when the increase of public assistance recipients and the debate on “poverty business” accelerated at the end of the 2000s and policy makers engaged in the development of new regulation mechanisms. On one side new regulations were concerned with the reduction of public assistance recipients, taking on the form of the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People that introduced a tool to control the number of public assistance recipients by providing an alternative support framework. On the other side the re-examination of housing benefits was applied to control the public assistance’s costs and exclude inferior housing, an approach that aimed to tame the spreading poverty business.

This chapter gave an overview on the legal framework around public assistance and its major changes since 1990. The next chapter turns to the institutions dealing with homelessness in Osaka city and the changes they underwent since 1990, illuminating the restructuring on the ground.

4. The Long Shadow of Day Laborer Policies on Osaka City's Welfare Regime

In Osaka city a distinctive welfare regime dealing with homelessness had emerged already in the 1960s. Between 1990 and 2015 this welfare regime changed crucially, altering strongly the way of public assistance provision. This urban welfare regime and its change was heavily influenced by four distinguishable major discourses.

First, this is the high concentration of day laborers in Osaka city. Day laborers became already in the 1960s a major concern of policy makers. On the one side before the background of the high economic growth period (1954 to 1973), the labor force of day laborers was reassessed, turning their provision and security into issues of high political priority. On the other side this was because of the day laborer riots that started to occur at the beginning of the 1960s (Haraguchi 2017). While these riots broke out in the beginning spontaneously, their character changed with the end of the 1960s when day laborers started to organize themselves better and the first unions were founded. From this time on riots were waged by the day laborer unions to push forward their political agenda, demanding better labor conditions and welfare provision (Haraguchi 2011).

Second, this is the increasing number of homeless people that had emerged at the end of the 1990s, spreading throughout Osaka city. Here again the day laborer unions of the *yoseba* were crucial for the development of an agenda towards homelessness. In the beginning this was done by uniting the local protest movements and increasing the visibility of the homeless issue through demonstrations and encampments in front of Osaka city and prefecture hall. But soon it became clear that homelessness could not be solved on the local scale and the movement changed its aim from addressing local authorities towards campaigning for a new law, dealing with this issue on the national scale. Therefore, it linked with other support organizations for homeless people all over Japan and started lobbying under the members of the parliament. While this was important to develop the agenda, the in 2002 enacted law was mainly influenced by Tokyo's welfare policies (Mizuuchi 2016).

Third, this is the spreading of unemployment under workers hired through temporary staffing agencies and a general feeling of insecurity due to the global economic turmoil in 2008. Although this crisis was felt heavily in Osaka city, the center of the movement was in Tokyo. There activists started the so called "Toshikoshi haken mura", an encampment that provided shelter, food and other support around the time of the new year inside of Hibiya Park, in the direct vicinity of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. Through this central location and the popularity of Yuasa Makoto one of the leaders of the movement, it was visited by several politicians and covered by the media, making it quickly well-known nationwide. Therefore, it managed to build up its agenda,

and in consequence the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare had to expand public assistance to a wider range of impoverished people.

Finally, in reaction to the following increase of public assistance recipients, a discourse focusing on the supposedly destructive effect of public assistance emerged. This discourse was carried out by Japan's political intellectual and moral elites, accusing the government of lavish spending of public money, that causes "welfare dependency" (Hayashi 2015), or "poverty business", that extracts as much public money as possible without providing adequate services. In Osaka city this discourse led already in 2009 to the discussion about countermeasures in the city hall, that started in the following year (OSFK 2015b). On the national scale this discourse resulted in the enforcement of the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People in 2015.

Out of these four discourses, four distinguishable sets of policies emerged. This was the Airin System that emerged in the 1960s as response to the discourse on day laborers, Osaka cities policy towards public assistance, that was formed by all four discourses, the Homeless support policy, that was influenced by the discourse on homelessness, and the support policy for impoverished people, that was formed by the discourse on welfare dependency and poverty business. All four of them have particular characters and take on particular roles in Osaka city's welfare regime, changing it crucially over time and influencing heavily the local public assistance geography.

4.1. The Airin System and Welfare for Day Laborers

While public assistance was provided effectively to the housed population already soon after the Second World War, a parallel system for people without a fixed address, mainly day laborers, developed from the mid-1960s on. This system evolved around *yoseba* in major Japanese cities. Since it was formed in Osaka city by direct involvement of the state, prefectural and local government, it differs strongly to other cities. This section gives an overview on the different policies concerning the Airin District in Osaka city, Japan's largest *yoseba*, and examines their implications to the provision of public assistance.

A) The background of the Airin Policy

The area of today's Airin Distict has a long history as residential area for the lower working class. Starting with its urbanization already in the 1900s many cheap inns for travelling workers were constructed there (Yoshimura 2012). After the area burned down during the Second World War, it revived from the 1950s onwards as flophouse district,

becoming even larger than before (Haraguchi 2003). This area, often called by its residents "Kamagasaki", its former name that had disappeared from the maps in 1922, subsequently developed into Japans largest *yoseba*.

After the war, *yoseba* like this existed in all major cities around stations, public job centers and the harbors, as places where day laborers and labor sharks get together and negotiate the conditions of employment. Over time, out of these some larger *yoseba* with a considerable number of flophouses emerged. The four largest were San'ya in Tokyo, Kotobuki-chō in Yokohama, Sasajima in Nagoya and Kamagasaki in Osaka. However, work procured through labor sharks lacked any official acknowledgment, making day laboring an informal employment, standing in sharp contrast to the post war Employment Security Law (*shokugyō antei-hō*) that mandated labor security (Haraguchi 2016). In Kamagasaki, that inhabited at that time also many families, problems concerning the poor living conditions or children who did not attend school were primarily addressed by policies. The life of day laborers had initially only a low priority for policy makers (Haraguchi 2010).

This situation changed at the beginning of the 1960s when on the one side violent day laborer riots, that occurred repeatedly in Kamagasaki, started to dominate the news, and on the other side day laborers became a valuable labor force due do the increased demand for workers during the high economic growth period. The first riot in Kamagasaki occurred on the 1st August 1961. It started when the police left a day laborer, who was run over by a car, to its fate instead of assisting him. As reaction to this act of discrimination day laborers rioted over the following five days. This was countered by Osaka city in alliance with Osaka prefecture and the Osaka prefecture police who strengthened the countermeasures.

These countermeasures culminated into the installation of the "Airin District (*airin chiku*)" in 1966, that involved also direct intervention of the Ministry of Labor. This happened before the background of the preparations for the Expo '70, that had increased the need for cheap labor. The World Exposition became a major endeavor for the government, that "intended to showcase Japan's rapid economic growth (Haraguchi 2017:34)." Labor power was not only necessary to construct the venue of the exposition, but also for remodeling the whole city infrastructure. Under these new circumstances the day laborers were reevaluated as useful labor force.

This new policy focus turned Kamagasaki subsequently into a supplier for day laborers, aiming to utilize them most efficiently (Haraguchi 2017). In the following, I will turn to the rudimentary welfare system that was established in Kamagasaki to support the life of day laborers.

B) The Arin System

The core of this new policies was the establishment of the "Airin System" in the 1960s. The area became an institutionalized "*yoseba*", where with all the issues concerning the lives of day laborers was dealt with (Haraguchi 2010). Kamagasaki had already attracted at the end of the 1950s the attention of policy makers and countermeasures were started. Initially they concentrated on families with children, but after the first riot the focus shifted towards the life of day laborers. At this time the Nishinari Worker Welfare Center (*zaidan hōjin Nishinari rōdō fukushi sentā*) was founded by Osaka Prefecture, and entrusted with the implementation of policies for day laborers. It had the aim to "provide formal work to the local workers and stabilize their lives (Haraguchi 2003:37)". But since it was customary that labor sharks hire day laborers directly without external intervention, it could not solve the problems of day laborers (Haraguchi 2003). Therefore, this form of labor procurement continued but was lacking any form of official acknowledgment (Haraguchi 2016).

Under the increased demand for labor force during the high economic growth period, day labor was integrated into the legal framework and regulations for labor procuration were eased, allowing labor sharks to continue their business. Under these new circumstances the area of Kamagasaki was designated as "Airin District" by Osaka city, Osaka prefecture and the national state in 1966 and subsequently a wider range of countermeasures were started, some of which are still operating today. The creation of special districts was a common praxis of the Ministry of Health and Welfare during the second half of the 1960s. In areas with a strong concentration of public assistance recipients the welfare policies for "normal people" that aim to support the self-dependence of individuals were not adopted, and special policies towards public assistance applied (Saga 1998). In the Airin District a parallel welfare system for day laborers was installed, turning it into a place where the work and life of single male workers was managed, transforming them into the required casual labor force (Haraguchi 2016). Next to the densification of the flophouses in the area, a rudimentary welfare system for day laborers was introduced through the construction of the Airin Center (*airin sōgō sentā*) and the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center (*shiritsu kōsei sōdan-sho*).

The Airin Center was constructed by the Construction Ministry and opened in 1970. It contains three institutions that support and promote the life of day laborers. This is the public interest incorporated association Nishinari Worker Welfare Center (*kōeki zaidan hōjin nishinari rōdō fukushi sentā*), the Airin Public Job Office (*airin rōdō kōkyō shokugyō antei-sho*), and the social welfare legal entity Osaka Social Medical Center

(*shakai fukushi hōjin Ōsaka shakai iryō sentā*) (Haraguchi 2010).

The Nishinari Worker Welfare Center, that had been founded already before, was moved to the Airin Center. Its tasks were securing work for day laborers and improving their welfare and lives. One of the major problems was that the labor conditions of day laborers were contingent on the labor sharks' goodwill. Work that differed from the initial terms of contract (Haraguchi 2011), and high brokerage fees were customary (Fowler 1996). These issues were addressed by the center through the provision of standardized forms to labor sharks, on which they had to announce the working conditions they provide (Ebi 2011). For registered companies the center provides guidance to ensure adequate working and living conditions and the staff visits larger companies to inspect the working conditions (NRFS 2017). Furthermore, a registration system for day laborers was installed and IDs were issued. This made it possible to contact the center in case of emergency and enables day laborers to demand compensation for loss of earnings in case of work accidents (Ebi 2011). The center provides also counselling support for work, life and health issues, regarding for instance unpaid wages or work injuries, and connects day laborers to other services. Finally, the center helps to develop new job offers, especially those for elderly workers and provides opportunities for skill training to help day laborers to adapt to changes on the labor market (NRFS 2017).

Further, the Airin Public Job Office, the only public institution in the Airin Center, acts as labor exchange and provides day labor job opportunities without becoming contingent on the labor sharks' goodwill, but most of the day laborers avoid them because the jobs they offer often pay less and are less desirable (Ebi 2011). To secure workplaces, public job offices accept low-paying jobs and cannot provide the same workforce as labor sharks who do preselection (Fowler 1996). Furthermore, the office also provides an unemployment insurance system for day laborers that developed before the background of an upcoming day laborer movement at the end of the 1960s (Haraguchi 2011) and the deep recession after the oil crisis in 1973. The so called 'white card (*shiro techō*)' was introduced, issued to day laborers registered at the public job center. For every day of work, the employer pasts a stamp onto the white card, making day laborers who collected a certain number of stamps eligible for unemployment benefits (Fowler 1996). But this system proved to be weak in times of economic slowdown, when workers can not work the required amount of days. In Osaka city, holding a white card made day laborers eligible for a small extra payment in summer and winter, a system that was in effect until 2005 (Haraguchi 2011).

Unemployment insurance for day laborers used to play a crucial role in the past but was declining rapidly during the 2000s. In the Airin Public Job Office14,330 people were

registered as holding a white card in 1990. Their number did not change crucially during the 1990s accounting in 2000 still for 14,062 registered people. But from this time on it declined rapidly, and in 2009 only 2,025 people were registered, indicating that this system played no significant role any more (Mizuuchi & Hirakawa 2011).

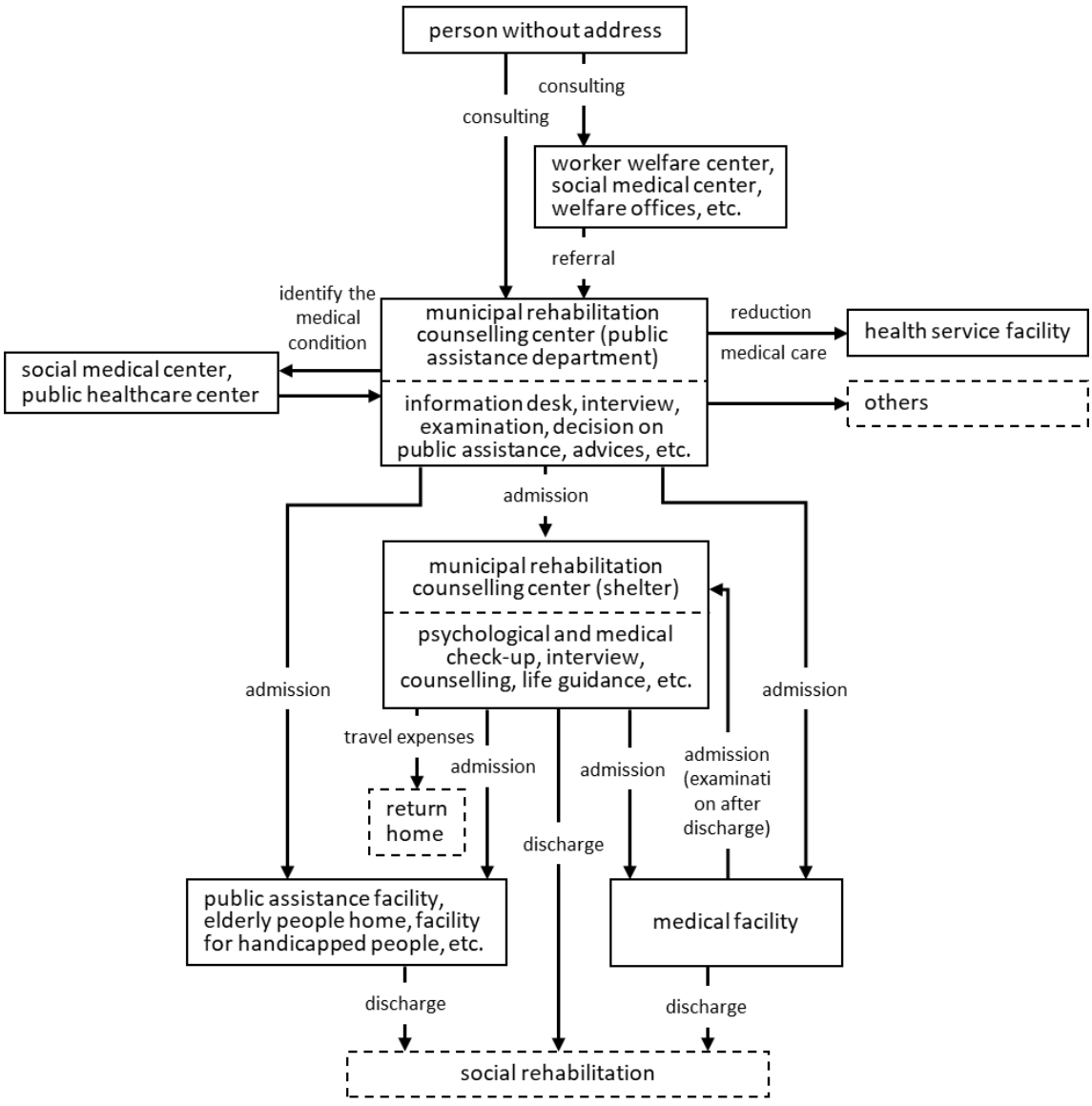
The Osaka Social Medical Center provides a wide range of medical services including internal medicine, surgery, and psychiatric services. Initially it was a foundation but was changed already in 1972 into a social welfare legal entity. Today it has 80 beds and employs 88 people (OSFIS 2017). It provides health checkups, ambulatory and stationary treatments and referral to other healthcare facilities in the case treatment cannot be conducted inhouse (Ebi 2011). These medical services are provided at a low price and loans are granted to people unable to pay the fees, although defaults are frequent (Inada 2011). In 2015 the Osaka Social Medical Center treated 62,529 people ambulatory (accounting for 212.0 people on an average day) and 15,477 people stationary (accounting for 42.3 people on an average day) (OF 2016), showing that still a high demand for this service continues to exist.

The Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center, that used to play a central role in the policies concerning people without address, opened in August 1971. This facility emerged out of the combination of the preexisting Airin Hall (*airin kaikan*), that had been founded in 1962 providing space for community and cultural and education activities as well as welfare support, and the Municipal Central Rehabilitation Counselling Center (*ōsaka shiritsu chūō kōsei sōdan-sho*), that had emerged out of a shelter and contact point for homeless people at Osaka Station after the Second World War. The new center had two major roles. First, like shown in figure 4.1.1 it provided support to apply for, and a gateway to public assistance for single workers in the Airin District without a home or an unclear housing situation. Therefore, it functioned as contact point, that evaluated the eligibility for public assistance, based on interviews and examinations, and was providing practical advice. Since, people without address were excluded from housing benefits, it functioned only as gate to medical assistance, realized through dedicated medical facilities, and to welfare facilities.

Furthermore, it was also linked with a temporary care home (*ichiji hogo-sho*) in Kita ward, with the status of a rehabilitation facility. People who were permitted to move into medical facilities or welfare facilities could move immediately into the temporary care home and stay there for up to one month. In this time, interviews, as well as psychological and medical check-ups were conducted and based on this information appropriated welfare facilities or hospitals were selected for the clients (Saga 1998). After recovering day laborers were released without securing a home. In the case of

elderly day laborers or handicapped people the life in a welfare facility could become permanent.

Figure 4.1.1 The Public Assistance System of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center

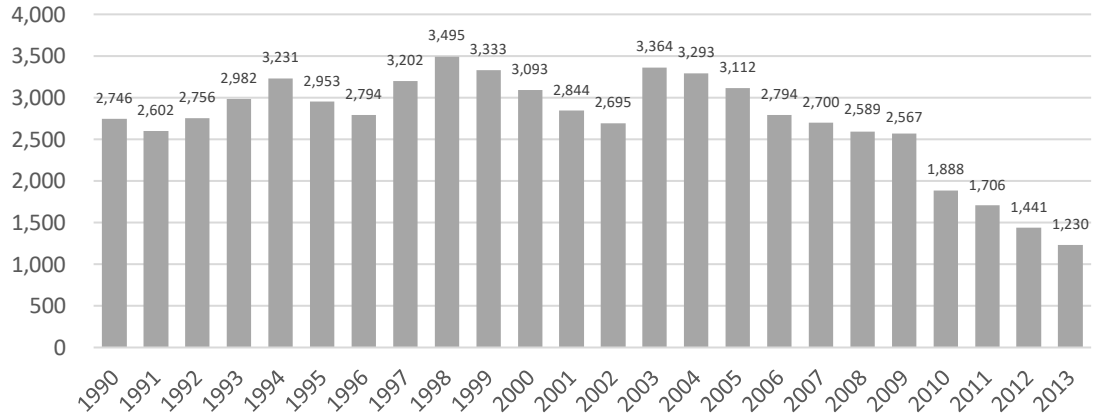


Source: Osaka Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center (1996) *Business Statistics* quoted form Saga (1998).

The Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center played an important role to provide welfare under the Airin System but lost its significance with the downturn of the day labor market, especially at the end of the 2000s. Like shown in figure 4.1.2 in the fiscal year 1990 2,746 households had received public assistance through the Municipal

Rehabilitation Counselling Office. This was equivalent to 9.0% of the whole 30,528 public assistance receiving households in Osaka city. Their number peaked in 1998 with 3,495 households and started to decline continuingly from the mid-2000s. Their number decreased rapidly especially after 2009, declining by 679 households in just one year. Finally, in the fiscal year 2013, only 1,230 households were permitted public assistance through the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office. This was equivalent to 1.1% of the whole 115,315 public assistance receiving households in Osaka city. Due to this development the public assistance counter of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center was closed in April 2014.

Figure 4.1.2 Households that received public assistance through the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

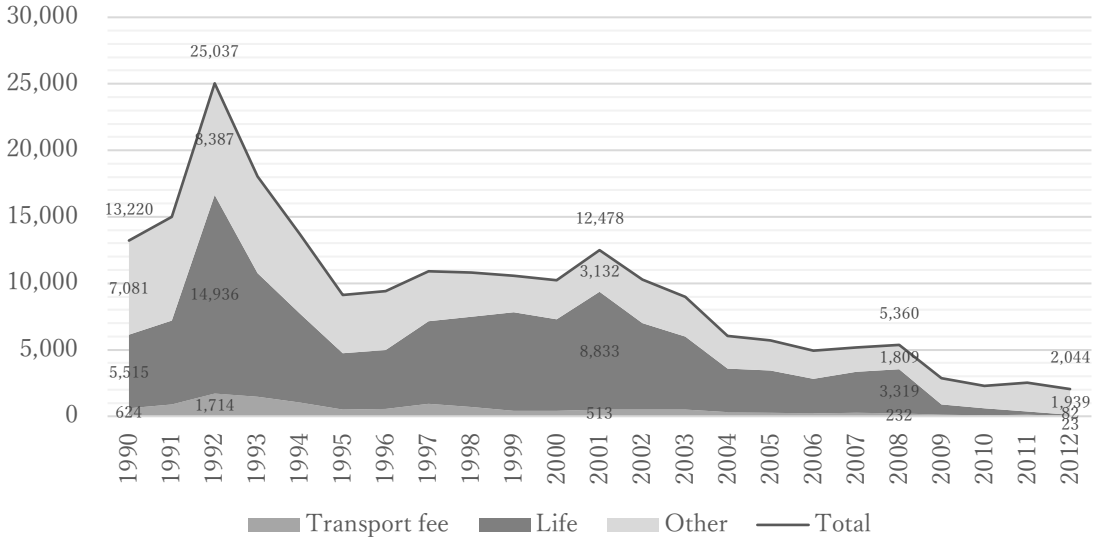
C) Support Provided by Osaka City

Because of the high number of day laborers that were living in the Airin District, and the obvious shortcomings of public assistance provision in this area, Osaka city provides some additional support for day laborers. Basically, these are the Life Counselling Room in the Rehabilitation Counselling Center (*kōsei sōdansho seikatsu sōdanshitsu*), the Life Care Center (*seikatsu kea sentā*), and the Airin Year-end Countermeasure Program (*airin etsunen taisaku jigyō*), which are mainly provided inside the Airin District.

The Life Counselling Room in the Rehabilitation Counselling Center opened in 1973 and was run by the Nishinari Airin Society (*nishinari airin-kai*). It provided different kinds of temporary support for day laborers that were not covered by public assistance (Matsushige 2008). These were next to small loans of about 2,000 yen per transaction,

help for resident registration and other kinds of life support (Saga 1998). The Life Counselling Room was closed in 2013 one year prior to the Osaka City Run Rehabilitation Counselling Center. Figure 4.1.3 shows that the Life Counselling Room played an important role for bridging the crises after the burst of the bubble economy at the beginning of the 1990s. In 1990 13,220 cases of counselling were recorded, nearly doubling until 1992 to 25,037 cases, when the economic bubble burst. After public assistance became available to homeless people in 2003 it's role diminished dramatically. In 2009 when public assistance became available to a wider range of poor people the counseling cases decreased again rapidly, and the small loans (transport fees, life) ceased nearly completely. In 2012, its last year, only a total of 2,044 cases were recorded.

Figure 4.1.3 Counselling Cases of the Life Counselling Room



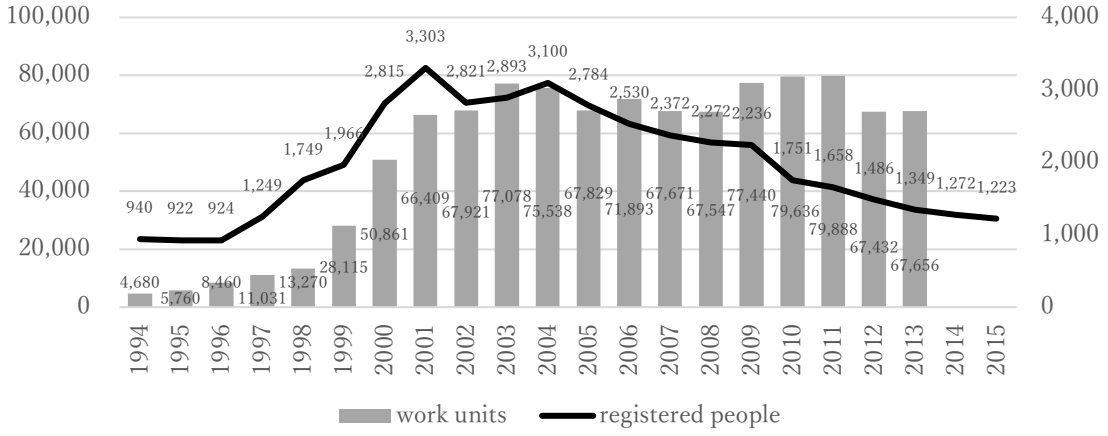
Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

The Life Care Center was opened in 1990 as a short stay facility that can be used for up to two weeks. It was installed into the relief facility Santoku-ryō. Initially it was run as a subsidiary program but became in 2008 a program entrusted by Osaka city, providing today 224 beds. Legally it has the status of a free and low budget hostel, regulated by the Social Welfare Act (Santoku-ryō 2017). Furthermore, it provides also beds with a low threshold, that do not require the way through welfare offices or the Osaka City Rehabilitation Counselling Center. For instance, people who are recommended by volunteers of the night patrol can be directly admitted (Saga 1998). In the fiscal year 2015 the Life Care Center was used by a total of 31,322 people, accounting

on average for 110 people a day (OF 2016), showing a continuing high demand.

The Airin Year-end Countermeasure Program provides support for homeless people during the new-year holidays, a period in which no jobs are available, putting many day laborers at high risk to sleep rough (Haraguchi 2011). It was introduced in 1970 to protect these people from becoming homeless by providing temporary shelter and secure public peace at that time. Nowadays it is run by the social welfare legal entity Jikyōkan which was assigned with its management by the city (Matsushige 2008). Permissions for the use of this shelters is issued every year from the 29th to 31st December, granting the right to use one of the two temporary shelters, Nankō Shelter or Jikyōkan Shelter until the 7th January (Saga 1998). The temporary shelters were frequently used, providing 2,165 people shelter in the fiscal year 2002. But soon after that their number started to decline, especially accelerating in the years the circulars regarding the expansion of the public assistance scope were issued, decreasing from 2003 to 2004 by 383 people and from 2008 to 2009 by 687 people (Mizuuchi 2011). In the fiscal year 2015 the temporary shelter was used by merely 443 people (OF 2016).

Figure 4.1.3.People registered in and work units provided by the Special Work Program for Elderly People



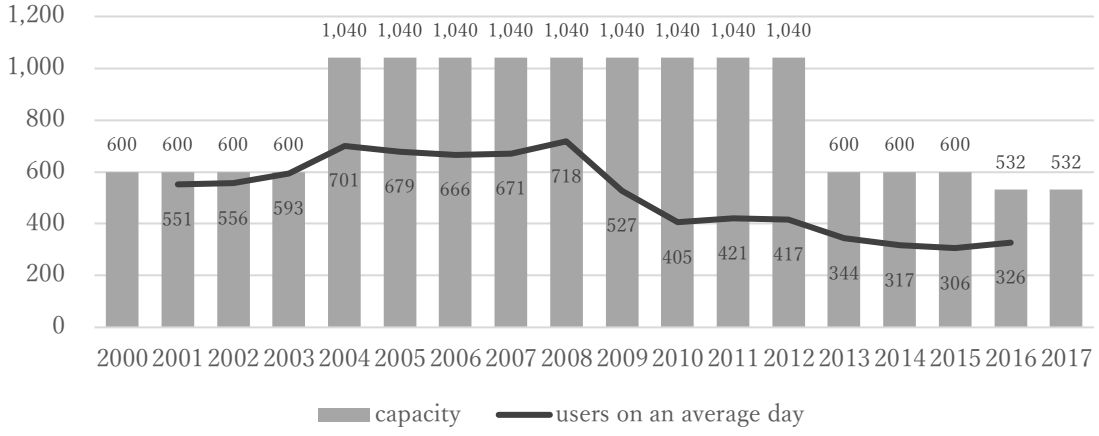
Source: Data provided by the NPO Kamagasaki Shien Kikō; Note: Year = fiscal year; Data for work units is only available until 2013

These programs were further extended in 1994 by the Special Work Program for Elderly People (*kōreisha tokubetsu shurō jigyō*), a cooperation between Osaka prefecture and Osaka city. This program was started in reaction to the increasing number of elderly day laborers who were unable to find work. It provides work to people who are over 55 years old and do not receive public assistance. People who register can do small jobs to

earn some pocket money of 5,700 yen a day. The work involves things like cleaning streets or the Airin center, cutting grass or maintaining playgrounds. But since not enough jobs are available for all the registered day laborers, a rotation system is applied, allowing one person to work only about three to four times a month. Initially this program was operating only in winter but became in 1996 availbale during the full year. Furthermore, in 1999 it was entrusted to the newly founded NPO Kamagasaki Shien Kikō that is running it until today (KSK 2009).

Figure 4.1.3 shows that the number of people registered at the Special Work Program for Elderly People rose at the end of the 1990s together with the number of homeless people, reaching its peak in 2001 with 3,303 people. From the mid 2000s their number sarted to decreased slowly, but accelerated after 2009, when it declined by 485 people in just one year. In 2015 only 1,223 people were registered. The number of work units provided by the program increased as well at the end of the 1990s and reached with 77,078 units in 2003 a temporary high. It stayed at a high level counting 67,656 units in 2013, making more jobs available for the declining registered day laborers. While in 1994 a registered day laborer could work on average 12 days a year, in 2013 it were 68 days.

Figure 4.1.4 The Capacity and Number of the Temporary Night Emergency Shelter Users on an Average Day



Source: Data provided by the Kamagasaki Shien Kikō, OCUURP (2011); Note: Year = fiscal year; 2014=average from April to October, 2016=Average from April to September;

Further in 2000 as response to the rising number of homeless people in the Airin district the Temporary Night Emergency Shelter (*rinji yakan kinkyū hinan-sho*) opened. Osaka city entrusted this shelter program also to the NPO Kamagasaki Shien Kikō who

is managing it until today. The Temporary Night Emergency Shelter provides dormitory beds to day laborers that can be used free of charge every day between 17:00 and 5:00 on the following day. After the first shelter with a capacity of 600 beds opened in 2000, a second one opened in 2004 raising the overall capacity to 1040 beds. In 2012 the smaller shelter was closed and in 2016 the other one was rebuilt, providing today 532 beds. Since 2016 the northern part of the remaining shelter is opened as a day center. Homeless people can stay from 9:00 to 17:00, and use washing machines, showers, and other facilities of the shelter (KSK 2016). As shown in figure 4.1.4 the number of users on an average day reached its peak with 718 people in 2008 at the time of the global financial turmoil. After that it decreased rapidly to 405 people in 2010. But from that time on it stabilized and in 2016 still 326 people were counted.

D) Public assistance for homeless people under the Airin System

Next to this welfare system for day laborers the welfare offices in Osaka city provided in the case of emergency public assistance through medical benefits. The so called "sick travelers (*kōryō byōjin*)" were temporary admitted to medical facilities and usually released without securing a home for them after the treatment. Therefore, it was common that the same person was treated several times under this policy when it came repeatedly in need for medical support (Saga 1998).

The handling of sick travelers was until 1969 officially conducted under the Law for the Handling of Sick and Dead Travelers (*kōryobyōjin oyobi kōryoshibōjin toriatsukai-hō*). After a circular from the Head of the Civil Authority, sick and injured people without address were dealt under the Public Assistance Act. But, as Yoshiko Saga (1998) pointed out, since the Law for the Handling of Sick and Dead Travelers did not provide a budget for medical treatment, it was before 1969 already customary to provide the financial means through public assistance. Therefore, this was more a formal act of adjusting the law to the actual praxis.

Next to hospitals, public assistance welfare facilities became often the place where people in need for care without address were admitted to. In Osaka city a considerable number of public assistance welfare facilities existed, that developed in close relation to the *yoseba* and used to house day laborers (Mizuuchi 2010a). These facilities had already existed before and became subsequently subject to the Public Assistance Act when it was revised in 1950. They had housed homeless people before and due to the publication to the "Administration Outlines for Accommodation Protection Facilities (*shūyō hogo shisetsu unei yōkō*)" in 1955 a part of the rehabilitation facilities were officially designated to house homeless day laborers. But when in 1966 the minimum standard for

public assistance facilities was introduced, the praxis of accommodating homeless day laborers in rehabilitation facilities was abolished, reserving them exclusively to people in need for nursing care and livelihood guidance due to physical or mental reasons. This eliminated their function as housing facilities for homeless people in Osaka city (Saga 1998).

The character of relief facilities in Osaka city changed further after service needs had increased due the revision of the Mental Health Law in 1965. They were now mainly inhabited by people with multiple disabilities and social handicaps, having no prospect of improving their health condition through training or rehabilitation, and aged, handicapped and homeless day laborers often becoming a permanent place to live until the end (Mizuuchi 2010a). Therefore, in Osaka city under the Airin system, public assistance facilities were only accessible for people unable to work because of illness, injury or age.

4.2. Osaka Cities Policies Towards Public Assistance

This section gives an overview on Osaka Cities policies towards public assistance and their change over time. While at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s Osaka City, that was most heavily affected by homelessness, extended public assistance step by step to homeless people, this policy changed around 2010. Becoming quickly the city with the highest percentage of public assistance recipients, so called "welfare dependency" and "poverty business" became soon the policy focus, aiming to reduce the costs of public assistance.

A) Approaching Homelessness through Public Assistance

Under the influence of the economic depression during the 1990s, homelessness became chronic and was no longer confined to *yoseba* and day laborers as it used to be before. To an extent completely unknown, homeless people could be seen in public spaces throughout the city. The impetus of this development was twofold. During the 1990s, the Japanese labor market lost its poverty-regulating capacity. In the stagnating economy, unemployment rate increased and the quality of jobs deteriorated. These developments emerged under several reforms in the late 1990s that fostered irregular employments without social protection, resulting in the most dualistic labor system in the OECD countries (Hayashi 2013). At the same time, *yoseba* started to lose their function as labor markets for down of luck workers, a process dubbed "deyosebisation" by Aoki (2003:367). This was caused by the aging of *yoseba* day laborers which turned them into a

comparatively inferior work force, the diversification of recruiting methods through newspaper announcements or mobile telephones and a decrease of job vacancies caused by a cut of public investments in the construction industry during the second half of the 1990s (Nakayama & Ebi 2007).

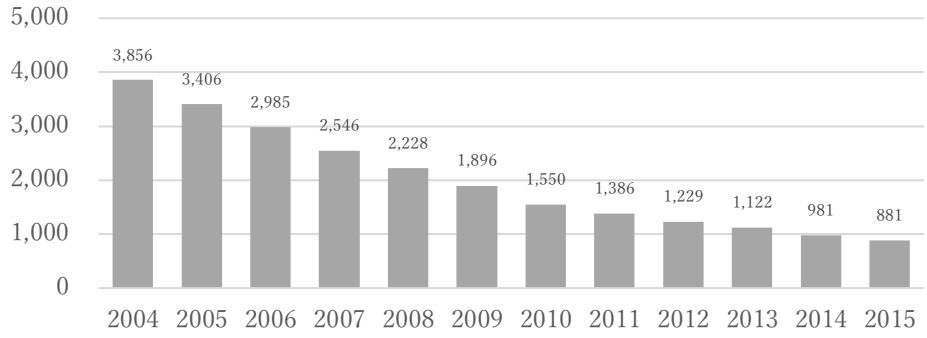
The people who became homeless, consisted of people who used to be in regular employment and in a secure housing situation but had lost their job, people who lost their home with the job because they were living in an accommodation provided by the employer, and people like day laborers who frequently changed their job and had no permanent housing (Iwata 2007). In Osaka city, that is home to the largest *yoseba* in Japan, the percentage of former day laborers under the homeless people was especially high. A survey conducted in 1999 revealed that 57.9% of the homeless people had experienced the life in a *yoseba* before (OTK 2001). Although this percentage decreased in the following years and reached 46.1% in 2007, it still accounts for a large number, higher than in other Japanese cities (MLW 2007). As shown in figure 5.1.7 at the end of the 1990s the number of homeless people was rising dramatically and in 1998 in the first citywide survey 8660 homeless people were counted, much more than in any other Japanese city. Although no further survey was conducted until 2003 the number of tents suggest that homeless people were increasing until around 2000. A change was brought to this development through policies that involved also the public assistance provision.

In response to the increase of homeless people in Osaka city the scope of public assistance benefits was in 1998 extended to homeless people that had been discharged from hospitals. They became eligible to housing assistance, enabling them to rent an apartment. In 2000, the scope of public assistance was further extended to people discharged from welfare facilities, enabling them as well to receive housing assistance. The situation further improved in 2003 when the scope of public assistance was generally adjusted to homeless people by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, making many people eligible to benefits that had been excluded before (Mizuuchi & Hirakawa 2011). Nevertheless, in Osaka city the praxis of rejecting flophouses as appropriate housing for public assistance applicants continued. This stands in contrast to other major cities with *yoseba*, like Tokyo metropolis or Yokohama city, where public assistance was also approved to people living in flophouses (Kiener & Mizuuchi 2017).

Further, to respond better to homeless people in need for medical care, in 2004 Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals (*ōsaka-shi kinkyū nyūin hogo gyōmu sentā*) was founded. Its installation aims to make field examinations and the decision on public assistance more effective and efficient. It is located in Nishi ward, in a central area of Osaka city, deals with homeless people who

need emergency medical treatment through public assistance and are treated under the Police Duties Execution Act (*keisatsukan shokumu shikō-hō*) or under the Fire Service Act (*shōbō-hō*) (Osaka City 2013). As shown in figure 4.2.1 when in 2004 the Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals was introduced, it handled 3,856 people. In the following years their number continued to decline, counting only 881 people in 2015.

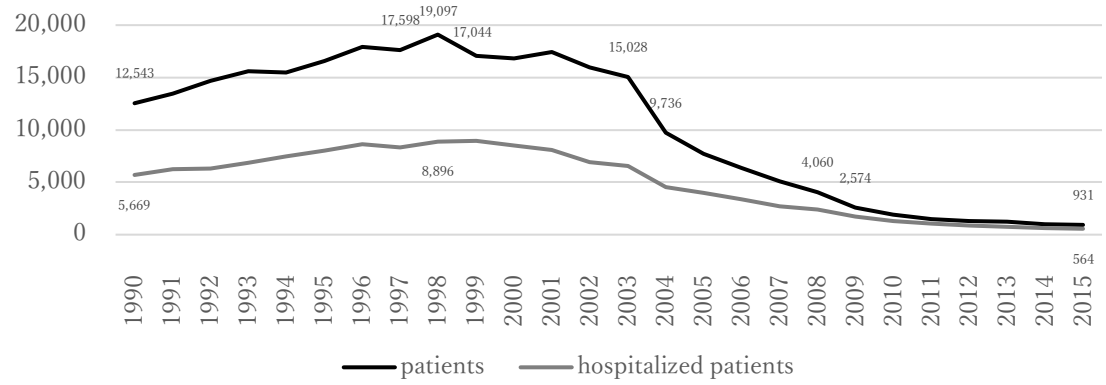
Figure 4.2.1 Clients of Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals (households)



Source: 2004-2010: OKF (2006-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

The introduction of Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals had a profound impact on the treatment of homeless people as sick travelers, shown in figure 4.2.2. In the fiscal year 1990, sick travelers accounted with 12,543 cases for two thirds of the approved cases. Their number increased during the 1990s reaching a peak of 19,097 cases in 1998. The expansion of the scope of public assistance to homeless people dispatched from hospital in the same year showed a direct impact when their number declined to 17,044 people in the following year. The number of hospitalized people, that had risen to 8,896 in 1998, exhibits the extend social hospitalization had reached, and the potential for reforms lying in it. After the scope of public assistance was expanded to homeless people in 2003 the number of thick travelers decreased further. But the largest impact had the installation of Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals in 2004, letting the number of sick travelers drop from 15,028 to 9,763 people. After that they continued to decline, exhibiting especially from 2008 to 2009 a further acceleration of the decrease from 4,060 to 2,574 people, associated with the circulars of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare after the global financial turmoil. Finally, in 2015 only a small number of 931 cases of sick travelers were recorded.

Figure 4.2.2 Sick travelers to which public assistance was applied



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

After the circulars in 2009 public assistance became available for a wide range of impoverished people (Hayashi 2015). In Osaka city not only housing benefits were approved to homeless and other impoverished people for the rent, but also the in Japan customary deposit and key money were payed through public assistance. This made a comparable wide range of different housing available for public assistance recipients.

B) Poverty Business and Osaka City's Public Assistance Countermeasures

The expansion of the scope for public assistance, followed by a dramatic increase of public assistance recipients especially in Osaka city, however, raised suspicion and concern from the city government (OSFK 2015a). Housing for public assistance recipients was heavily criticized under the labels "welfare dependency" or "poverty business (*hinkon bijinesu*)", highlighting the low quality of the living environment, like small rooms and limited access to sanitary facilities or the practice of charging the residents for additional services, leaving only a small amount of money they can use freely (Shirahase 2014). It was pointed out that this perception is related to the nature of public assistance allocation that does not allow landlords to charge openly for services, the special conditions of some welfare recipients demands. This forces landlords to increase the rent to the allowed maximum (Suzuki 2010). Nevertheless, this reasoning had only less impact on the discussion. Rather the debate about poverty business in the media focused on the increasing fiscal burden especially for municipalities with high percentages of public assistance recipients, calling for countermeasures that reduce the costs.

Osaka city started to discuss countermeasures in 2009 and introduced the first of them

in 2010. This included the stop of payments for security deposits and key money for apartments that usually do not require them and the reduction of such payments in general (OF 2015b). For instance, for single households the maximum payments were reduced from 294,000 yen to 168,000 yen (OF 2010). Also, investigations of free and low budge hostels conditions were started. In the case the conditions were not considered as appropriate for living, public assistance was not approved to people who want to move into these facilities, and those already living in them were moved to other places (OF 2010). Onetime payments for goods for daily life, like futons, dishes etc., that were usually granted to homeless people when starting a new household, used to reache the maximum limit. Therefore, this support was switched partly from financial to material benefits (OF 2015b).

In addition, countermeasures to reduce the illegitimately obtaining of public assistance were started too. In cooperation with the police and lawyers control was strengthened, going as far as filing complaints against illegitimate public assistance recipients. In fact, 63 people were arrested until July 2016 because of illegitimately obtaining public assistance. In order to counter poverty business and the illegitimate obtaining of public assistance, information was collected by the newly founded adjustment promotion team and shared between all the 24 wards. In April 2012 an inspection team for illegitimate public assistance obtaining, that included also some police OB, was founded, increasing the capacity to investigate illegitimate recipients in all wards and prevent their spreading (Osaka city 2016a).

Furthermore, in order to exclude so called "*kakoiya*", companies that invite especially homeless people to move into housing they manage and take nearly all the public assistance allowance for their services, in April 2010 the Support Program for the Transition into Housed Living (*kyotaku seikatsu ikō shien jigyō*) was introduced (Shirahase 2017). On the assumption that applicants are under the influence of these companies, who used to accompany them to the welfare office or the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center, a short stay system utilizing public assistance facilities was introduced. During the short stay the applicants situation is assessed and support to find an appropriate home provided. This support was especially provided to applicants without a fixed address. most of whomn participated (during the first one and a half months 97.0% of the people considered suitable for the program participated) (OFSK 2010). In the first fiscal year of its introduction the total number of participants reached 1,995 people. But after their number had decreased to 256 people in in the fiscal year 2014 and company members accompanying applicants to the welfare offices nearly disappeared, the program was abolished in 2015. Today this program is continued on a

smaller scale by the Life Care Center in cooperation with Osaka citiy's welfare offices (OF 2015).

In 2014 the information exchange between the police and the welfare offices was further strengthened. In many cases in which public assistance recipients were arrested and imprisoned public assistance payments were continued although the recipients were unable to make use of them in prison. Therefore, a system was established through which the police informs Osaka cities welfare department every time a public assistance recipient is arrested, enabling it to give this information on to the welfare office in charge of the arrested recipient (Osaka city 2014b).

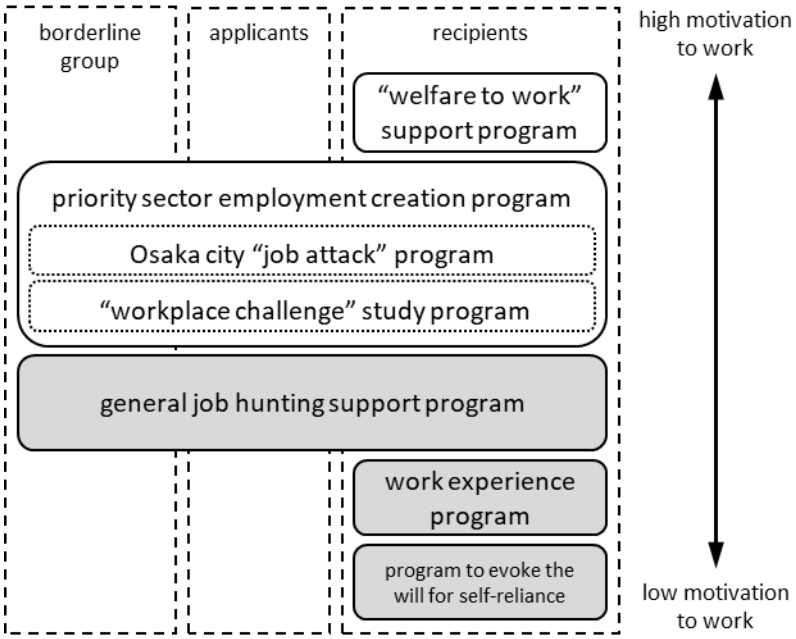
C) Support for self-reliance through work under public assistance

Support for self-reliance through work for public assistance recipients was implemented in Osaka city already in 2005. It started with an arrangement that allowed mainly the welfare office to get work support from public job offices. Initially recipients of public assistance and of child-rearing allowance were targeted by this program. The program started with individual counselling for job hunting, trial employments and seminarsto improve job hunting skills.

After the financial turmoil of 2008 a lot of irregular employed people lost their jobs. Together with the expansion of the public assistance scope the percentage of younger people, considered to be able to work, increased under the public assistance recipients. Because of these new circumstances the support for self-reliance through work was further developed and let to the creation of the "Welfare to Work" Support Program (OR 2014). In 2012 the five programs shown in figure 4.2.3 were available. While three of them focused especially on people who already receive public assistance, two programs targeted people who apply for public assistance or for the borderline group of people at risk of becoming public assistance recipients.

The "welfare to work" support program (*"fukushi kara shūrō" shien jigyō*) was drafted as a national program to ease unemployment in 2011 and implemented in Osaka city in the same year. It was designed for people considered to be easy to integrate into the job market. These are people able to work, who have a stable will to work, who have no obstructive factors to work, and who agree to participate in the program. The program was conducted as a cooperation between Osaka city and the public job office, sending specialized staff, so called job hunting support navigators, to the public job center. Under this program services like job counselling and referral, vocational training, trial employment and follow up support for settling down at the workplace were provided, and the coordination with related institutions was fostered (Osaka city 2011).

Figure 4.2.3 Support for self-reliance through work in Osaka city in 2012



Source: Osaka city (2017);

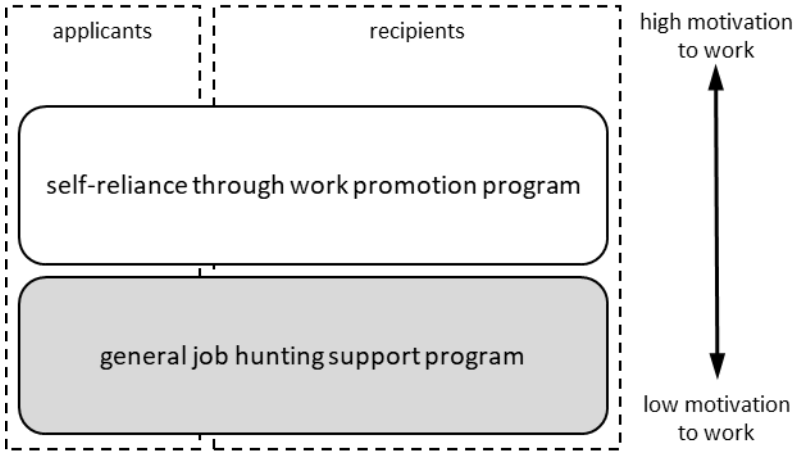
The priority sector employment creation program was also created on a national scale to ease the impact of the financial crisis. It was run by the Community Service Department in cooperation with departments related to the employments. The aim of the program was to support young people (under 40 years) to transfer into more prosperous industries. In Osaka city it had two sub-programs. In the "job attack" program (*ōsaka-shi jobbu attakku jigyō*) participants got the chance to work for a certain amount of time in private companies and acquire special qualifications. Since some companies employ successful participants after the program, it provided also a direct way into regular employment. The "workplace challenge" study program (*shokuba charenji gakushū jigyō*) was a work experience program that could be attended before the "job attack program".

The general job hunting program (*sōgō shūshoku sapōto jigyō*) was introduced in 2009 in three wards and extended to the whole city in 2011. This program is conducted in seven zones consisting of the 24 wards of Osaka city. Through a cooperation of the welfare centers and service providers entrusted with this program, it utilizes the specialization and knowledge of local resources. The welfare center on the other side conducts support ofr job interviews, job hunting support by accompanying clients to the public job office, free referral to jobs developed and registered by the welfare center, seminars to increase business and communication skills and other support.

The work experience program (*hihogo-sha shugyō taiken jigyō*), constricted to public assistance recipients, was conducted by the welfare office. It focused especially on public assistance recipients who have poor work experiences and difficulties to imagine an employed live. After providing some work experience, participants are connected to other support programs that enable them to find employment.

The program to evoke the will for self-reliance (*hihogo-sha jiritsu iyoku kanki jigyō*), constricted to public assistance recipients, was also conducted by the welfare office. It aimed to stabilize the participants emotionally and eventually connect them to other support programs. Through counselling with specialized staff like psychiatric social workers, this program attempted to solve the problems of the clients and did not directly connect them to work (Osaka city 2017a).

Figure 4.2.4 Support for self-reliance through work in Osaka city in 2015



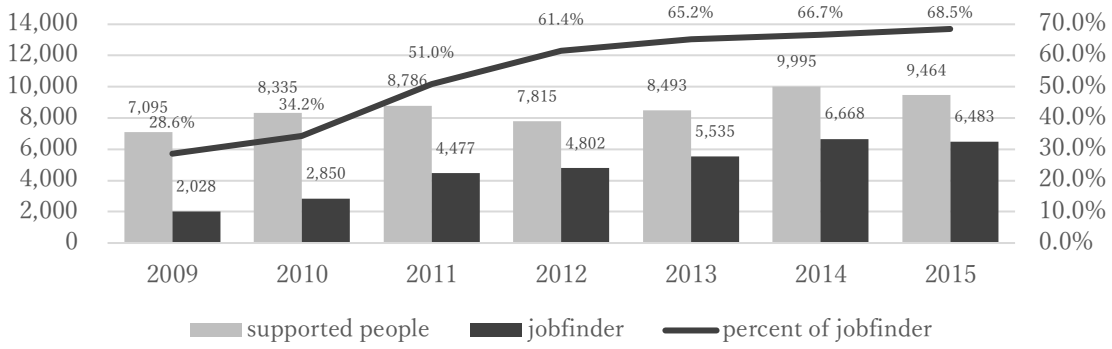
Source: Osaka city (2017);

These self-reliance through work programs developed further after the "welfare to work" support program merged into the self-reliance through work promotion program in 2013, that provides through one-stop support a gateway to different services. In order to provide quick access to support in the welfare offices a counter of the public job office was installed. The focus of the program was strengthened towards training to get basic and vocational skills. Further, the introduction of the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People brought further changes, reducing the target group to public assistance applicants and recipients. Today the self-reliance through work program provide in Osaka city work support as shown in figure 4.2.4 (Osaka city 2017a).

The number of participants in all self-reliance through work programs increased slightly between 2009 and 2015 from 7,095 to 9,464 people. But in the same period the

number of participants that found a job increased more than three times from 2,028 to 6,483 people. Especially high was the increase when in 2011 the "welfare to work" support program was introduced and the job-finders nearly doubled. Despite this obvious success the influence of this programs on the number of public assistance recipients is limited. While 3,741 people found in 2015 work through the general job hunting program, this enabled only 247 households to go off public assistance. This is because 87.3% of the jobs were irregular employments that did not provide sufficient means for a complete self-reliant life (Osaka city 2017a).

Figure 4.2.5 Participants of the self-reliance through work programs



Source: Osaka city (2017a);

D) Public assistance welfare facilities in Osaka city

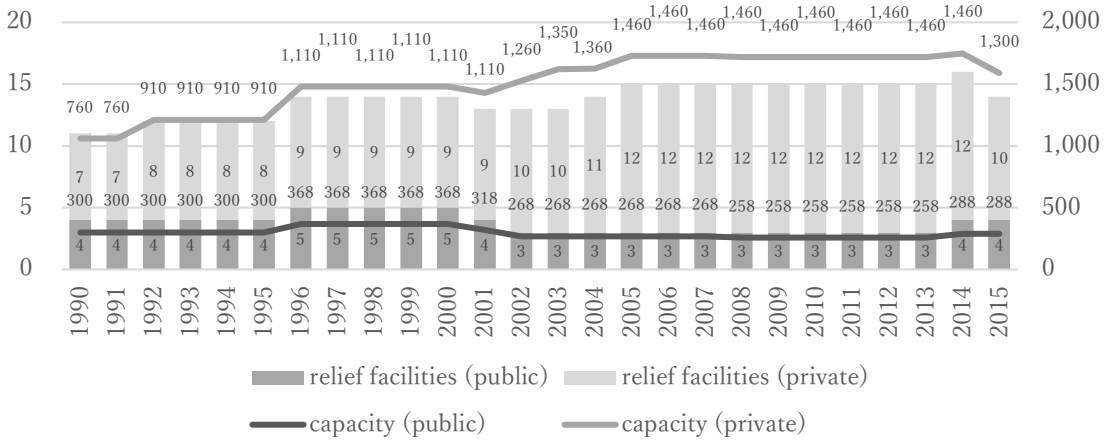
In Osaka city a considerable number of public assistance welfare facilities exists, which plaid an important role for the provision of public assistance under the Airin system as pointed out earlier. Through the expansion of the public assistance scope to homeless people their role changed crucially towards preparing clients for an self-reliant life and supporting former clients after discharging, turning them partially into transitional facilities.

With 14 facilities in Osaka city, relief facilities are the most common type of public assistance welfare facilities. Most of these facilities are related to the Airin System and in 2009 still 47% of the people admitted to them were introduced through the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office (Mizuuchi 2011). Like displayed in figure 4.2.6 their number increased slightly from 11 facilities in 1990, reaching in 2014 an all-time peak of 16 facilities. In accordance to this change the capacity of the facilities as well increased from 1,060 beds in 1990 to 1,748 beds in 2014, declining to 1,588 beds in 2015 after two relief facilities had closed their doors. Most of the relief facilities are privately owned and all are run by social welfare entities. Of these facilities eight (a ninth one was closed in

2015) were used under the Airin system for day laborers (OSY 2007).

Before the background of the circulars form the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, especially the facilities related to the Airin system changed gradually into transitional facilities, supporting clients to become able to live a self-reliant life in the community. In 2009 eight of the relief facilities had already adapted ambulatory support, accounting for 53.3% of the 15 facilities in Osaka city. Comparing this to the nation-wide figure, were only 23 out of 188 facilities, accounting for 12,3%, had adapted ambulatory support, shows the impact this support had in Osaka city. The home-life training program was also adapted by five facilities accounting for 33.3% of all facilities in Osaka city. Nation-wide 24 facilities adapted the home-life training program, making Osaka city's average higher than the national's one of 12.8% (SE 2010).

Figure 4.2.6 Relief facilities and their capacity in Osaka city

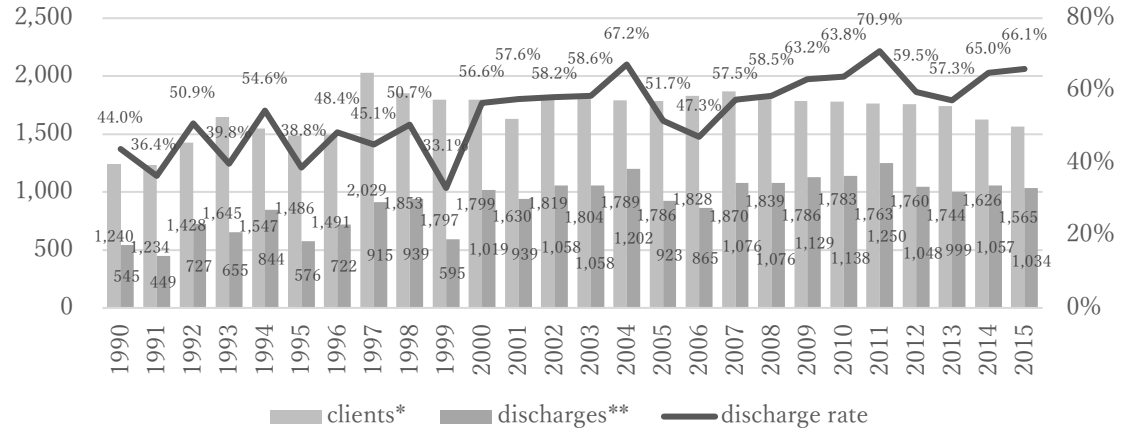


Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 4.2.7 shows the relief facilities clients and discharges since 1990. While 1,240 clients were counted at the end of the fiscal year 1990, their number peaked in 1997 with 2,029 people. After that their number was declining again to+1,565 people in 2015. The effect of the transition of relief facilities to transitional facilities can be observed in the discharge rate. The discharge rate increased especially after housing allowance for leavers of welfare facilities was introduced in 2000. From 1999 to 2000 an increase from 33.1% to 56.6% can be observed. Although, this development was not linear and the discharge rate decreased again to 47.3% in 2006 and reached a top of 70.9% in 2011, in 2015 their number counted 66.1%, indicating a relative increase of discharges. Like data on discharges of relief facilities shows, most of them become self-reliant, living on their

own. In 2007 in Osaka 7.9% (72 people) of discharged people transferred to hospitals, 7.6% (69 people) transferred to other welfare facilities and 3.8% (35 people) deceased. Since further 3.3% (30 people) found a job, the remaining 77.4% (707 people) were potential tenants of welfare housing (OKFSE 2009).

Figure 4.2.7 Relief facilities clients and discharges in Osaka city



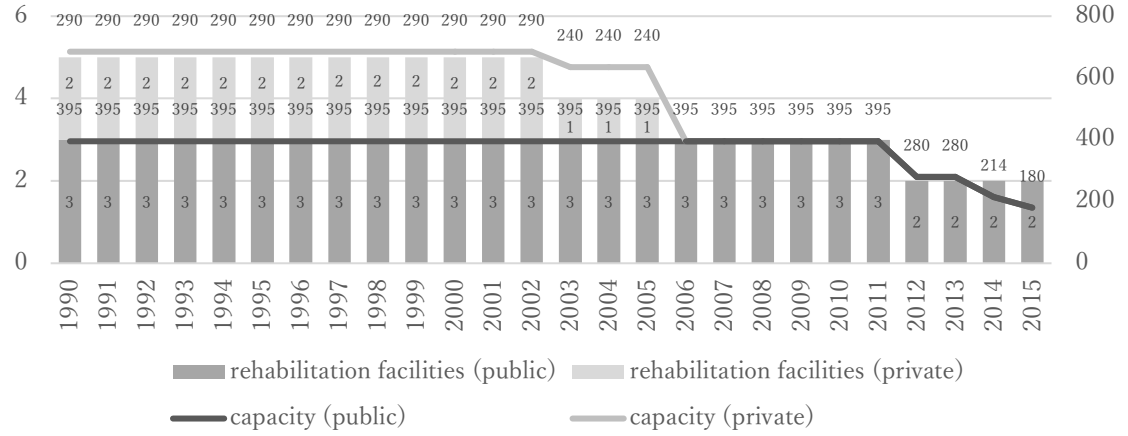
Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year; * Clients at the end of the fiscal year; ** Discharges during the fiscal year;

Compared to relief facilities the number of rehabilitation facilities was rather small and decreased further in the recent years together with the decline of the Airin System. In 2009 still 75% of the rehabilitation facilities clients were introduced through the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office showing their strong connection to the Airin System (Mizuuchi 2011). The five rehabilitation facilities that existed in 1990 decreased to two in 2015, like shown in figure 4.2.8. In 1996 these facilities provided 685 beds, but with their closure and downsizing their number decreased to mere 180 beds in 2015. Initially the relief facilities consisted of private and public owned facilities run by social welfare entities, but after the closure of the private owned facilities in the first half of the 2000s and one public facility in 2012 only two public owned facilities remained. Both of the two remaining facilities were used under the Airin System to house homeless people during rehabilitation (OSY 2007).

In contrast to relief facilities, rehabilitation facilities are designed for a shorter period of stay, making support to prepare for an independent life an urgent issue. As consequents two of the three rehabilitation facilities in Osaka city had already adapted ambulatory support in 2009, accounting for 66.7%. This is in line with a general tendency

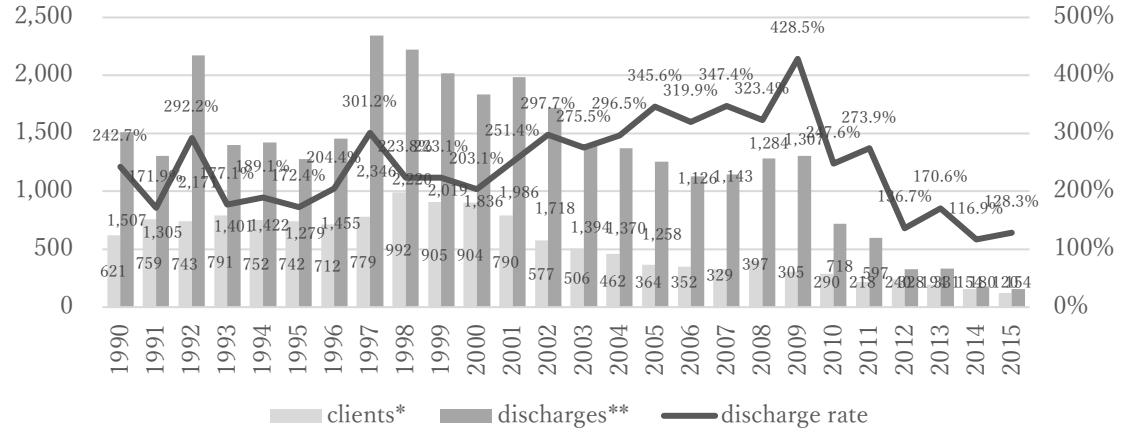
under rehabilitation facilities to adapt ambulatory support. In 2009 nationwide 14 of 20 facilities had adapted it, accounting for 70.0% (SE 2010).

Figure 4.2.8 Rehabilitation facilities and their capacity in Osaka city



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 4.2.9 Rehabilitation facilities clients and discharges in Osaka city



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year; * Clients at the end of the fiscal year; ** Discharges during the fiscal year;

Like shown in figure 4.2.9 the number of clients was increasing from 621 people in 1990 to 992 people in 1998. After that the number of clients was nearly continuingly declining to 120 people in 2015. This decline is in accordance to the closure and downsizing of rehabilitation facilities. The discharge rate on the other side tendentially increased from

the beginning of the 2000s until 2009, one year after the global financial turmoil, were it reached its peak of 428.5%. This shows the rehabilitation facilities role as entrance to other welfare services and facilities in the face of increasing homelessness. In 2015 the discharge rate had declined to 128.3%, suggesting that the rehabilitation facilities' importance is diminishing together with the Airin System. Compared to the relief facilities only a small amount of the clients of rehabilitation facilities became potential tenants of welfare housing. In 2007 4.5% (51 people) of the leavers transferred to hospitals, 61.0% to other welfare facilities and 0.1% (1 person) deceased. Since 3.3% (38 people) found a job, only 31.1% (356 people) of the leavers were potential clients of welfare housing (OKFSE 2009).

E) Supporting the lives of elderly public assistance receiving single households

Through the increase of public assistance receiving single households, social isolation and solidary death are becoming increasingly important issues. While for a long time the Osaka city government took no action in recent years new approaches to these issues can be observed.

Starting with the fiscal year 2015 Osaka city took action by introducing the Program for Enhancing the Network for Monitoring of People with Support Needs in the Community (*chiiki niokeru yōengo-sha no mimamori nettowāku kyōka jigyō*). Although this program gets government subsidies, its mainly financed by Osaka city. Its aims are to collect and utilize information about people who need support that is already collected by the local government and the communities. The program was entrusted to the Social Welfare Councils (*shakai fukushi kyōgi-kai*) of Osaka city's 24 wards, which set up offices for monitoring and counselling (*mimamori soudan shitsu*) (Shirahase 2017). To these offices specialized welfare workers and investigators, who are responsible to collect permissions+ for the creation of name lists of people with support needs, are deployed (OSFK 2015c).

Overall, this program has three major goals: 1) Creating a name list of people with support needs. Investigators are assigned to visit public assistance receiving households and collect permission for the compilation of a name lists that provides information about people with support needs for the city hall. This helps to connect people with support needs to support providers, and eases monitoring and preparations for disaster evacuation. 2) Providing professional help for isolated households through a monitoring and support network. Through the name list people who are at high risk of solidary death can be identified and professional support assigned to them. Those people who do not receive help and/or suffer from self-neglect, are visited by social workers who build up

relations to them with the aim of connecting them to local support organizations. Further, to identify risky households, the cooperation with companies that provide the lifeline (power, water, gas, etc.) of households is intensified. 3) Building up a network for monitoring elderly people with dementia to protect them from roaming around. By providing information like name and appearance of elderly people with dementia to residents, community organizations and private companies like taxis or condominium stores, the search for missing people is strengthened (OSFK 2015c).

4.3. New Support for Homeless and Impoverished People

In reaction to the increase of homeless people, Osaka city started countermeasures already at the end of the 1990s and urged for solutions on the national scale. While at the beginning the countermeasures were emergency interventions to ease the situation, they were already developed crucially before the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-reliance of Homeless People was enacted in 2002. After the enactment of the new law, support for homeless people was further extended, forming a new kind of homeless support, aiming to provide a route into regular employment and housing, that had not existed before.

Osaka city came forward with the first Implementation Plan for Homeless Self-reliance Support in 2004. Since the plans are designed for periods of four years, the second one was published in 2009. After the new law was extended for another five years in 2012, the third plan was published in 2014. Although in recent years some of the new facilities run under this law were closed and some programs abolished, this self-reliance support for homeless people is still provided (Osaka City 2014a).

Further, in 2015 with the enactment of the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished people, a new type of support emerged. This support is mainly based on counselling services provided inside of the ward offices, linking impoverished people to other kinds of support. While some of the support is new, it adopted also some of the previously developed homeless support.

This section gives an overview on the development of self-reliance support for homeless people under the new law and introduce its major support programs. By doing so the role of public assistance in the context of other support for homeless people is further specified.

A) Counselling Patrol

In Osaka city, already in 1999 the Department to Promote the Countermeasures for

Homeless People in Osaka City (*ōsaka-shi nojuku seikatsusha taisaku suishin honbu*), headed by the major was set up to establish and smoothly operate countermeasures. Like shown in figure 4.3.1, this enabled Osaka city to build up systematic support for homeless people at a relative early stage.

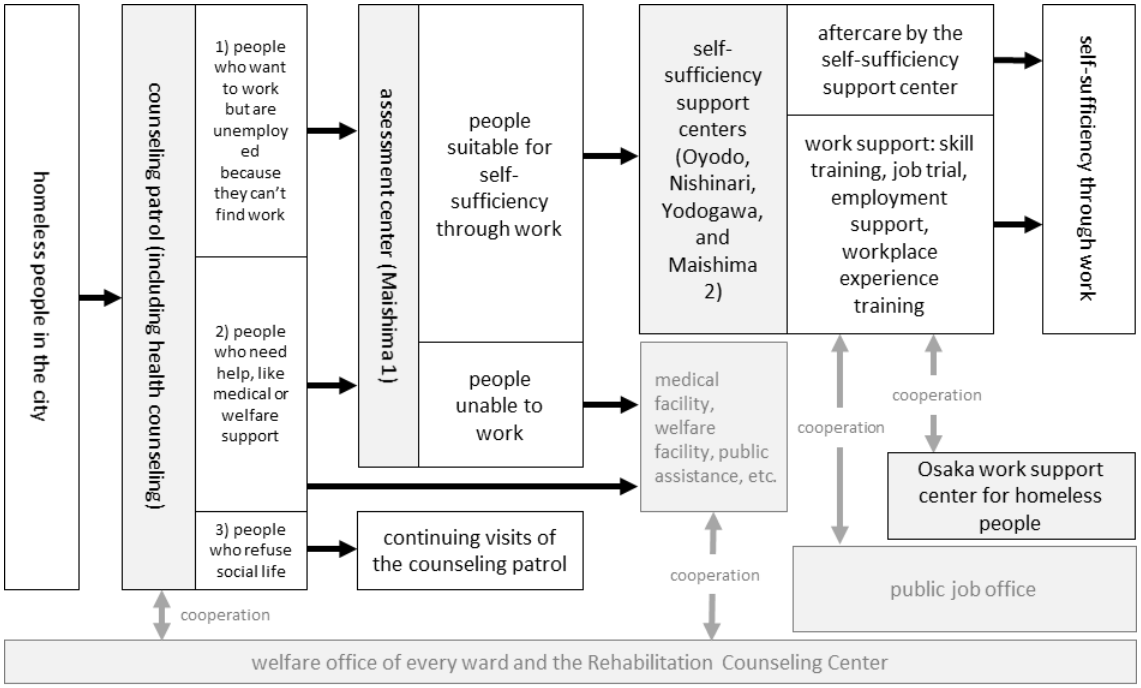
Figure 4.3.1 Major events for Osaka cities homeless counter measures

Time	Event	
Jul. 1999	Foundation of Osaka City's Homeless Countermeasures Promotion Department	Before the special measure law
Aug. 1999	Start of the Counseling Patrol for Homeless People	
Mar. 2000	Formation of the Taskforce for Homeless Countermeasures in Osaka City	
Oct.-Dec. 2000	Opening of the Self-sufficiency Support Center Oyodo, Nishinari, and Yodogawa	
Dec. 2000	Opening of the Provisional Temporary Shelter Nagai	
Dec. 2001	Opening of the Provisional Temporary Shelter Nishinari	
Nov. 2002	Opening of the Provisional Temporary Shelter Osaka Castle	After the special measure law
Mar. 2003	Closure of the Provisional Temporary Shelter Nagai	
Mar. 2004	Formulation of the Implemeantation Plan for Homeless Self-suficiency Support in Osaka (fiscal year 2004-2008)	
Jan. 2005	Closure of the Provisional Temporary Shelter Nishinari	
Aug. 2005	Opening of the Osaka Homeless Work Support Center	
Jan. 2006	Opening of the Self-sufficiency Support Center Maishima 1 and Maishima 2	
Mar. 2008	Closure of the Provisional Temporary Shelter Osaka Castle	
Mar. 2009	Formulation of the Implemeantation Plan for Homeless Self-suficiency Support in Osaka (fiscal year 2009-2013)	
Mar. 2013	Closure of the Self-suficiency Support Center Yodogawa	
Mar. 2014	Formulation of the Implemeantation Plan for Homeless Self-suficiency Support in Osaka (fiscal year 2014-2018)	
Mar. 2015	Closure of the Self-sufficiency Support Center Oyodo	
2015	Functional merging of the Self-sufficiency Support Center Maishima 1 and Maishima 2	

In 1999, outreach activities were started that provided an entrance to other support, through the setup of the Counselling Patrol (*junkai sōdan*), which's operation was entrusted to the social welfare legal entity Ōsaka Jikyōkan. The Counselling Patrol builds up contact to homeless people, through direct visits of places in the city where homeless people are living. But often other organizations work as mediators, building up the contact between homeless people and the Counselling Patrol. Typically, these are the welfare offices of the 24, the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office, the NPO

Kamagasaki Shien Kikō, or the Osaka Charenji Netto[8], an organization designed to address especially people who sleep in twenty-four hours opened stores, like internet cafes or saunas. Through interviews with homeless people about issues regarding work, health or other troubles, the Counselling Patrol collects information. Therefore, it visits the same homeless people several times, building up relationships to them and providing help in the case their situation is worthening.

Figure 4.3.2 Support system for homeless people



Source: Osaka city (2009)

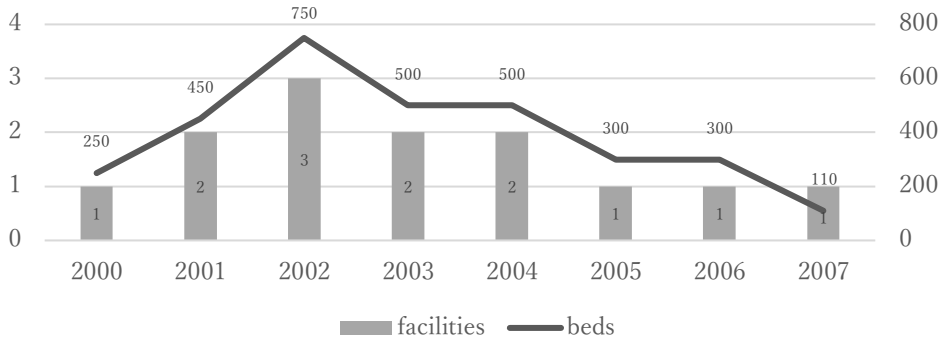
Based on the collected information, homeless people are classified into the three categories determined by the government, and connect them according to the classification to adequate support, depicted in figure 4.3.2. People regarded as suitable for self-reliance support are referred to the self-reliance support centers for homeless people. People unable to work are referred to medical facilities, public assistance facilities or get support to go on public assistance. And finally, people who refuse social life are monitored through visits of the Counselling Patrol. This became the only form of support for people in the last category (Osaka City 2004).

[8] The Osaka Charenji Netto closed its doors and is not operating any more.

B) Provisional temporary shelters

The construction of provisional temporary shelters (*kasetsu ichiji hinan-sho*) was started in 2000 to provide emergency support in parks where many homeless people lived – i.e. Nagai park (start in 2000), Nishinari park (start 2001), and Osaka Castle park (start in 2004). On one side this was done to make the parks again places of recreation for the citizens. But it had also the purpose to improve the life of homeless people and foster their will to become self-reliant (Osaka city 2004). Basically, this was done by preventing the health of homeless people from deteriorating. The shelters provided short term accommodation for a maximum of six months and support for daily life in form of food, bath, clothes and other necessary things (NR 2007). With the support of the public job office also job counselling and employment referral was conducted (Osaka city 2004). The operation of the provisional temporary shelters was entrusted to the social welfare legal entities Miotsukushi fukushi-kai, that has a long history of working together with Osaka city.

Figure 4.3.3 Number of provisional temporary shelters and available beds



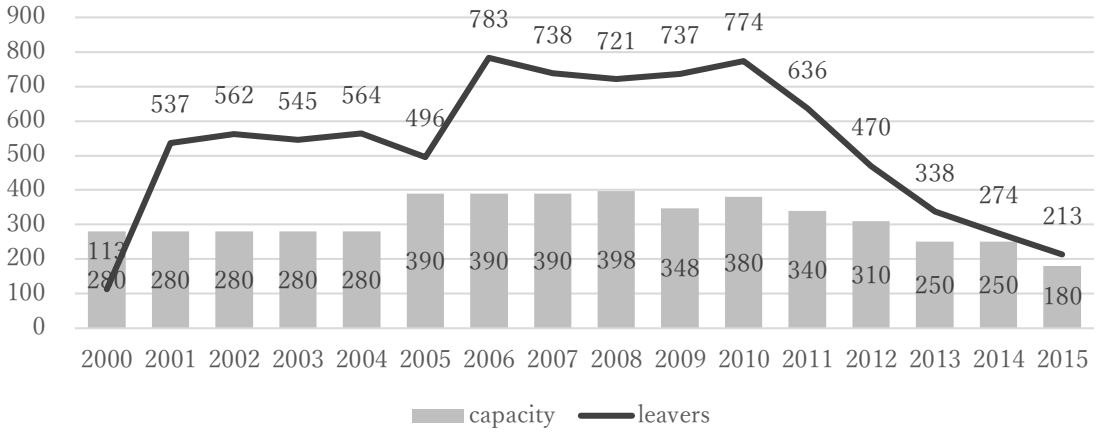
Source: Mizuuchi (2011); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Nevertheless, the provisional temporary shelters were an emergency program that operated only until 2007. After the provisional temporary shelter in Nagai park had already closed its doors in 2003, the one in Nishinari park followed in 2005 and the one in Osaka Castle park in 2007 (Osaka City 2009). While 250 beds were available in the year 2000, their number reached 750 in 2002 after the third provisional temporary shelter had opened in Osaka Castle park as shown in figure 4.3.3. In 2007, the last year in which provisional temporary shelters were available, the number of beds had declined to 110.

C) Homeless self-reliance support centers

For people of the first category, who want to work but can't find work, so called self-reliance support centers (*jiritsu shien sentā*) were installed. At the end of the year 2000 three self-reliance support centers (Ōyodo, Nishinari, and Yodogawa) were opened, with an initial overall capacity of 280 beds as shown in figure 4.3.4. But with the opening of the self-reliance support center Maishima 2 in 2005 and the construction of satellites in the form of rented apartments in the vicinity to train housed living, the capacity increased, reaching in 2008 with 398 beds its peak. But with the subsequent closure of facilities and satellites and their partial downsizing, the capacity dropped down to 180 beds in 2015, reflecting the decreased demand for this kind of support. In accordance to the change of the capacity, also the number of discharges changed. They reached their peak in 2006 with 783 people and stayed at a high level until 2010. After that their number decreased rapidly, counting in 2015 only 213 people.

Figure 4.3.4 Capacity and discharges of homeless self-reliance support centers



Source: OFJ (2016)

The Self-reliance support centers in Osaka city are run by two social welfare entities. This is the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai, which was founded in 1946 and manages a wide range of welfare facilities in Osaka (MF 2010) and operated in total three self-reliance support centers, and the Ōsaka Jigyōkan, that was already founded in 1912 and focuses its actions on the Airin District, running other welfare facilities as well (Ōsaka jikyōkan 2002), was also managing one self-reliance support center in Nishinari ward.

Since this support aimed to people considered to be able to work the percentage of former day laborers was low, being between 20-30% (Mizuuchi 2011). Although the people who come to the self-reliance support centers want to work, many of them turn

out to be not able to because of health issues. Often these are illnesses like high blood pressure, high blood sugar, heart disease or psychological illnesses like dementia and schizophrenia, that cannot be detected easily. Those people who turn out to be unable to work, can apply for livelihood protection (Morimatsu 2006).

In order to deliver the support to people with more adequate skills in 2005 an assessment center was installed, that operated until the end of the fiscal year 2014. During a one month stay in the assessment center, the potential clients were assessed through health checkups and verification of their capability to work. Until 2011 about 21.2% of the people discharged from the assessment centers dropped out. 6.0% of them were transferred to other facilities and 5.6% applied for public assistance (ASM 2011).

The self-reliance support centers were created on the idea, that through work support to the worker's wish to be able to live by one's own work can be responded (Mizuuchi & Hanano 2003). Therefore, the self-reliance support centers are designed to support the homeless to become self-reliant by their own strength. During their stay the clients have only access to health benefits and no other form of public assistance. The facilities provide shelter for a time span of up to three months, that can be extended to a maximum of six months. Because extensions are very frequent in praxis six months is the normal time-period for one stay (Yamada 2009). During this time things for daily use like food and clothing, and things necessary for job hunting are provided by the facility (JSSN 2010).

Together with a personal trainer, clients work out a plan for their stay in the self-reliance support center that enables them to find a job and earn enough money to move into an own apartment. The in Japan customary deposit (*shikikin*) and key money (*reikin*), that is usually the amount of three months' rent, becomes a high handicap for many clients. Therefore, they are encouraged to save money for the deposit and key money, as well as furnitures while they stay in the facility (Iwata 2010), but only approximately half of them manage to save a sufficient amount of money. For those who cannot pay the deposit by themselves the welfare office provides the necessary financial means. Furthermore, the customary guarantor (*hoshōnin*) that is required for a rental contract is avoided by utilizing rental niche markets that do not require a guarantor or by relying on companies that act as guarantors (*hoshōnin daikōgaisha*) (Mizuuchi & Nakayama 2009).

Next to the personal trainer who provides counselling support, other support is provided through collaborating organizations. The public job center, that is responsible for job hunting support is the most important one. It sends career consulters, specialized on consulting former homeless people, to the self-reliance support centers. They publish

job offers in the facility, support applications and intermediate between the applicants and companies. The clients can choose freely the work they prefer and receive advice for job applications and for problems they encounter at the workplace. Nevertheless, the work published in the self-reliance support centers is most times low skilled work. Jobs like delivery boys or trash collectors are very frequent (Morimatsu 2006).

Next to support for job hunting, skill training is also available to adapt to the changing labor market. Skill training is provided by the Miotsukushi Fukushi-kai Koyō Kaihatsu-shitsu. It involves training for forklift trucks, cleaning, house-keeping, computers, home care aid and different kinds of driver licenses. These are all short-term programs, since in the six months of the clients stay not enough time is available to conduct long term training (Iwata 2010).

The public job office organizes also some trial jobs, that give the clients the chance to adapt to a working life. Usually trial jobs last three months and are payed with a salary of 50,000 yen a month to encourage clients. This kind of trial jobs is provided to a wide range of people with employment disadvantages, like young people, single mothers or handicapped people and the homeless are one of these groups (Yamada 2009).

The support of the self-reliance support center does not stop once the clients are discharged, and it can be continued to up to three years after discharging. During this time former clients can consult with or get advice from the self-reliance support center about work or other aspects of life. In addition, dispatched clients are contacted twice a year per letter and people in need for more help are called routinely. But next to simple advice, also concrete help is conducted. For instance, in some cases the self-reliance support center administrates the salary of people with difficulties of handling money, supports them to find a new job, or accompanies former clients to the welfare office or hospital (Kiener 2014).

Nevertheless, the success of the self-reliance support centers was modest. In Osaka city the share of clients who find employment is between 29% and 48% percent (Mizuuchi 2011). Further, many of those who managed to become self-reliant through work lose their jobs after a while and become homeless again (Mizuuchi 2003). As a result, the number of repeaters in the self-reliance support centers is high, sometimes depicted as one fourth, suggesting that the route through work into a self-reliant life is only a realistic option for a small number of homeless people.

D) Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People

The Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People (*ōsaka hōmuresu shugyō shien sentā*) was founded in 2005. While it is financed by the state, Osaka prefecture and

donations, it is operated by the Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People's Committee, consisting next to Osaka prefecture and city also of several local welfare organizations involved in homeless support. Its aim is to support the self-reliance through work of homeless people, especially of clients of the self-reliance support centers and aged day laborers of the Airin district.

The Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People has six different programs: 1) The work support counselling program; This program provides counselling and guidance support for work issues. By reviewing the employment history of clients, their abilities and work experiences are identified and options to utilize them effectively are examined.

2) The work development program; Next to supporting directly homeless people, the Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People is also looking actively for companies that cooperate with them and provide work to homeless people. By providing information to the companies and guidance to clients who work there they ensure a save working environment.

3) The work support program; Through this program information on adequate job vacancies are provided. It introduces also sheltered employment that is managed by the NPO Kamagasaki Shien Kikō. This involves gardening and cleaning work in parks, painting walls and playground equipment, repairing and selling of bikes and other simple work.

4) The work place experience program; This program aims to help people to find into normal employment who have been for a long time unemployed or in an unsecure employment situation. During a maximum of 16 days the clients can experience the work in a company. Cooperating companies get allowances for the special expenditures, and the clients get small payments to motivate them.

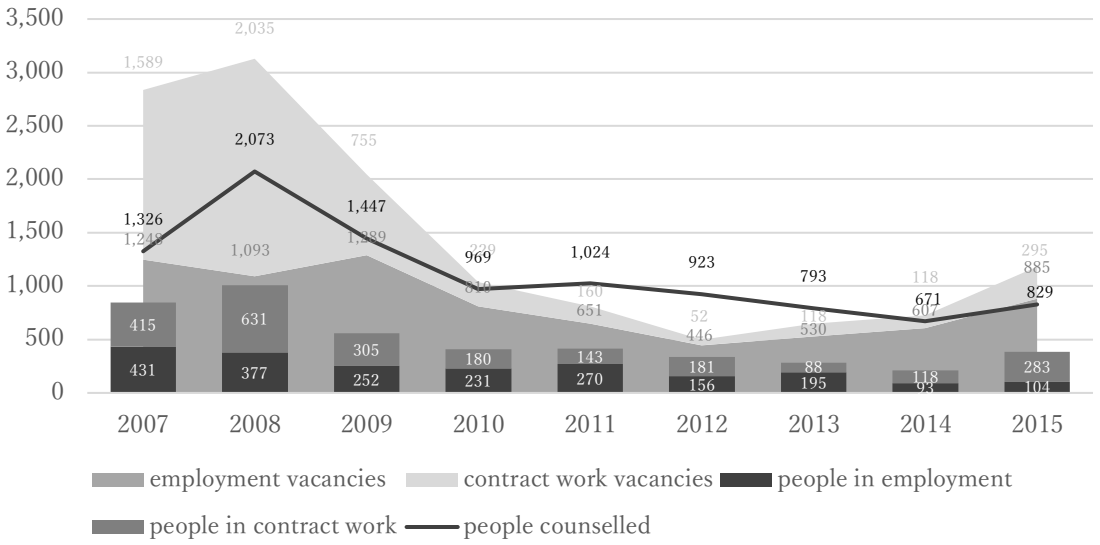
5) The job hunting support seminar; In this seminar the basic procedure and necessary skills for job hunting are reviewed and brushed up. This involves not only training to write a CV or conduct a job interview, but also increasing the clients' motivation for work.

6) The support program for homeless people with unsecure work; This was a program specialized to support people who live in unsecure housings, for instance 24 hours open internet cafes or saunas. This program was provided from 2008 to 2015 and is not operating any more (OHSS 2017).

The number of job vacancies (employment and contract work) reached their peak in 2008 with 3,128 vacancies. This was followed by a sharp decline, and in 2015 only 1180 vacancies were counted. The same tendency can be confirmed in the number of people counselled and the people who found employment (people in employment and people in contract work). The number of people counselled reached their peak in 2008 with 2,073

people, declined after that abruptly and stabilized in 2015 by 829 people. Those people who found actually a job (employment and contract work) reached their peak in 2008 with 1,008 people, declined abruptly in 2009 and stabilized at 387 people in 2015.

4.3.4 Job vacancies, employed and counselled people of the Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People



Source: OHSS (2017); Note: Contract work refers here to temporary work that aims to provide a work experience to people not used to do regular work;

E) New support under the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People

In Osaka city the new support that was enabled by the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People started with its enactment in April 2015 on a wide scale. In every ward office a counter to provide support for impoverished people was established, run by the ward office itself or social welfare legal entities. It provides all seven support programs – 1) Self-reliance counseling support program (*jiritsu sōdan shien jigyō*), 2) Benefits to secure housing (*jūkyo kakuho kyūfu jigyō*), 3) First step to work program (Work Preparation support program) (*shūrō fāsuto suteppu jigyō*), 4) Temporary life support program (*ichiji seikatsu shien jigyō*), 5) Household budget counselling support program (*kakei sōdan shien jgyō*), 6) Self-reliance assistance program for children (Learning support program) (*kodomo jiritsu ashisuto jigyō)*, and the 7) Promotion program for work training (*shūrō kunren suishin jigyō*). The counter works together with other local organizations and while providing a part of the programs directly, it connects clients to other programs, institutions and organizations.

The benefits to secure housing can be considered of having an effect on the provision

of public assistance housing benefits to people who are able to work. It is a temporary payment for rent, that is granted to people who have financial troubles and lost or are in the process of loosing their home. They must be under 65 years old and not longer than two years unemployed at the day of application and must conduct job hunting in a self-reliance counselling support program. Their monthly income must be under a defined maximum that varies according to household size – 84,000 yen for single households and a maximum of 407,000 yen for households with nine members.

The benefits are payed for three months but can be extended to a maximum of nine months if the client is actively job hunting. The payments depend also on the number of household members and are between a maximum of 40,000 yen for single households and 62,000 yen for households with seven or more members. Other than public assistance payments, the benefits to secure housing are directly payed to the landlord or the company managing the building. These benefits can be received repeatedly in the case the client is on the verge of losing his home again because of job loss (Osaka city 2017b).

Further, in Osaka city the temporary life support program utilizes the homeless self-reliance support centers to support homeless people. From 2015 on the remaining two self-reliance support centers are run nearly entirely under the Self-reliance Support Act for Impoverished People.

4.4. Summary

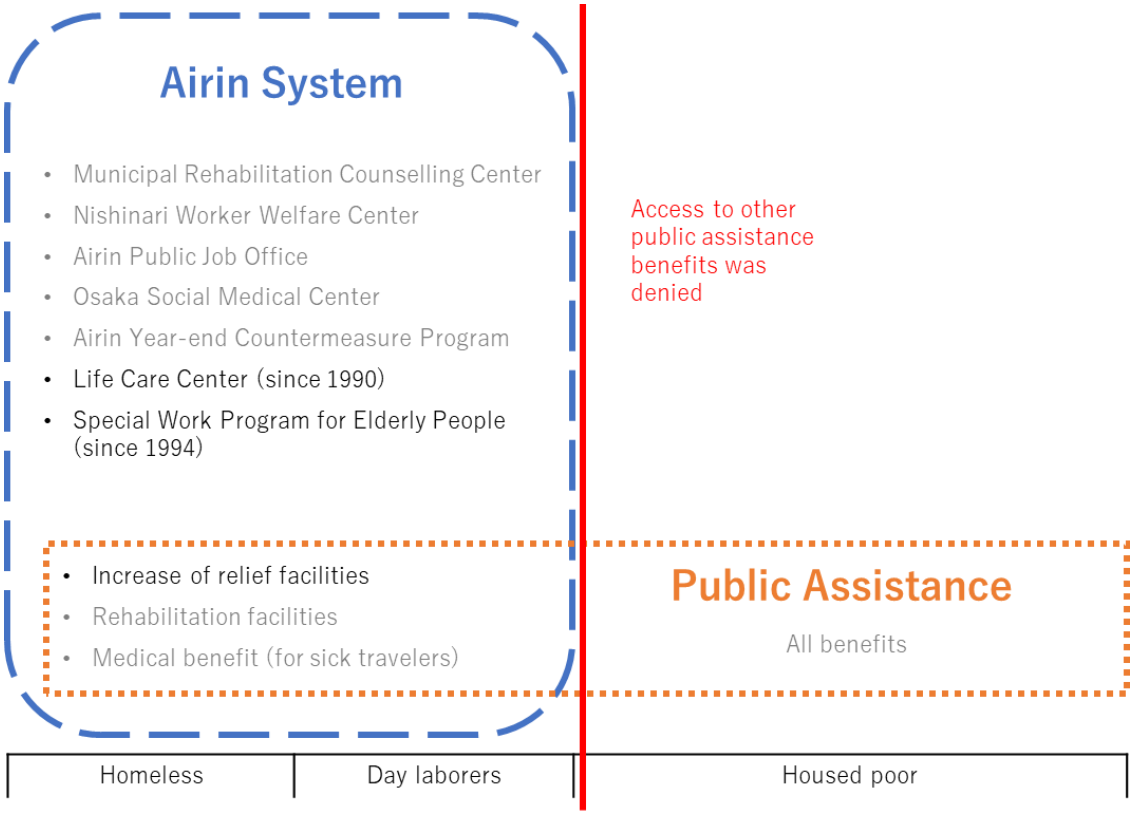
Based on this overview of support systems for homeless people following five distinguishable phases can be identified in the transformation process of the urban welfare regime. These are 1) the phase of neglect (1990-1997), 2) the phase of homeless inclusion (1998-2003), 3) the phase of consolidation (2004-2008), 4) the phase of poverty inclusion (2009-2011), and 5) the phase of retreat (2012-). Below a short overview on the characteristics of these five phases is provided.

A) Phase of neglect

The phase of neglect started in 1990 with the begin of the observation period and ends in 1997 before the first expansion of the public assistance scope conducted by Osaka city. This phase is characterized by adhering to the established Arin System and attempts to solve emerging problems inside of the existing policy framework. Homeless people and day laborers continued to be excluded from housing protection, having only access to rehabilitation and relief facilities and medical benefits in cases of emergencies.

Through the Airin System a set of welfare support geared to day laborers was provided mainly inside of the Airin District. On one side this was the support provided through the Airin Center, like work referral, unemployed and health insurance or medical services, that resembled to a certain extend the first security net of Japan's social security system but being considerably inferior. On the other side, the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center, dealt with issues that could not be solved through the day laborer insurance system, providing counselling and adherence to the public assistance welfare facilities and public assistance benefits accessible to day laborers. The Airin Year-end Countermeasure Program was only available in winter, bolstering the seasonal crisis, through the provision of shelter.

Figure 4.5.1 Phase of neglect (1990-1997)



The increasing pressure on this system, that had emerged through the burst of the economic bubble in 1992, reducing day laborer employment and pouring more and more people to the *yoseba*, was dealt, although to an insufficient extent, within the Airin System. On the one side existing institutions like the day laborer unemployment and health insurance, the Life Counseling Room or the public assistance welfare facilities and medical benefits were used intensively, bolstering a part of the crisis. On the other

side new institutions like the Life Care Center and Special Work Program for Elderly People were founded and relief facilities increased. This slightly strengthened the capability to deal with a growing group of elderly day laborers inside of the Airin System. The new institutions worked as substitute for housing or day labor following the logic of the established system.

At that time, the Airin System, as well as public assistance framed day laborers as capable to live independently and as in the place they belong to. The welfare support aimed to help them to overcome personal, seasonal, and economic crisis but did not aim to modify their behavior. As long as the day laborers stayed in the *yoseba* and could be used as the desired flexible workforce, their otherness was excepted.

In order to create this spatial containment of day laborers, a place bound approach towards welfare provision was installed. Welfare services were mainly provided directly through the state, like in the case of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counseling Center, or through private companies, mostly social welfare legal entities, designated medical facilities, or in the case of the Airin Center other selected organizations. These organizations were either located inside of the Airin District or could be accessed through its institutions – like the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office that provided referrals to welfare and medical facilities – making certain welfare services accessible through the space of the Airin District.

The relation between the state and these organization resembles Bole's (2006) organized welfare mixes, being long term and stable. Social welfare legal entities are registered welfare providers that are strictly supervised by the city government, making them more an extension of the city hall's welfare office. Together with the low autonomy of wards in the Japanese city system, this enabled Osaka city to execute strong spatial control on welfare services for day laborers, utilizing it to contain them in the Airin District.

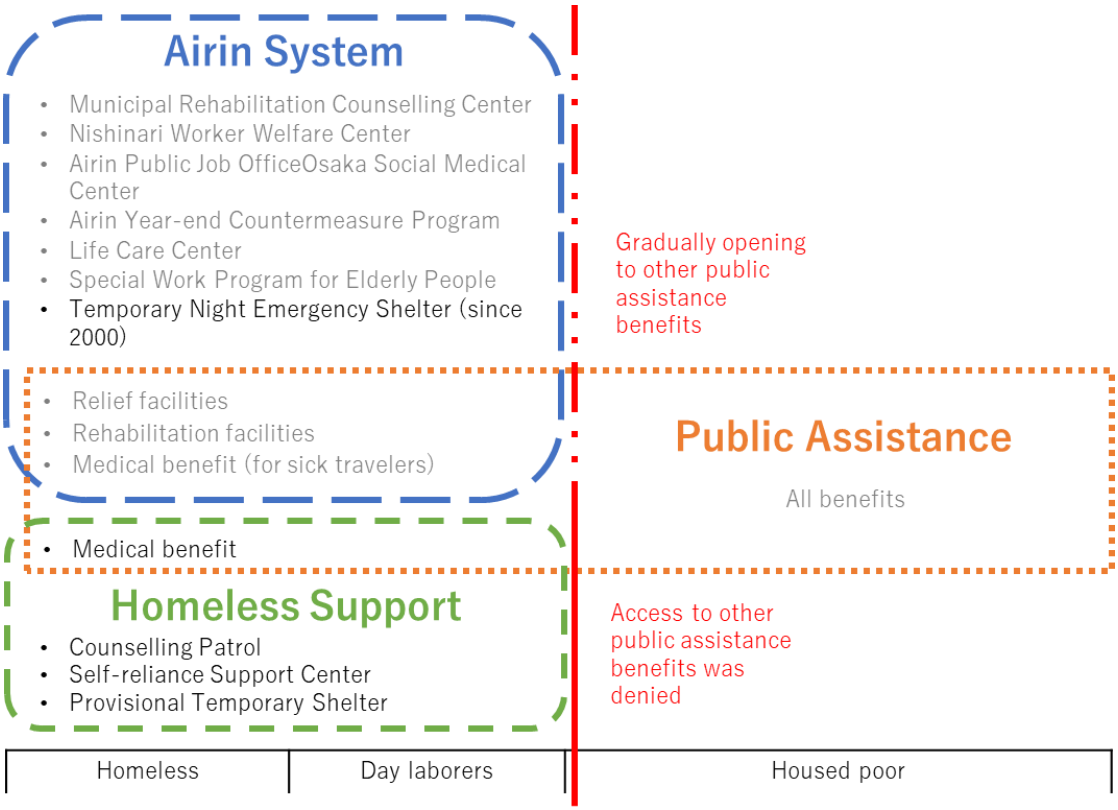
B) Phase of homeless inclusion

The phase of homeless inclusion starts in 1998 with the first expansion of public assistance to homeless people who were released from hospitals and ends in 2003 when all homeless people became entitled to housing protection. In this phase not only the Airin System was further reinforced, but also a new independent homeless support system, based on a new law was introduced and public assistance became step by step available to homeless people.

The in 2000 founded temporary night shelter was a further reinforcement of the Airin System, providing a substitute for flophouses. But its novelty was, that its operation,

together with the Special Work Program for Homeless People was entrusted to a NPO, differing from the traditional praxis to entrust social welfare legal entities with the operation of welfare facilities.

Figure 4.5.2 Phase of homeless inclusion (1998-2003)



The new homeless support system's novum was the rendering of the individual as "active citizen" (DeVerteuil & Wilton 2009) making it responsible for its own salvation. The support for homeless people focused strongly on behavioral modification, aiming to improve their life skills and occasionally vocational skills in order to increase their abilities as laborers. In the case of Osaka city this approach proved to be rather insufficient, enabling only one fourth of the clients to find and stay longer than two years in employment that can sufficiently supports their lives (Mizuuchi & Hanano 2003).

The provision of these welfare services followed a traditional approach, relying on established social welfare legal entities, that were entrusted with the management of the newly created institutions. With the exception of the counselling patrol, these institutions were permanent facilities, but concentrated not in the Airin District. In contrast to the provisional temporary shelters, which were located in parks with a high number of homeless people and opened around the same time, the homeless self-reliance

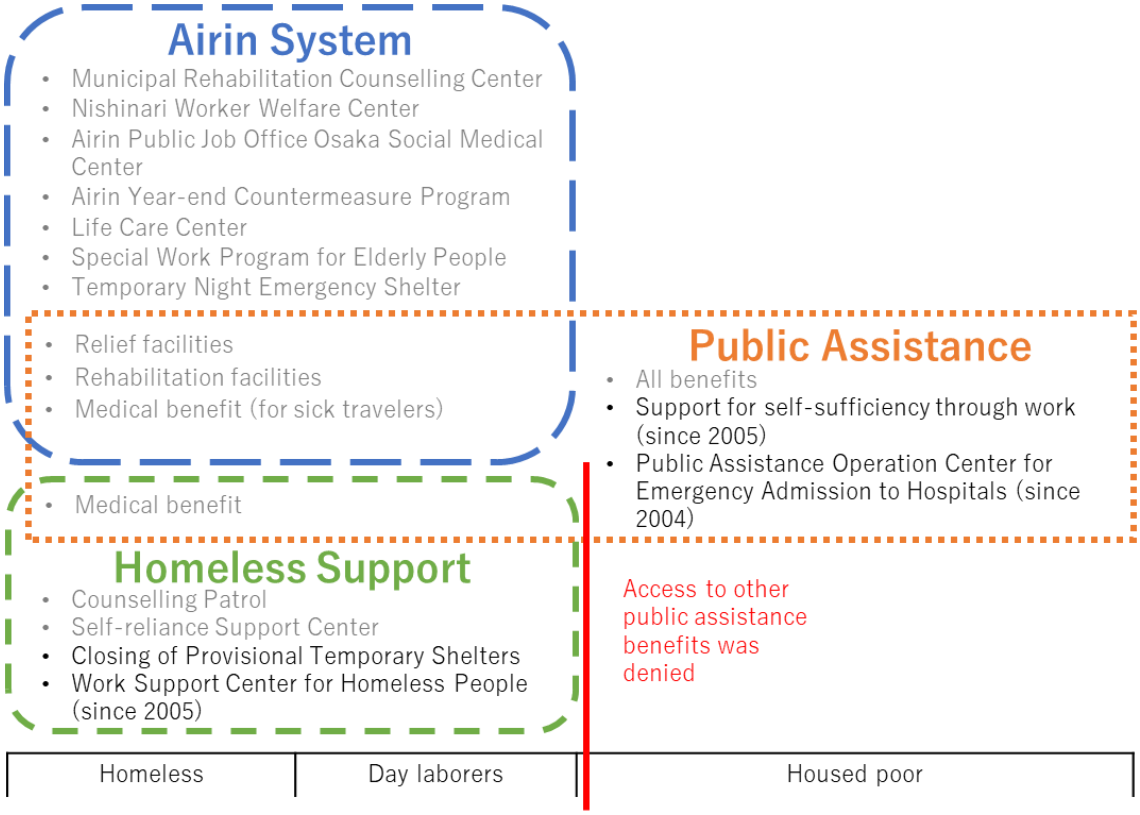
support centers recruited clients through forefront organizations, allowing to organize them without proximity to their potential clients.

While clients of self-reliance support centers were denied public assistance, with the exception of medical treatments, the scope of public assistance was gradually adjusted to homeless people. Through the access to the public assistance benefit scheme they were empowered to consume certain services on the market.

C) Phase of consolidation

The phase of consolidation lasts from 2004 the year in which the Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals was founded and ended with the global financial turmoil in 2008. It is most strongly characterized through a consolidation of the newly established homeless support system and public assistance allocation.

Figure 4.5.3 Phase of consolidation (2004-2008)



While the Airin System kept operating without structural changes, homeless support employing work was further strengthened through the opening of an additional homeless self-reliance support center and an assessment center, improving the preselection.

Further, the Work Support Center for Homeless People was founded, differing form other facilities due to its management, that was entrusted to a NPO. On the other side the provisional temporary shelters were gradually closed increasing the focus of the homeless support further on behavioral modification towards work.

Public assistance and its provision underwent also some crucial changes. The newly founded Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals changed the handling of homeless people. The provision of public assistance to thick travelers became to be centrally managed, and together with the better access to housing protection the number of sick travelers decreased drastically. The strengthening of self-reliance support to public assistance marked a further change. While public assistance had originally a strong Keynesian character, aiming to protect the individual from personal and economic crisis, the strengthening of self-reliance support enabled it to frame the individual as "active citizen", applying behavioral modification to improve its situation instead of providing unconditional benefits.

D) Phase of poverty inclusion

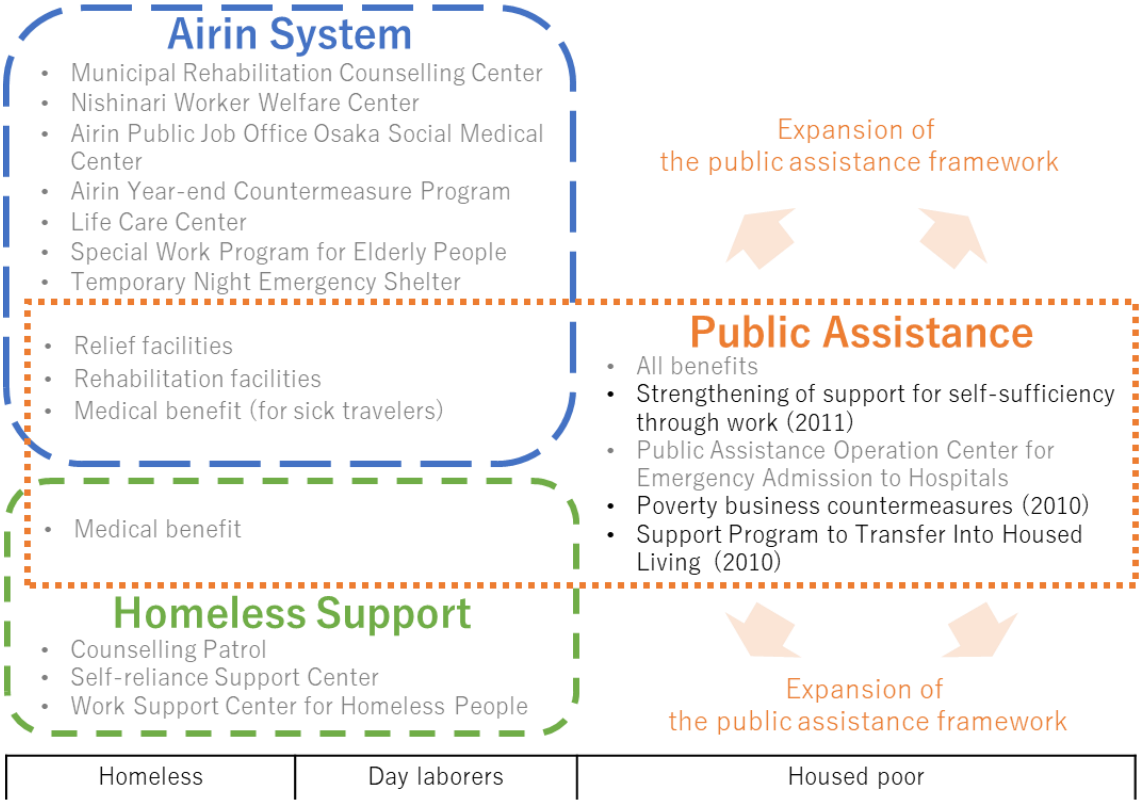
The phase of poverty inclusion lasts from the issuing of the two circulars of the Ministry of Health Labor and Welfare in 2009 to 2011, the time in which Osaka city's countermeasures showed effect. It is most strongly coined by the further expansion of the public assistance scope making many impoverished people eligible to housing protection. This had also a strong effect on other support systems, reducing their importance considerably.

Through the two circulars many impoverished people got access to public assistance, increasing the number of recipients dramatically. As reaction to this Osaka city almost immediately started to strengthen its governance towards public assistance. This was done by a two folded approach. On the one side the provision of certain services, like the payment of deposits or the provision of household goods, was assessed stricter. On the other side, the Support Program to Transfer into Housed Living employed a governance strategy through the public assistance recipients themselves. By actively separating them from welfare housing providers, those considered as "poverty business" were excluded.

The expansion of the public assistance scope had also a profound effect on other support systems, reducing the number of their clients. In programs of the Airin System, like the Special Work Program for Elderly People, the temporary night emergency shelters or also the rehabilitation facilities the number of clients dropped drastically. The same thing happened in the homeless support system, reflected in the clients of homeless

self-reliance centers and the Osaka Work Support Center for Homeless People.

Figure 4.5.4 Phase of poverty inclusion (2009-2011)



E) Phase of retreat

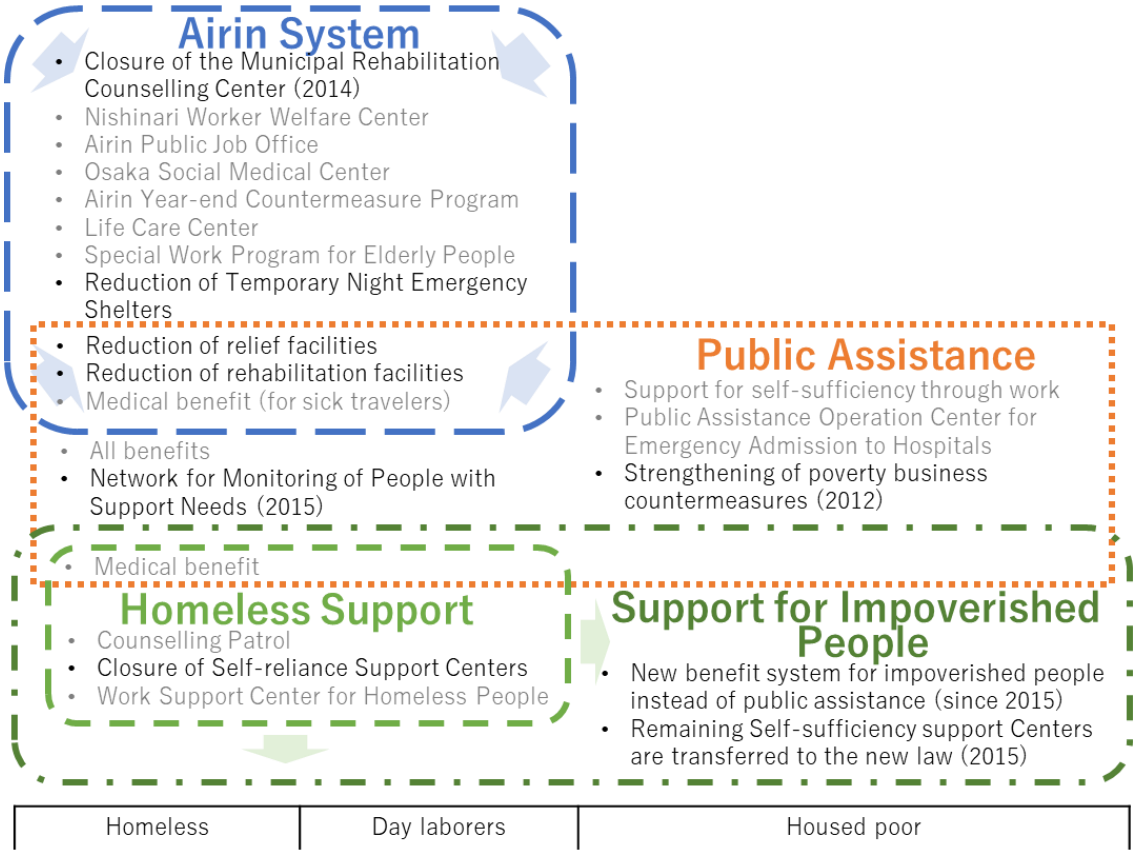
The phase of retreat started in 2012 after Osaka cities countermeasures showed effect and is still continuing on the day of writing (although data is only available until 2015). It is characterized by a structural downgrading of previous support systems, dismantling the spaces they had created and the introduction of a new support system.

Most crucial for the Airin System and the public assistance provision was the closure of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Center in 2014, making the provision of public assistance through regular welfare offices standard for everyone. Further, the temporary night shelters, rehabilitation and relief facilities were considerably reduced and nearly in all of the Airin Systems institutions the number of clients decreased. Further, also plans for the rebuilding of the Airin Center were published, including a considerable reduction of its scale. The homeless support system was also downsized considerably with the closure of two homeless self-reliance support centers and the assessment center, reflected also in the decline of clients. In contrast, the governance of public assistance was further strengthened through the newly founded Network for

Monitoring of People with Support Needs. Here again, governance is conducted through the public assistance recipient, who's monitoring was strengthened.

The in 2015 newly established support system for impoverished people provides an alternative to public assistance. It consists of a set of support programs, mainly based on behavioral modification, that aims to increase the recipient's abilities to find work that enables a self-reliant life. While the two remaining homeless self-reliance support centers were transferred to this new system, no new facilities were created. The new counters it relies on were installed inside of the already existing welfare offices. From there clients are sent to other support services considered to be able to improve their situation or abilities.

Figure 4.5.5 Phase of retreat (2012-)



F) A new spatial order

From a spatial point of view is the transformation of public assistance provision for day laborers and homeless people in Osaka city one from a system that is strongly confined to the space of the *yoseba* Kamagasaki, to a system that is provided in all 24 wards indifferently. Through the Airin System, that relied heavily on specialized welfare

services in the inner city, day laborers and homeless people were contained in one area and NIMBYism could be avoided. Next to controlling day laborers spatially, it functioned also to exclude them from housing protection, effectively keeping the number of public assistance recipients at a low level.

Due to the expansion of the public assistance scope welfare provision through the Airin System became obsolete and allowed a new spatial order of public assistance to emerge. Osaka city did not employ a new spatial agenda that could replace the Airin System. Nevertheless, some of the new governance strategies dealing with "poverty business" have the potential to translate into space by excluding especially welfare housing providers located in the inner city. With the decline of the Airin System also the mechanism to control the number of public assistance recipients was lost. In 2015 its place was taken over by the support system for impoverished people that was set up inside of the welfare offices, having no spatial focus too.

While this chapter gave an overview on the policy changes since 1990 in Osaka city, the next chapter turns to the spatiality of public assistance receiving households. It gives an overview on major changes of public assistance benefits, public assistance receiving households, and their spatial distribution in Osaka city's 24 wards.

5. Welfare Geographies from Containment to Segregation

This chapter scrutinizes how the allocation of public assistance changes under the restructuring urban welfare regime, described in the previous chapter. The focus of the analyzes lies on the spatiality associated with the new urban welfare regime, that is revealed by tracing the different developments of public assistance allocation in the 24 wards of Osaka city. The analysis is based on the hypothesis that the spatiality of public assistance changed from a containment pattern, (co-)produced by a highly localized welfare provision, into a form shaped mainly by segregation, that is rather produced by socio-economic local characteristics.

Therefore, first the socio-economic characteristics producing segregation in Osaka city are identified, by tracing back its economic development since 1990 and examining the demographic changes and their impact on the housing market. Based on these observations, four distinctive areas are identified that become the basic units of analysis. Next to the socio-economic characteristics also the distribution of homeless people, which's number increased during the 1990s, having a considerable impact on public assistance receiving households, is analyzed.

Based on the five phases of welfare regime restructuring identified in the previous chapter and the findings of the analysis on socio-economic characteristics, the spatial development of public assistance is analyzed. It starts with an inquiry on quantitative changes of public assistance receiving households. Than it continues with qualitative aspects of public assistance by examining the characteristics of public assistance receiving households and the eight different kinds of public assistance benefits. Finally, the analysis turns to the costs of public assistance, tracing back the major changes that occurred since 1990.

5.1. Socio-economic Disparities

A) Osaka city's growth policy

Osaka city developed in the 20th century as one of Japan's major industrial cities. After the Second World War the political discourse was dominated by the "Osaka development paradigm (*Ōsaka kaihatsu-ron*)" that promoted industrialization, especially through the heavy and chemical industry. Economic growth was realized by the construction of large scale industrial complexes and the upgrading of the transport system. Especially in the time before the Osaka World Exhibition in 1970 the upgrading of urban infrastructure accelerated and the development of the heavy and chemical industry reached its peak (Haraguchi 2008). In order to secure the labor force for the construction boom the central

government intervened to reinforce the *yoseba* Kamagasaki in Osaka's Nishinari ward through the Airin Policy (Haraguchi 2003).

But Osaka cities fate changed after the high economic growth period. On the one side more and more companies moved to the Kantō area, and Osaka city's relative economic development fell back. On the other side Osaka city's industry, which had developed around manufacturing, came under restructuring pressure due to advancing globalization. In the search for a new growth paradigm, the so called "event oriented policy[9]" evolved, which is focusing on events as central strategy to boost urban culture fostering the information and service industry. This policy was realized through the "Osaka 21st Century Plan (*Ōsaka 21 seiki keikaku*)" enacted in 1983. It proposed to create a city attractive for people and capital coming through the Kanasai International Airport, attracted by events held inside of Osaka city's public spaces. Together with large scale developments, like the Techno Port project or the construction of the Kansai International Airport, big events like the Osaka Castle 400 Anniversary Festival (*Ōsaka chikujō 400 nen matsuri*) in 1983 or the International Garden and Greenery Exposition (*Kokuzai hana to midori no hakurankai*) in 1990 were conducted. In the 1990s the event oriented policy was reframed as "city attracting international customers (*kokuzai shūkyaku toshi*)". The World Rose Convention (*seikai bara kaigi*) and the National Urban Greening Fair (*zenkoku toshi ryakka fea*) in the 2000s (Haraguchi 2008) or, the invitation of the World Exhibition in 2025 that was released in 2015 show that this strategy has still a central role in Osaka city's urban growth strategy.

In order to boost globalization in Osaka city and prefecture, the policy focus for development was on the waterfront area. With the Act for the Promotion of Osaka Bay's Waterfront Area Development, that was enacted in 1992, "areas with proper functions for a global city and with a good living environment for the citizens" were promoted and the unipolar concentration of economic growth in the Kantō area addressed. This act aimed to boost large-scale development projects that were started in the 1990s, by easing the regulations for the reuse of brownfields left by the dismantling heavy and chemical industry and coordinating the separated municipals through a development plan for the whole region. And in order to compete on the international scale with ports in Singapore or Pusan, Osaka port and Kobe port were designated as Super Core Port (*sūpā chūsū kōwan*) (today Strategic Global Port (*kokusai senryaku kōwan*)) in 2004 (Sunahara 2012).

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[9] This policy was proposed by Taichi Sakai who had produced the Osaka World Exhibition in 1907 (Haraguchi 2008).

B) Industrial restructuring under globalization

This policy changes had a profound impact on Osaka city's industry. At the time the plan for a city attracting international customers started to take form in 1995 the Osaka-Kobe urban area was discussed by Friedmann (1995) as "regional articulation" of globalization. According to him, under the process of globalization cities have a central role of connecting a certain region with the global economy. As a part of the Osaka-Kobe Osaka city was seen as such connecting the larger Kansai area with the global economy.

The stronger connection to the global economy became apparent in the increasing international trade volume. Between 1994, the year the Kansai International Airport opened for business, and 2013 the sum of the international trade volume that passed customs in Osaka prefecture increased by about a factor of three, from 6.9 trillion to 18.4 trillion yen. By 2013 this trade volume was the equivalent of about half of the total gross product in Osaka prefecture, which was around 39.3 trillion yen, showing how important international trade had become for the region. Although export and import were growing during this time, in recent years the imports exceed increasingly the exports. While exports had in 2013 a total volume of 7.9 trillion yen, imports accounted for a whole of 10.6 trillion yen (OS 2015).

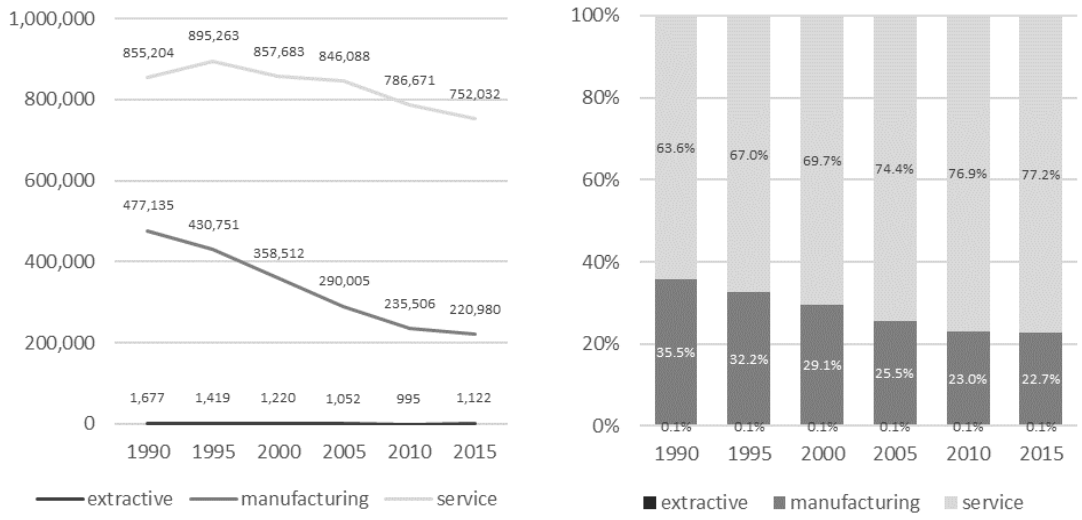
Globalization brought three crucial changes to Osaka city's economy. First, through the increased international competition and the import of low-price goods from foreign countries, the national manufacturing industry lost market shares. The output of the textile, garment, metal and machinery manufacturing industry decreased significantly (Takamatsu 2009). It was expected that the construction of new factories for plasma screens for the global market during the 2000s can turn around the fate of the manufacturing industry. But from the second half of the 2000s on Korean manufactures like Samsung Electronics or LG Electronics ventured into the same business segment, accelerating the price competition. Therefore, the operating rate of the factories stagnated at a low level, and the relative decline of the manufacturing industry continued (Sakakibara 2013).

Second, the downturn of the manufacturing industry was accelerated by companies that moved their production base abroad. From 1995 to 2004 the number of Japanese companies belonging to the manufacturing industry with an oversea office increased from 5,243 to 7,786 companies. Especially China that accounted for a growth of 1,486 companies, became an attractive location for production (Akaishi 2009). Chinas low salaries, the potential of its domestic market, or measures to integrate foreign capital were attractive for Japanese companies (Gen 2009). This process was further accelerated through the high yen during the 2000s. Imports to Japan from Japanese companies

based abroad increased the competition to keep the price down, reducing the output of the domestic manufacturing industry, changing the structure of the subcontractor division, and reducing employments in the manufacturing industry (Akaishi 2009).

Third, under globalization Osaka prefectures economic control function declined through the relative decrease of company head offices in this region. Although today Osaka prefectures central control function is ranking second, the gap to Tokyo metropolis increased in recent years (Sakakibara 2013). This process is related to globalization. Since most of the international trade needs governmental approve, many of the companies that operate on international scale move to Tokyo metropolis where they are close to government agencies and services for the global trade concentrates (Sassen 2000).

Figure 5.1.1 Industrial restructuring in Osaka city from 1990 to 2015



Source: STK (2016)

These changes induced a restructuring process on Osaka city's industrial structure. Like displayed in figure 5.1.1, the people employed in the manufacturing industry started to decrease form the 1990s on, and reached a low of 220,980 people in 2015, decreasing by more than a halve. In Osaka city the decline of the manufacturing industry was faster than the nationwide average[10]. The service industry was effected by the new policies, and the people employed in it increased from 1990 to 1995 from 855,204 to 895,263 people. But from there until 2015 their number dropped to 752,032 people,

10 According to the national census, from 1990 to 2010 the part of people employed in the manufacturing industry decreased in Osaka city from 35.5% to 23.0%, and nationwide from 33.5% to 25.2%.

revealing that the increase of the service industry during the 1990s was only temporary. This leads to the conclusion that from 1995 the restructuring of Osaka city's industrial structure derives more form the downturn of the manufacturing industry, its former growth industry, than from the development of a new one (Takamatsu 2009).

C) Demographic changes

Osaka cities demographic change is characterized by two major developments: Fast population increase in its central wards and population decline in its outer wards. This is combined with an increasing aging of the population, especially in its outer wards.

Osaka cities population reached its peak in 1965 with a population of 3.2 million people. Since then it decreased steadily until 2000 when it accounted for 2.6 million people. After the millennium this tendency changed, and a slight population gain can be observed, reaching 2.7 million people in 2015 (Osaka city 2014c). This population development was caused by an increase of inmoving population. From 2001 on the inmoving population started to exceed the out-moving population, creating every year a net plus population of 1,900 to 11,700 people (OTCT 1991-2016).

But a closer examination of the geography of this change reveals that there are tremendous differences inside of the city, especially between the city center and the outer wards. In the years from 2005 to 2015 in all six wards in the city center (Fukushima, Kita, Nishi, Chūō, Naniwa and Tennōji) the population was increasing fast. The population of Chūō ward increased by a factor of 39.3%, a rate that keeps up with Tokyo metropolis' central wards (Chūō, Chiyōda and Minato) that had the highest growth rate in Japan's six largest cities at that time.

On the other side, especially the outer wards in the south of Osaka city continued to lose rapidly their population. Most striking is this development in Nishinari ward, that lost 15.7% of its population in this ten years, followed by Taishō ward with 11.0%, Higashisumiyoshi ward with 6.5% and Ikuno ward with 6.1%. Wards that lost more than 10% of their population exist only in Osaka city, unseen in any other of the six largest cities in Japan (Mizuuchi & Kiener 2017).

This development is accompanied by an increase of elderly people and decrease of children, especially in the outer wards. The population increase in the city center is mainly realized by young people in their 30s and 40s. Most of them are singles or couples. Nevertheless, many of them are households without children, leading to a disproportional small number of people under 25 years. On the other side most of the population in the outer wards had moved there between the 1950s and 1980s, lacking any significant increase in recent years. Therefore, most of the population is aged,

clustering especially in the group of people in their 60s and 70s (Fukumoto 2017).

D) Housing for the poor in Osaka city

Concerning the housing market, Iwata (2017) points to two characteristics, that lead to the concentration of poverty in particular areas. This is on the one side public housing, that is associated with a concentration of low-income earners. Although through the construction of public housing the living environment of the poor could be improved, the issue of poverty continues, making their residents strongly prone to public assistance. On the other side this is the concentration of private wooden tenements, that attract low income residents, especially aged single men.

One of the characteristics of Osaka's housing market is the high percentage of public and rental housing. While in 2013 the national rate for public housing was not more than 3.9%, in Osaka city it reached 8.3%. This rate is under the six largest cities in Japan the second largest following Kobe city (ST 2016). Most of the public housing were constructed from the end of the Second World War until 1965 when Osaka city's population reached its peak. This housing stock was rebuilt and maintained at a high level, preserving it until today. The construction of new public housing started to decline from the second half of the 1960s and in 1997 the last new public housing unit was constructed (SKH 2007).

The many newly built private non-wooden rental housing units on the other side became the major carrier of the population growth Osaka city is experiencing recently. While in 2013 nationwide private rental units accounted for 28.8% of the housing stock, in Osaka city they covered 44.1%. Also compared to other urban areas this is a high percentage, being the highest under the six largest cities in Japan (ST 2016).

The increase of private rental housing and population is also related to the real estate policies under the government of Junichirō Koizumi (2001-2006). The in 2002 enacted Act on Special Measures Concerning Urban Reconstruction (*toshi saisei tokubetsu sochihō*) aimed to tackle "the fast changing socio-economic factors, like informalization, globalization, dwindling birth rate, or aging population, that occurred in recent years (MIAC 2002)" on the urban scale. Under this act in Osaka city five "districts for urgent urban RECONSTRUCTION" were designated. They were designed to attract private capital through a system of financial support, easing of regulations, and special taxation (Osaka City 2016b).

Further, also the growing real estate securitization contributed to a real estate developing boom during the 2000s combined with increasing foreign investments. Real estate securitization, that finance and split incomes from real estates (for instance rent),

had developed as a method to provide financial means for real estate investments at that time. Crucial for this was the in 2001 founded Real Estate Investment Trust. While pushing forward the securitization marked, it provided also a gateway for foreign capital into Osaka city's real estate market (Ōizumi 2013).

Nevertheless, housing that can be used by people with low income continued to be insufficient. From 1988 to 2008 Osaka city's cheap private rental housing stock (under 40,000 yen) decreased from 220,000 units to 79,000 units (Shiki 2015). While the number of cheap *nagaya* (wooden row houses) and wooden apartments decreased rapidly, the supply of non-wooden apartments increased only slowly. In fact, the cheap private rental housing stock increased for the first time in 2013, reaching 83,000 units.

The flophouses of the Airin district, that used to be the common hosing for day laborers, are run under the Hotel Business Act, and therefore differe crucially from the rental housing stock described above. But in recent years flophouses changed considerably. Although public assistance hade become easier to access for day laborers during the 2000s, Osaka city declined flophouses as proper housing for public assistance recipients. Before this background many of the flophouses gave up the hotel business and are run today as low-rent apartments (Hirakawa 2011).

E) Classification of Osaka cities wards according to their socio-economic characteristics

Based on the insights of the discussion above, a K-means cluster analyses was conducted in SPSS, in order to classify Osaka city's 24 wards according to their socio-economic characteristics. For the analysis nine different variables from the Survey on Housing and Land Statistics 2013 (*jūtaku tochi tōkei chōsa*) (public housing, wooden tenements, non-wooden tenements, built in 1980 or earlier, vacancy rate), which is a sample survey conducted on housing units every five years, and the National Census 1990 and 2015 (*Kokusei chōsa*) (manufacturing industry (1990), manufacturing industry (2015), population change, aged population (over 65 years)), which targets all people living in Japan, were utilized.

The variables manufacturing industry (1990) and manufacturing industry (2015) were used to identify areas most influenced by deindustrialization. The demographic changes were captured with the two variables population change and aged population. The variables public housing, wooden tenements and non-wooden tenements were used to identify the characteristics of the rental housing stock available to public assistance recipients. Finally, the two variables, built in 1980 or earlier and vacancy rate are considered to express the disinvestment into and lack of demand of housing associated with deindustrialization and demographic changes in a certain housing market.

K-means cluster analyzes is based on a centroid model that represents each cluster through a single means. The number of clusters for which the data should be investigated can be defined and was set to four in this analysis. This resulted in clusters with an even size of six wards each. Like shown in figure 5.1.2 the distance between the clusters 1, 2 and 3 was around 20, while the distance of cluster 4 to all others was considerably higher.

Figure 5.1.2 Distance between the four clusters

Cluster	1	2	3	4
1		20.206	19.832	59.869
2	20.206		23.181	45.262
3	19.832	23.181		66.675
4	59.869	45.262	66.675	

The ANOVA results, displayed in figure 5.1.3 describe the differences between each variable. Each variable was statistically significant for the constitution of clusters (the maximum ρ-value of 0.012 and with eight of nine ρ-values falling below 0.01). The F-test shows that the variable population change had the highest weight in the constitution of clusters. The variable vacancy rate on the other side had the lowest weight.

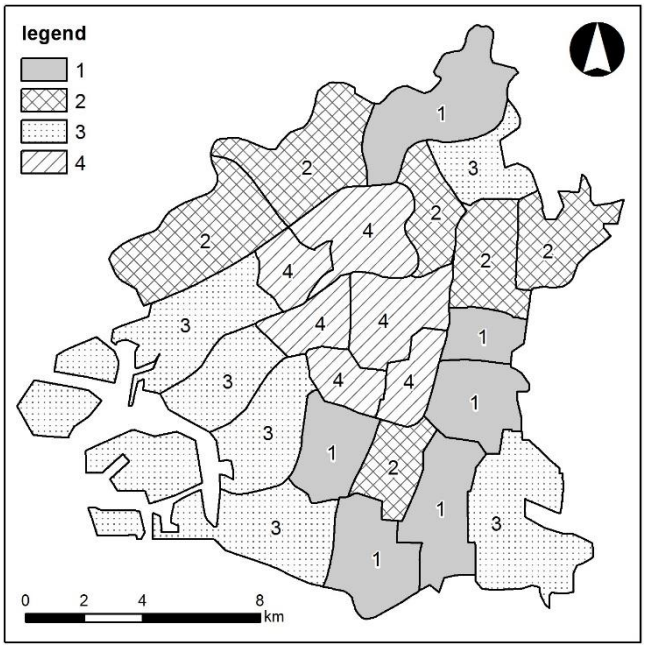
Figure 5.1.3 ANOVA results

	Cluster		Error		F	Sig.
	Mean Square	df	Mean Square	df		
public	175.775	3	26.350	20	6.671	0.003
wooden tenments	69.131	3	5.075	20	13.623	0.000
non-wooden tenments	830.753	3	58.036	20	14.314	0.000
built 1980 or earlier	250.859	3	19.342	20	12.969	0.000
secondary industry (1990)	237.603	3	34.831	20	6.822	0.002
secondary industry (2015)	76.675	3	11.732	20	6.535	0.003
population change	4011.456	3	80.478	20	49.845	0.000
aged population (2015)	143.911	3	8.688	20	16.564	0.000
vacancy rate	56.530	3	12.096	20	4.674	0.012

The four clusters are formed by the following wards, also shown in figure 5.1.4: 1. Higashiyodogawa, Higashinari, Ikuno, Nishinari, Sumiyoshi and Higashisumiyoshi ward, clustering mainly in the Southeast; 2. Nishiyodogawa, Yodogawa, Miyakojima,

Jōtō, Tsurumi and Abeno ward, clustering mainly in the North; 3. Asahi, Konohana, Minato, Taishō, Suminoe and Hirano ward, clustering mainly at the Osaka bay side; and 4. Fukushima, Kita, Nishi, Chūō, Naniwa and Tennōji ward, forming the central area of the city;

Figure 5.1.4 Spatial distribution of the four clusters



All four clusters have particular socio-economic characteristics shown in figure 5.1.5. Cluster 1 is characterized by a high percentage of private tenements, of which a considerable amount are wooden structures. The average amount of housing stock built in 1980 or earlier is with one forth in the middle field. With 38.6% of the working population employed in the manufacturing industry in 1990 it was the highest industrialized cluster, but was also heaviest hit by deindustrialization, declining to 23.8%. The result of this change was striking. Cluster 1 has today the highest vacancy rate of all clusters covering more than one fived of its housing stock. Further, the population was declining in all wards since 1990, shrinking on average to 90.2%, and the aged population reached 29.3%.

Cluster 2 has no outstanding number of public housing or private tenements, showing a rather average distribution of different housing types. As cluster 1 housing built in 1980 or earlier is around one fourth of the whole housing stock. Although slightly lower, the people employed in the manufacturing industry exhibit a pattern similar to cluster 1, declining from 37.0% in 1990 to 23.8% in 2015. But in cluster 2 this had not the same

dramatic consequences. The vacancy rate stopped at a moderate level of 14.8%. Further the population increased moderately to 107.6% of its 1990 level, while the aged population stayed at a relative low level of 23.9%.

Figure 5.1.5 The characteristics of the four clusters according to their variables

	housing type			housing characteristic		manufacturing industry		population				
ward	public housing	wooden tenements	non-wooden tenements	built 1980 or earlier	vacancy rate	1990	2015	1990	2015	change	aged	cluster
Higashiyodogawa	13.2%	3.6%	47.0%	23.8%	17.4%	34.8%	23.0%	180,815	175,530	97.1%	23.9%	1
Higashinari	0.3%	8.3%	39.6%	22.7%	15.8%	41.8%	26.0%	81,380	80,563	99.0%	25.7%	1
Ikuno	0.8%	13.1%	30.6%	35.0%	22.4%	45.5%	30.0%	155,321	130,167	83.8%	31.4%	1
Sumiyoshi	10.5%	7.2%	37.4%	21.9%	19.8%	28.4%	19.1%	161,761	154,239	95.3%	27.2%	1
Higashisumiyoshi	4.4%	10.0%	30.2%	25.6%	23.8%	33.9%	22.5%	144,938	126,299	87.1%	29.2%	1
Nishinari	5.2%	15.6%	43.0%	22.9%	23.8%	47.3%	22.5%	142,140	111,883	78.7%	38.7%	1
	5.7%	9.6%	38.0%	25.3%	20.5%	38.6%	23.8%	144,393	129,780	90.2%	29.3%	
Miyakojima	4.2%	4.0%	34.9%	26.0%	15.9%	33.6%	20.3%	96,208	104,727	108.9%	23.6%	2
Nishiyodogawa	7.7%	5.5%	25.6%	22.5%	18.5%	45.3%	30.1%	95,047	95,490	100.5%	24.5%	2
Jōtō	7.3%	4.2%	29.3%	29.6%	13.1%	38.1%	23.6%	155,225	164,697	106.1%	25.1%	2
Abeno	2.6%	6.4%	28.6%	24.6%	17.8%	26.6%	17.7%	105,666	107,626	101.9%	25.5%	2
Yodogawa	4.6%	3.4%	45.0%	24.6%	17.2%	34.3%	23.5%	160,660	176,201	109.7%	23.0%	2
Tsurumi	17.9%	4.8%	25.9%	16.8%	6.2%	44.2%	27.7%	94,016	111,557	118.7%	21.8%	2
	7.4%	4.7%	31.5%	24.0%	14.8%	37.0%	23.8%	117,804	126,716	107.6%	23.9%	
Konohana	13.4%	4.7%	14.3%	30.1%	20.0%	40.8%	25.0%	69,729	66,656	95.6%	26.2%	3
Minato	10.4%	4.7%	33.4%	36.1%	19.9%	33.1%	22.7%	89,900	82,035	91.3%	27.1%	3
Taishō	14.4%	4.8%	17.6%	41.4%	17.8%	38.0%	26.5%	81,269	65,141	80.2%	30.1%	3
Asahi	9.4%	5.9%	31.1%	32.5%	21.4%	34.3%	21.9%	106,203	91,608	86.3%	29.4%	3
Suminoe	14.4%	5.1%	19.2%	34.0%	16.1%	32.1%	21.2%	140,830	122,988	87.3%	28.4%	3
Hirano	27.0%	4.8%	23.9%	26.4%	15.1%	43.6%	29.9%	198,543	196,633	99.0%	27.6%	3
	14.8%	5.0%	23.3%	33.4%	18.4%	37.0%	24.5%	114,412	104,177	89.9%	28.1%	
Fukushima	0.0%	2.9%	41.3%	21.5%	10.5%	30.4%	19.0%	56,252	72,484	128.9%	20.0%	4
Nishi	0.0%	0.8%	53.5%	20.3%	11.4%	23.4%	17.4%	59,288	92,430	155.9%	16.1%	4
Tennōji	1.2%	1.2%	44.1%	19.0%	14.3%	25.4%	16.7%	55,821	75,729	135.7%	19.8%	4
Naniwa	7.4%	0.7%	64.3%	15.1%	18.2%	25.7%	15.8%	48,480	69,766	143.9%	19.4%	4
Kita	2.3%	1.4%	47.1%	15.1%	12.4%	26.2%	16.6%	87,447	123,667	141.4%	19.2%	4
Chūō	0.7%	1.1%	56.5%	15.1%	17.0%	19.3%	16.1%	56,862	93,069	163.7%	16.5%	4
	1.9%	1.4%	51.2%	17.7%	14.0%	25.1%	16.9%	60,692	87,858	144.9%	18.5%	

Cluster constitutiong variable Non-cluster constituting variable

In cluster 3 the housing market is dominated by a considerable amount of public housing, while rental housing is relative poorly developed. The buildings are considerably old and 33.4% of them were built in 1980 or earlier. Further, its population employed in the manufacturing industry declined from 1990 to 2015, from 37% to 24.5%, being slightly less effected from deindustrialization than cluster 1 and 2. But nevertheless the consequences were crucial. The vacancy rate rose to 18.4%, being the second largest under the four clusters. Further, the population dropped to 89.9% of its 1990 level, exceeding even the decline of cluster 1. The aged population on the other side reached a high share of 28.1%.

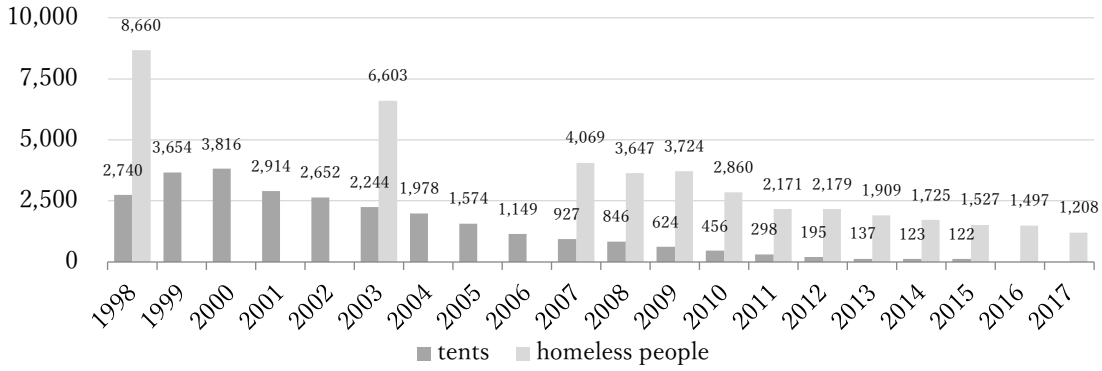
Cluster 4 is clearly dominated by non-wooden tenements, that account for more than halve of its housing stock. The buildings are newer than in the other clusters and only 17.7% were constructed in 1980 or earlier. Its population employed in the manufacturing industry was in 1990 with 25.1% the lowest under the four clusters and declined further to merely 16.9% in 2015. Also the vacancy rate was with 14.0% the lowest in all 4 clusters.

Further, it experienced an extraordinary population increase, reaching 144.9% of its 1990 level in 2015, while the aged population stayed at a relative low level of 18.5%.

F) Osaka city's geographies of homeless people

Since data on public assistance recipients includes not only housed people but also homeless people, often in the form of sick travelers or clients of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office, it is necessary to understand the homeless geographies of Osaka city to analyze them. Spatial data on homeless people in Osaka city was collected for the first time in 1998 by a team around Osaka City University. After the Special Measure Law for Homeless Self-reliance Support was enacted homeless surveys were conducted in 2003 and from 2007 on an annual basis, providing information on the changing spatiality of homelessness.

Figure 5.1.6 Homeless people and tents in Osaka city



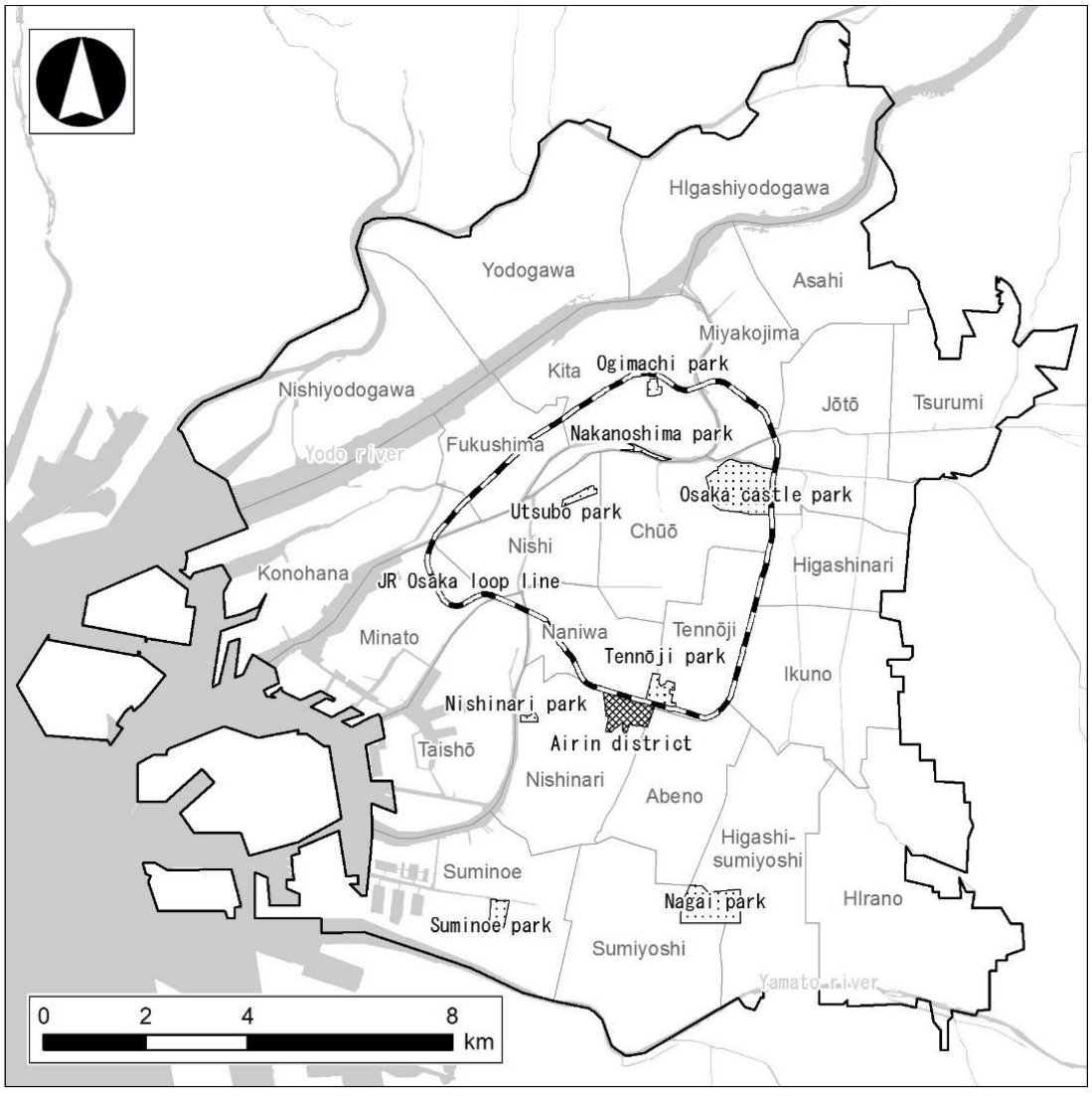
Source: Mizuuchi (2001), MHLW (2003, 2007-2017), Data on tents is from an unpublished document of Osaka-shi Fukushi-kyoku covering the period 1998-2015;

According to figure 5.1.6 in the 1998 survey 8,660 homeless people were counted, of which about one third had a permanent sleeping place in tents. At that time cluster 1 had a considerable concentration of 2,464 homeless people but being only an equivalent of 10.9% of its public assistance receiving households, as shown in figure 5.1.8. A comparison with figure 5.1.9 reveals, that the bulk of homeless people in this cluster derives from Nishinari ward, followed by Higashisumiyoshi ward, which had a considerable homeless embankment in Nagai park [11]. Cluster 2 had a homeless population of only 815 people, being equivalent to 4.0% of its public assistance receiving households. In this cluster some concentration of homeless people existed in Abeno ward, which is close to the Airin District and in Miyakojima and Yodogawa ward, which had

[11] The location of major parks, rivers and the Airin District is shown in figure 5.1.7.

some encampments along the river beds of Ōgawa and Yodogawa. Cluster 3 had a homeless population of 333 people, that accounted for an equivalent of 4.0% of its public assistance receiving households. Except of a homeless encampment in Suminoe park in Suminoe ward no other considerable concentration of homeless people existed. The bulk of homeless people concentrated at that time in the six central wards of cluster 4, exceeding with 5,048 people even the number of public assistance receiving households in this cluster, being equivalent to 101.2% of them. Especially the wards Naniwa and Tennōji, which are close to the Airin District, showed a high concentration of homeless people. Further, Chūō and Kita ward were inhabited by many homeless people, that lived in large parks, like Osaka Castle, Nakanoshima or Ōgimachi park, or around the Osaka station.

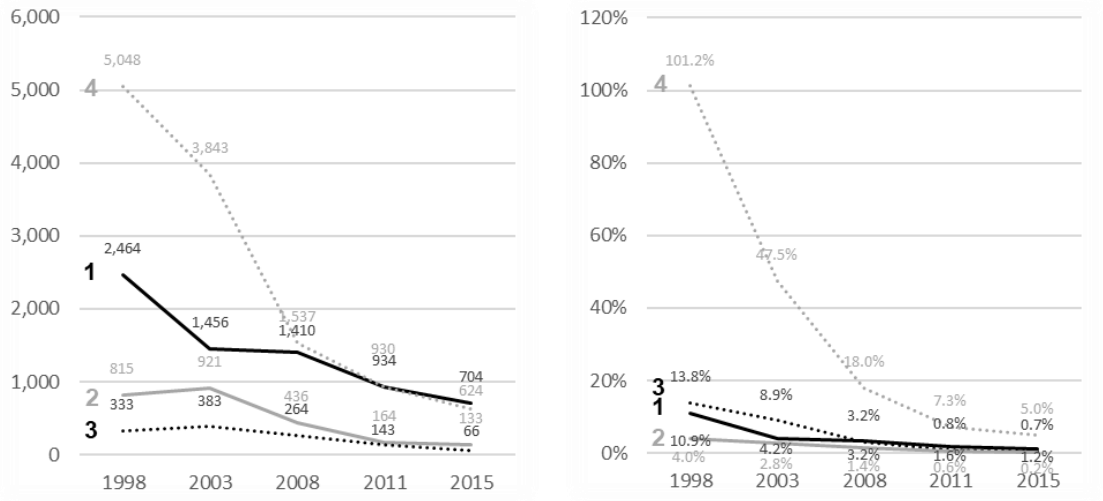
Figure 5.1.7 Osaka city's 24 wards, major parks, rivers and the Airin District



Next to this distinctive distribution of homeless people, rough sleeping showed different patterns in different areas. In the central business district of the city most of the homeless people had no fixed sleeping place. They slept on cardboards laid down on the street before entrances of buildings, in hidden corners, in parking lots or under the arcade of shopping streets. This was traditionally also in the streets of the Airin District and its vicinity the typical form of rough sleeping. Homeless people living in tents or shacks were found in major parks, like Osaka Castle, Nagai, or Ōgimachi park, and next to river beds. Therefore, living permanently at the same place in a tent was typical for places separated from the Arin District (Mizuuchi 2001).

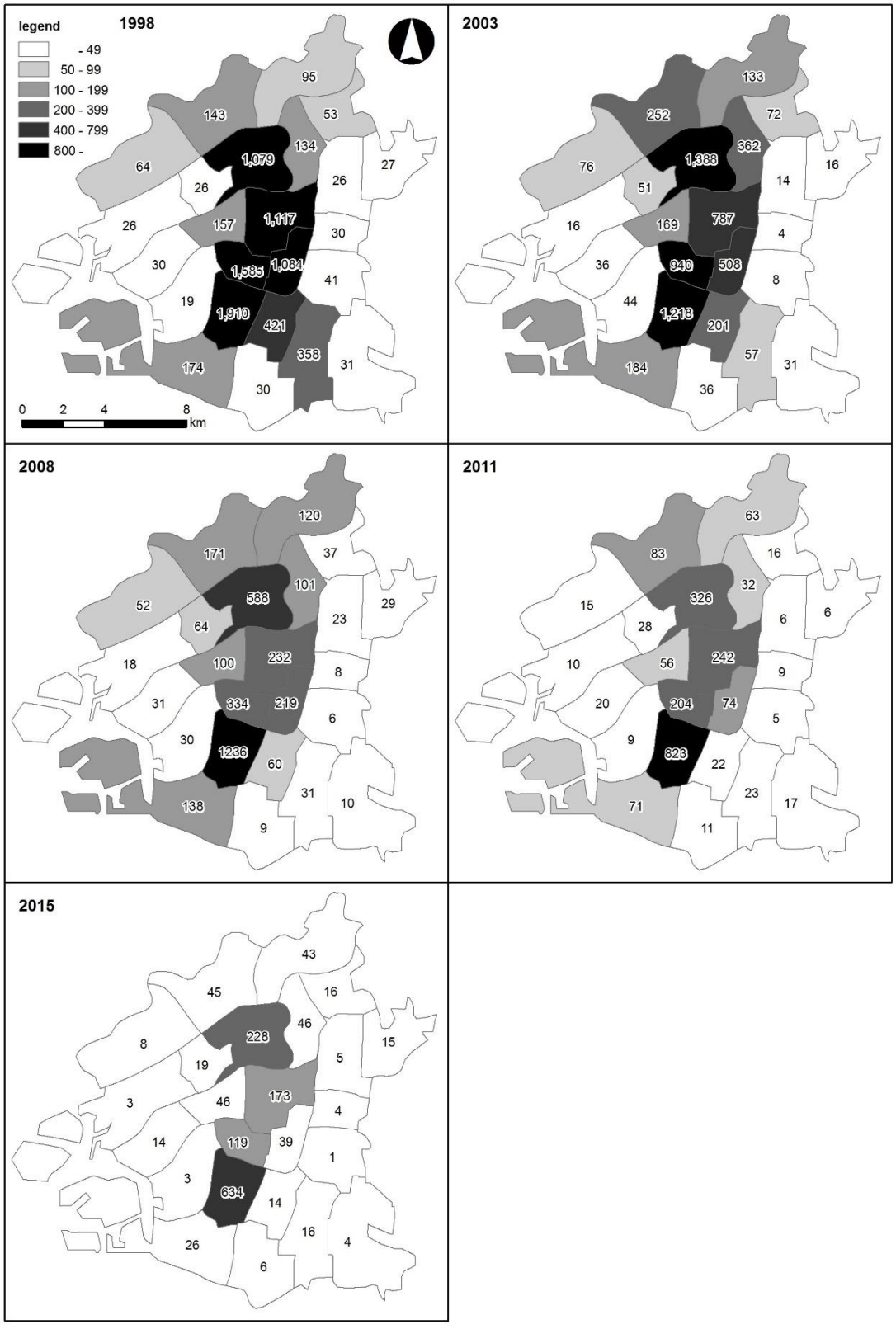
In 2003 homeless counter measures had already a profound effect and the number of homeless people had decreased to 6,603. Especially in cluster 1 and 4 the population of homeless people had dropped considerably and with the increase of public assistance receiving households, they decreased to an equivalent of 47.5% and 4.2% respectively. In cluster 2 and 3 the number of homeless people increased, but they were only equal to public assistance receiving households of 8.9% and 2.8% respectively. Provisional temporary shelters had opened in Nagai, Nishinari and Osaka Castle park, and had reduced the homeless population in the wards Higashisumiyoshi, Nishinari and Chūō considerably. In addition, homeless encampments in Nagai park and Osaka Castle park were forcefully removed during the 2000s (Haraguchi 2015), contributing to this development.

Figure 5.1.8 Homeless people and their equivalent to public assistance receiving households in the four clusters



Source: 1998: Mizuuchi (2001), 2003-2015: Osaka-shi fukushi-kyoku;

Figure 5.1.9 Osaka city's changing geography of homeless people



Source: 1998: Mizuuchi (2001), 2003-2015: Osaka-shi fukushi-kyoku;

At that time homeless people were concentrating on the one side in Kita ward in cluster 4, where many people, in search for work, arrive from all of Japan through Osaka station. On the other side in Nishinari ward many homeless people concentrate in and around the Arin District. Here homeless people and local residents lived in a "peacefully coexist (Mizuuchi 2001)", and next to soup kitchens and day centers also the concentrated facilities and support programs for homeless people provided a supportive environment for homeless people.

This embracing of homelessness in Nishinari ward had a further impact on the distribution of homeless people in Osaka city. Although the number of homeless people kept on declining and in 2008 only 3,647 homeless people were counted, this development differs strongly according to the four clusters. Cluster 1 experienced nearly no decline inhabiting 1,410 homeless people. While in cluster 2 and 3 a decrease of homeless people could be observed, the bulk of decrease occurred in cluster 4 in which the homeless population dropped down to 1,537 people, cutting it more than in halve. This reduced their equivalent of public assistance receiving households to 18.0%. Figure 5.1.10. shows that while in all six central city wards of cluster 4 the homeless population had decreased, in Nishinari ward it actually had slightly increased since 2003.

Until 2011 the homeless population dropped further to 2,171 people in the whole city. Although this decline was reflected in all four clusters, it was slightly stronger in cluster 2 and 4, making cluster 1 with 934 homeless people the cluster with their highest concentration. The equivalent of homeless people to public assistance receiving households had only in cluster 4 a relevant size where it had decreased to 7.3%. The concentration pattern of homeless people in Nishinari ward had relatively increased further, accounting there for 823 people, more than twice as much as observed in any other ward.

This tendency of decline continued and in 2015 only 1,527 homeless people were counted in the whole city. Due this development the concentration of homeless people in cluster 1 strengthened relatively. The equivalent of homeless people to public assistance receiving households in cluster 4 decreased to merely 5.0%. The decrease of homeless people, especially in Nishinari ward is also related to the Nishinari Special Ward Initiative, that was started in 2013 by Osaka city's former mayor Tōru Hashimoto with the aim of improving the Airin District. This initiative consisted of a series of programs especially targeting public space in the Airin District. Next to a limited liability company that was formed together with local organizations and entrusted with cleaning away of garbage from the streets, crack downs on the day laborer market were conducted by the police, and many new security cameras installed (Suzuki 2017). Further the

encampment of Hanazono park, one of the neighborhood parks in the Airin District, was dispersed and turned into a ground for the nearby Imamiya Junior High School. The encampment was dispersed by social workers of Nishinari ward's welfare office, that urged former residents of the encampment to apply for public assistance or to leave the park.

These changes had also an effect on the form of rough sleeping. Homeless encampments disappeared nearly entirely from parks and river banks. Only in some small neighborhood parks inhabited encampments remained. As displayed in figure 5.1.6, the number of tents in Osaka city had declined in 2015 to 122, meaning that nearly all of the remaining homeless people switch frequently their sleeping place.

5.2. Dynamics of Public Assistance

Based on the insights of the previous chapters, in this section the dynamics of public assistance in Osaka city are analyzed. As data source the *Minsei jigyō tōkei-shū* (1990-1999), the *Kenkō fukushi tōkei-shū* (2000-2010) and the *Fukushi jigyō tōkei-shū* (2011-2015) are used. They provide data on public assistance per household unit and ward of Osaka city. From 2004 on the spatial data does not include clients of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office and of sick travelers.

This data is chronologically analyzed according to the five phases identified in chapter four. Further the spatial analysis utilizes the four clusters of wards with differing socio-economic characteristics and the distribution of homeless people, described in the previous section, to interpret the spatiality of public assistance dynamics.

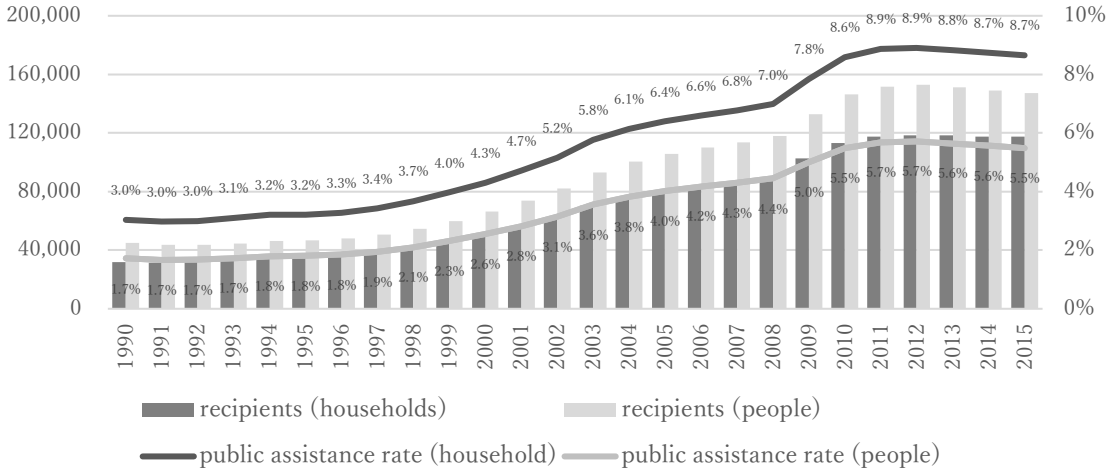
A) Increase and decrease of public assistance receiving households

First, the quantitative increase and decrease of public assistance is examined. In order to give an account on its relation to the local socio-economic characteristics, strongly influenced by the housing market, and follow the logic of public assistance allocation using the household as smallest unit, the analysis is focusing mainly on public assistance receiving households. An overview on the development of public assistance receiving households in Osaka city during an average month per fiscal year, is provided by figure 5.2.1. Since some public assistance recipients live in households with multiple members, that are all listed as public assistance recipients, the number of households lies consequentially under that of individual recipients. Further, because a larger proportion of public assistance recipients than in the whole population of Osaka city is living in single households, the rate of public assistance receiving households is exceeding that of

individual recipients.

In 1990, at the beginning of the phase of neglect, the rate of public assistance receiving households was with 3.0%, equivalent to 31,918 households, rather low and stayed also after the burst of the economic bubble in 1992 at this level, reaching 3.4% or 38,690 households in 1997. But this changed radically with the beginning of the phase of homeless inclusion. Until 2003 the rate of public assistance receiving households had increased to 5.8% or 70,210 households. This reflects the expansion of the public assistance scope on the municipal and national scale as reaction to the increase of homeless people discussed in the previous chapter.

Figure 5.2.1 Public assistance recipients, public assistance receiving households and their rate



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

In the following phase of consolidation the growth slowed down and in 2008 the rate of public assistance receiving households was at 7.0%, accounting for 90,040 households. This slowdown was partly created by several changes in the public assistance provision system. These are the founding of Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals in 2004, or the strengthening of self-reliance support under public assistance in 2005. With the opening of a further homeless self-reliance support center and the assessment center in 2005, the new homeless support system was fully operating, channeling its clients away from public assistance.

This tendency was turned around during the phase of poverty inclusion. The rate of public assistance receiving households increased rapidly in the following three years,

reaching 8.9% or 117,374 households in 2011. Although Osaka city immediately tried to stop this development and started already in 2010 with countermeasures, the expansion of the public assistance scope after the global financial turmoil showed its full effect. Finally, in the phase of retreat Osaka city's countermeasures came into effect, actually reducing the rate of public assistance receiving households to 8.7% accounting for 117,309 households in 2015.

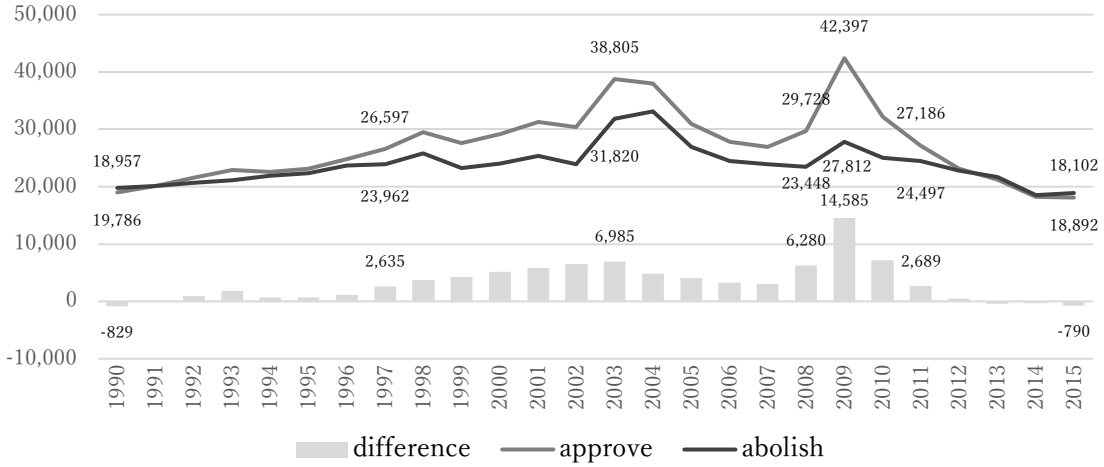
While the rate of public assistance receiving households increased by a factor of 2.8 or 5.8% over the observed 25 years, it must be considered that the total amount of households in Osaka city increased as well, slowing down the relative increase of public assistance. In absolute terms the number of public assistance receiving households increased by a factor of 3.7 or 85,391 households. Especially in the phase of homeless inclusion, when the rate of public assistance receiving households increased on average by 0.4% or 5,253 households and of poverty inclusion, when it increased on average by 0.6% or 9,111 households annually, the increase had accelerated.

B) Approval of public assistance

To better understand the increase and subsequent decrease of public assistance receiving households a closer observation of public assistance approvals is necessary. In this sub-section they approved cases are put in relation to abolished cases, and the actual method of approval. Public assistance can be approved through two different methods. The most common method is to write a formal application, and hand it in at the welfare office, or another authority authorized to accept applications. Since a decision on a formal application takes about two weeks to complete, in cases of emergency or the person in favor for public assistance is neither able to apply for itself nor has a representative who can fill in the application form instead, public assistance can be approved through the executive authority of the caseworker. The later method was usually applied to sick travelers or homeless people.

In the phase of neglect, approvals and abolitions were slightly increasing, but drifted not far apart, like shown in figure 5.2.2. While in 1990 approvals were surpassed by abolitions, they had in 1997 already started to exceed them by 2,635 cases and increased in total from 18,957 to 26,597 cases. But a comparison with figure 5.2.3 reveals, that 61.5% of the approvals in 1990, increasing to 63.2% in 1997, were done by executive authority, that was applied as short-term support for sick travelers or homeless people. Judging from the number of approvals/abolitions at that time more than halve of the total public assistance receiving households were people excluded from housing protection.

Figure 5.2.2 Approvals and abolitions of public assistance per household



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

In the phase of homeless inclusion the gap between approvals and abolitions widened, and reached in 2003 a total of 6,985 cases. Approvals increased to 38,805 cases while abolitions did not exceed 31,820 cases, causing an actual increase of public assistance receiving households. At the same time the share of approvals conducted through executive authority decreased down to 48.0%. This indicates that an increasingly larger part of public assistance recipients could access now housing protection.

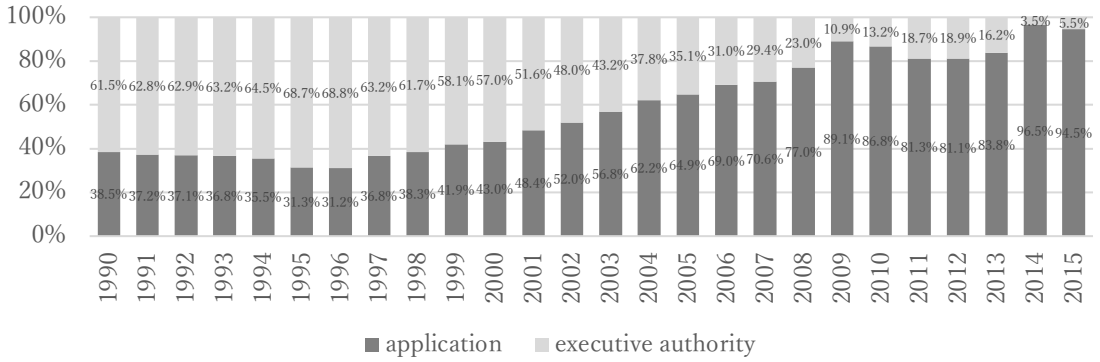
During the phase of consolidation initially the gap between approvals and abolitions decreased. But under the influence of the global financial turmoil in 2008 this tendency reversed and it widened again to 6,280 cases. Through the increase of housing protection approvals and abolitions had dropped in this time, and despite slightly increasing again, in 2008 they accounted for 29,728 and 23,448 cases respectively. During this time the number of approvals through executive authority decreased continuously, accounting for merely 23.0% in 2008.

In the first year of the phase of poverty inclusion approvals reached an all time high of 42,397 cases. This was not reflected in the number of applications that accounted for only 27,812 cases, causing in total a gap of 14,585 cases, more than twice the number reached in 2003. In this year only 10.9% of approvals were conducted by the executive authority, being mainly formal applications. After that the gap between approvals and abolitions decreased quickly, accounting in 2011 only for 2,689 cases. Approvals had decreased to 27,186 cases while abolitions stayed at a high level of 24,497 cases. The number of approvals conducted through the executive authority increased after 2009

again, reaching 18.7% in 2011.

In the phase of retreat the gap between approvals and abolitions disappeared entirely and abolitions started to surpass approvals like in 1990, the height of the bubble economy. In 2015 a total of 18,102 approved cases were surpassed by 18,892 abolitions, causing a difference of -790 cases, an actual decline that had already continued for three years. At the same time approvals conducted through executive authority decreased, especially from 2014 on, accounting for only 5.5% of all cases in 2015.

5.2.3 Changing method of approving public assistance



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

This development of approvals revealed that a large part of public assistance recipients in the 1990s were in fact day laborers and homeless people, who had no access to housing protection. Especially the increase of public assistance receiving households during the 1990s was mainly created by this group. Nevertheless, its impact on figure 5.2.1 was diminished by the arrangement of the data. Since the data for every fiscal year is devided by 12 to avoid the multiple counting of permanent public assistance recipients, day laborers and homeless people who usually receive public assistance for a short period, are underrepresented. With the gradual expansion of the public assistance scope to homeless people, especially due to the circulars of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, the number of public assistance approvals increased, switching from executive authority to formal application. Since in 1990 a large part of the approvals were executive authorities, which provide mainly medical benefits, they exceed the number of approvals in 2015, although public assistance receiving households had more than tribbled. In the next sub-section different public assistance dynamics in Osaka city's 24 wards are identified.

C) Spatial characteristics of public assistance dynamics

These dynamics of public assistance receiving households unfold different patterns in urban space. In this sub-section the spatial characteristics of public assistance is analyzed in Osaka city's 24 wards during the five phases of welfare regime restructuring. Since sick travelers who are handled by Osaka City's Public Assistance Operation Center for Emergency Admission to Hospitals and customers of the Municipal Rehabilitation Councelling Center are from 2004 onwards no longer included in the spatial data, it must be read with cautiousness. In this sense 2004 marks a turning point from which most of the homeless people are no longer represented in the data.

In 1990, as shown in figure 5.2.4 public assistance receiving households concentrated strongly in cluster 1, having a rate of 3.7% and accounting for 13,372 households. Especially Nishinari ward which had a public assistance receiving household rate of 8.0%, a total of 5,836 households, stands out as shown in figure 5.2.5. This is followed by cluster 3 with a rate of 2.7% and cluster 4, which had due to the high concentration in Naniwa ward a relatively high rate of 2.6%. Cluster 2 accounted for a rate of 1.7%, having the lowest concentration at that time.

In the phase of neglect this pattern of strong concentration of public assistance receiving households in Nishinari ward in cluster 1 was further reinforced. Public assistance receiving households increased by a total of 6,772 households, of which Nishinari ward accounted for nearly halve of them, reaching a public assistance receiving household rate of 11.7% or 8,707 households in absolute terms. As consequents the rate increased in cluster 1 to 4.5%, while it showed only a minimal change in the other three clusters.

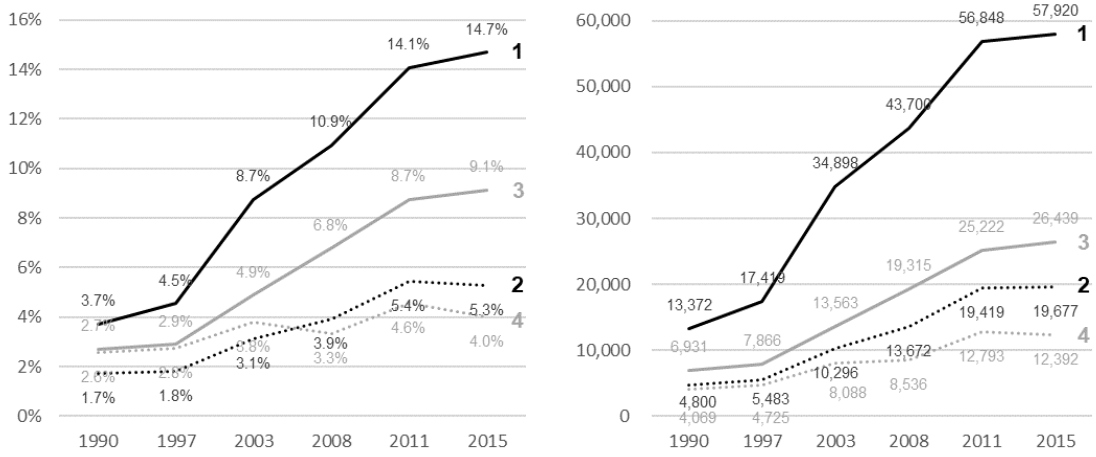
In the phase of homeless inclusion, this concentration pattern was further reinforced, while the other clusters showed for the first time a considerable increase of public assistance receiving households. At this time public assistance receiving households increased by a total of 31,520 households, of which more than halve were located in cluster 1, which's rate of public assistance receiving households nearly doubled reaching 8.7%. Again, Nishinari ward's role was outstanding, reaching a rate of 22.5% or 17,804 households in total terms, nearly doubling. The increase in other wards was not as dramatic, reaching 4.9% in cluster 3, 3.8% in cluster 4 and was lowest in cluster 2 with 3.1%.

In the phase of consolidation, a ring pattern emerges, with a relatively low rate of public assistance receiving households in the central wards – Fukushima, Kita, Nishi, Chūō, and Tennōji ward – and a relative high rate in the outer wards. In this phase public assistance receiving households increased citywide by a total of 19,830 households,

while nearly halve of it was realized in cluster 1 which's rate of public assistance receiving household increased to 10.9% reaching a total of 43,708 households. Due to the calculation of clients of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counseling Office and sick travelers under a different sum in Nishinari ward the number of public assistance receiving households increased only minor to 28.1% or 20,889 households in absolute terms. Cluster 3 and 2 experienced also some growth, reaching a rate of public assistance receiving households of 6.8% and 3.9% respectively. In cluster 4 the calculation of sick travelers under an other sum, let to an actual decrease of the rate of public assistance receiving households to 3.3%. This decline occurred especially in the three wards, Kita, Chūō and Tennōji which had a considerable population of homeless people, revealing, that many of the public assistance receiving households in this cluster had been in fact homeless people.

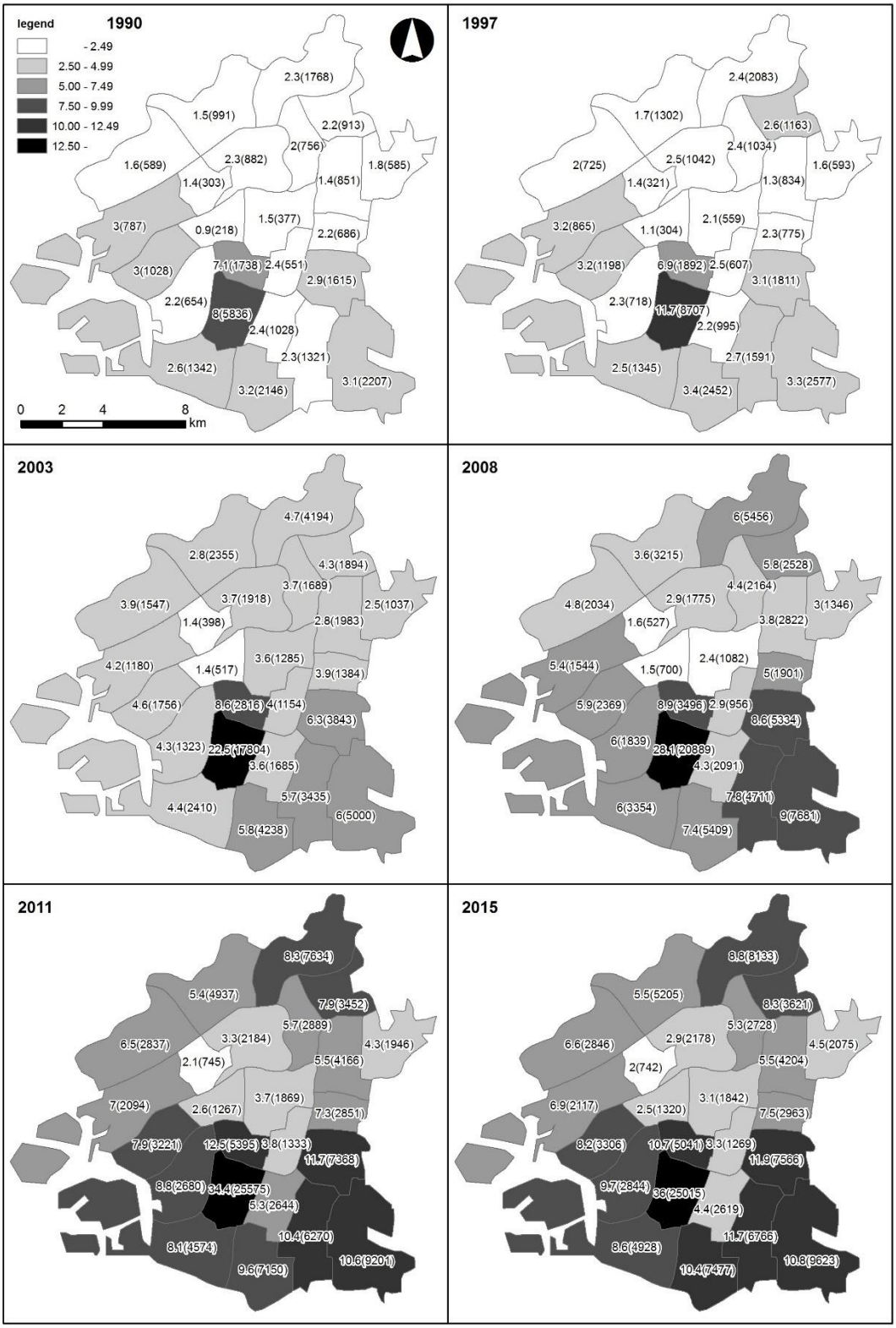
In the phase of poverty inclusion the ring pattern further strengthened. Although lasting only three years, during this time the rate of public assistance receiving households increased citywide by more than one fourth, accounting for a total of 27,334 households. This increase was felt in all four clusters. In cluster 1 that increased to a public assistance receiving household rate of 14.1% or 56,848 households, it was strongest. Cluster 3 experienced also a considerable increase, reaching a rate of 8.7%, followed by cluster 2 with 5.4% and cluster 4 with 4.6%, which exhibited a comparably moderate increase.

Figure 5.2.4 Public assistance receiving households and their rate in the four clusters



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.2.5 Osaka city's changing geography of public assistance



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

In the phase of retreat, development patterns started to divide between the clusters, exhibiting a continuing relative increase in the South and a relative decline in the center and North of Osaka city. In this phase the rate of public assistance receiving households decreased citywide by 0.2% but corresponded only into an absolute decrease of 65 households. In cluster 1 and 3 the rate of public assistance receiving households still slightly increased to 14.7% or 57,920 households and 9.1% or 26,439 households respectively. Nishinari ward, in which the rate of public assistance receiving households had increased relatively to 36.0%, but the absolute number of public assistance receiving households had decreased to 25,015 households, stands out. In contrast in cluster 2 and 4 the rate of public assistance receiving households decreased to 5.3% and 4.0% respectively. In cluster 4 this corresponded also in an absolute decrease down to 12,394 households. This tendency was especially strong in Naniwa ward which's rate decreased not only in relative terms to 10.7% but also in absolute terms to 5,041 households.

While in 1990 only in Nishinari and Naniwa ward a rather local concentration of public assistance receiving households existed, this geography changed strikingly over the following 25 years. A strong division between the wards of cluster 1 and 3 on the one side and especially cluster 4 but also 2 on the other side emerged. Constituting to this geography were especially the phase of homeless inclusion and the phase of consolidation, in which the gap to cluster 4 emerged. While the phase of poverty inclusion was associated with a rather even increase in all four clusters, in the phase of retreat the division was potentially driven further apart.

5.3. Public Assistance Receiving Households

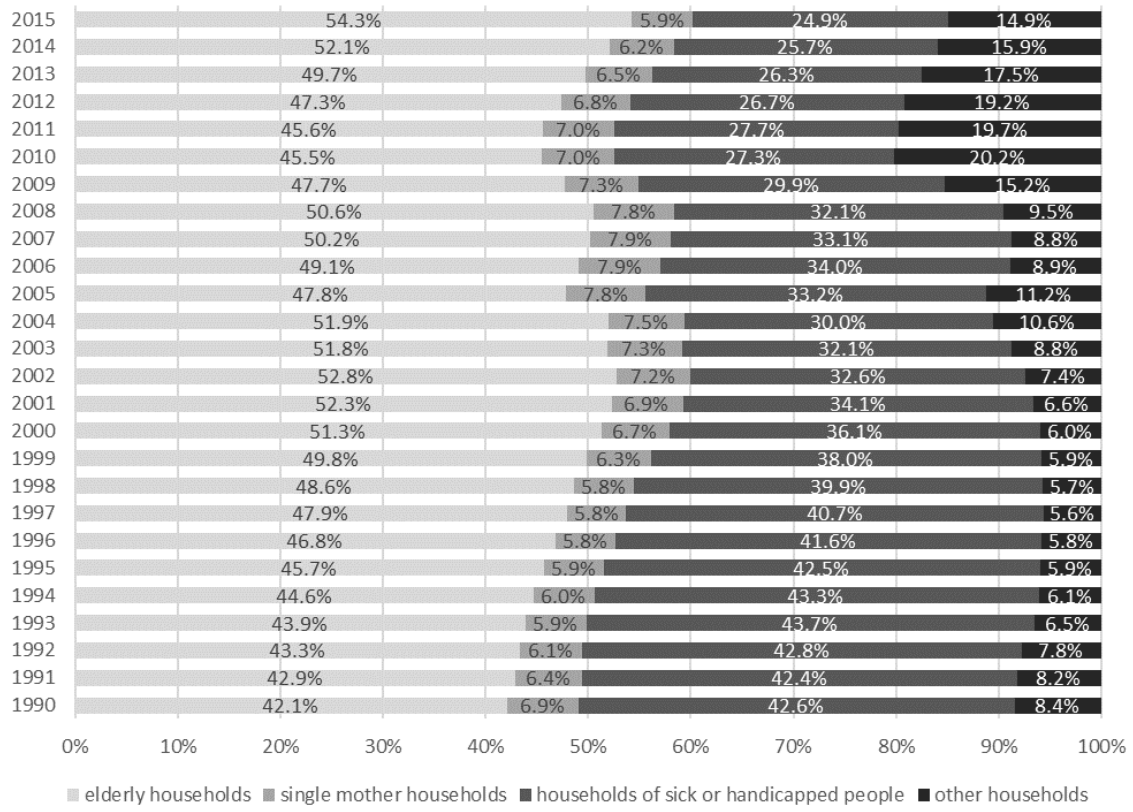
This section scrutinizes how public assistance receiving households changed over the last 25 years, by emphasizing the impact of the changing public assistance policies during the five different phases. The discussion covers the reason for going on public assistance the age of recipients and the recipients employment situation.

A) Household type

With the increase of public assistance receiving households, also the types of households that rely on public assistance changed, as illustrated in figure 5.3.1. In 1990 the largest share under public assistance receiving households were households of sick or handicapped people with 42.6% followed by elderly households with 42.1%. Other households with a share of 8.4% and single mother households with a share of 6.9% played only a minor role.

At the end of the phase of neglect in 1997 the share of elderly households had increased to 47.9%, while households of sick or handicapped people had decreased to a share of 40.7%. The share of single mother households and other households had decreased as well, accounting for 5.8% and 5.6% respectively.

Figure 5.3.1 Type of public assistance receiving household



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

This tendency of a shift towards elderly households increased further during the phase of homeless inclusion, when many elderly day laborers got access to housing protection. In 2003 the share of elderly households had increased to 51.9%, while that of households of sick or handicapped people had decreased to 32.1%. On the other side the share of other households and single mother households had increased slightly to 8.8% and 7.3% respectively.

During the phase of consolidation this distribution did not change crucially. In 2008 elderly households had with 50.6% the largest share, followed by households of sick and handicapped people with 32.1%. Other households accounted for 9.5% and single mother

households for 7.8%.

This distribution changed crucially in the phase of poverty inclusion, when younger impoverished people got access to housing protection. In 2011 the share of elderly households had decreased to 45.6% and households of sick or handicapped people to 27.7%. On the other side other households, that include also younger people, had increased to 19.7%. Single mother households accounted for 7.0% exhibiting no big change.

This tendency turned around in the phase of retreat, when self-reliance support was strengthened and Osaka city's countermeasures started. In 2015 the share of elderly households had increased dramatically, reaching 54.3%. On the other side the share of all other household types had decreased. Households of sick or handicapped people declined to 24.9%, other households to 14.9% and single mother households to 5.9%.

B) Household size

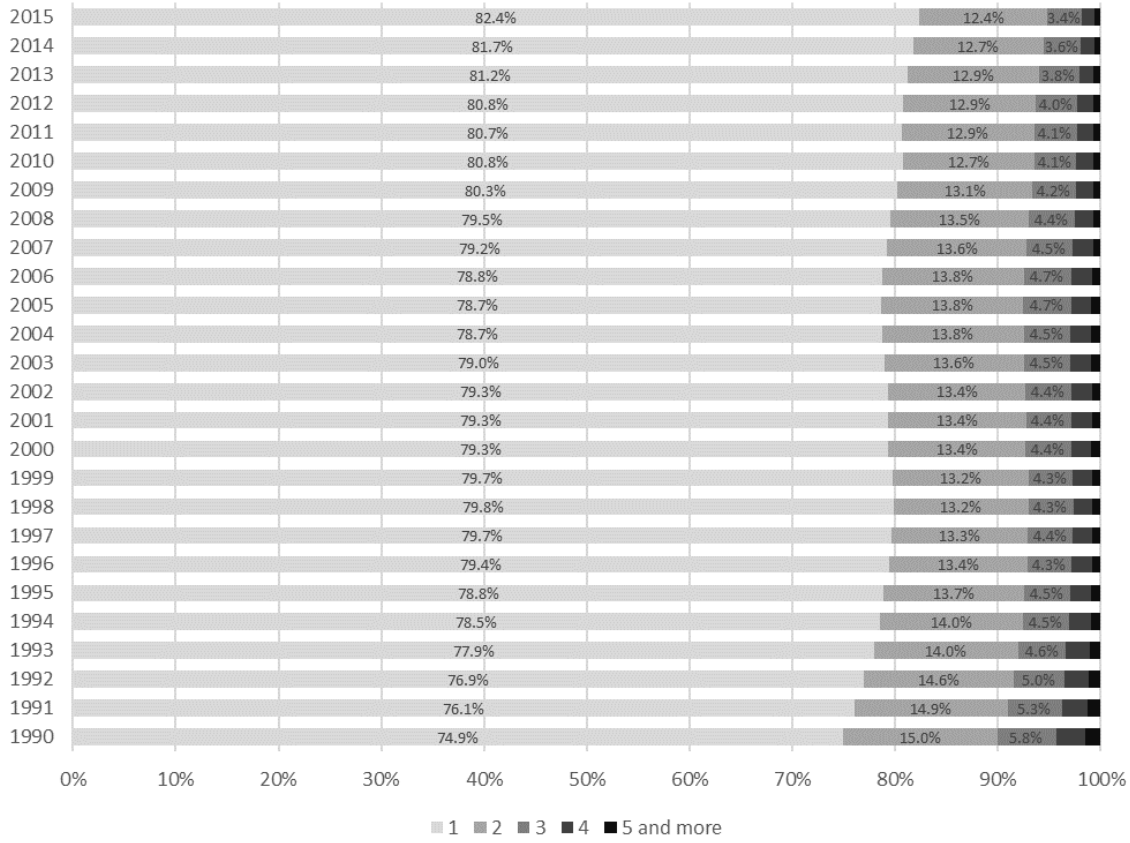
The change of public assistance receiving households' household size, dispeled in figure 5.3.2, shows that the expanding welfare housing market is mainly based on single households. In 1990, 74.9% of the households were single households. Their share increased during the following years reaching 82.4% in 2015. This corresponds to an increase from 22.873 to 94.989 households, increasing by more than four times.

The share of households with two members decreased slightly form 15.0% in 1990 to 12.4% in 2015. Nevertheless, their absolute number increased from 4,582 to 14,306 people, increasing by more than three times. Households with more than two members show a similar pattern of decline but have a lower total increase.

Further, the share of a particular household size differs also according to cluster and phase of welfare regime restructuring. In 1990 the number of single households was especially high in cluster 4 with 81.4% followed by cluster 1 with 74.8%, cluster 2 with 72.2% and with a big gap by cluster 3 with 63.8%. In the phase of neglect the share of single households increased in all four clusters, reaching 84.9% in cluster 4, 79.4% in cluster 1, 78,9% in cluster 2 and 69.4% in cluster 3 in 1997.

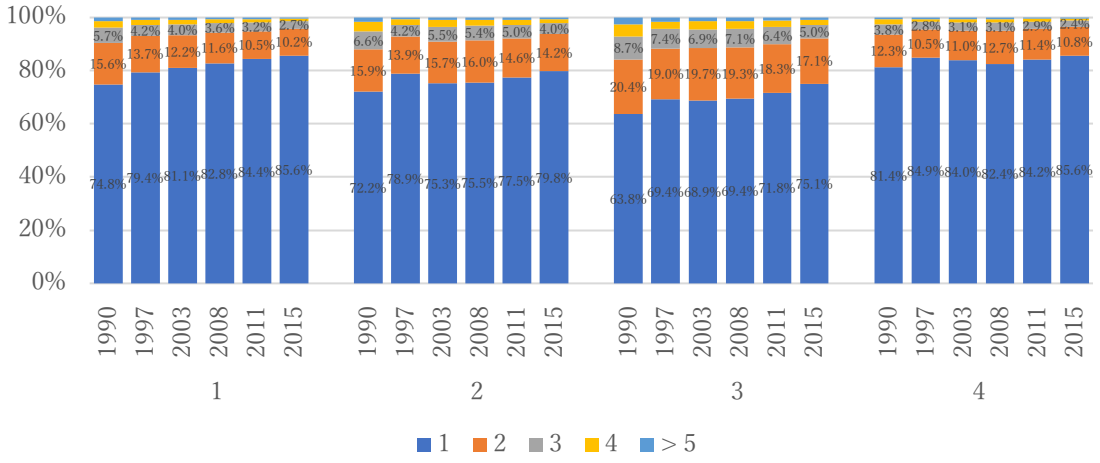
In the phase of homeless inclusion this tendency continued only in cluster 1, in which single households reached a share of 81.1% in 2003. In all other three clusters the share of single households decreased, falling back to 84.0% in cluster 4, to 75.3% in cluster 2, and to 68.9% in cluster 3. While in the phase of consolidation the single household share in cluster 1 increased further, reaching 82.8% in 2008, it stagnated in the other three clusters. The share was at 82.4% in cluster 4, at 75.5% in cluster 2 and at 69.4% in cluster 3.

Figure 5.3.2 Household size of public assistance receiving households



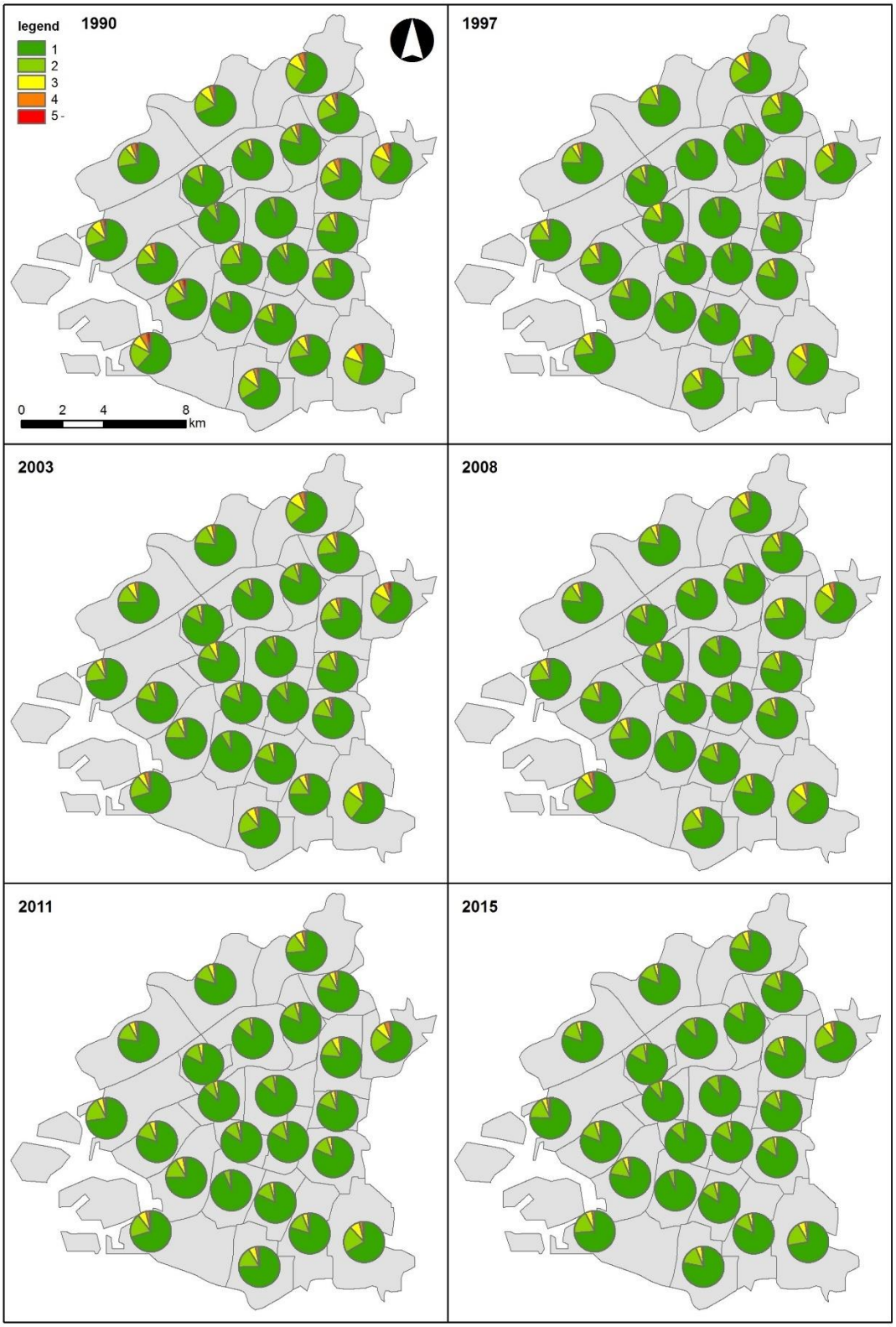
Source: OTCT (1991-2016); Note: Year= fiscal year;

Figure 5.3.3 Share of households per household size and clusters



Source: OTCT (1991-2016); Note: Year= fiscal year;

Figure 5.3.4 Osaka city's changing geography of public assistance receiving households per household size



Source: OTCT (1991-2016); Note: Year= fiscal year;

A further increase in all four clusters could be observed during the phase of poverty inclusion, reaching 84.2% in cluster 4, 84.4% in cluster 1, 77.5% in cluster 2 and 71.8% in cluster 3. This development continued in the phase of retreat, and in 2015 the share of single households increased to 85.6% in cluster 1 and 2, to 79.8% in cluster 2 and to 75.1% in cluster 3.

C) Recipients age

As already pointed out in the discussion on household types, since 1990 public assistance recipients were increasingly aging. The detailed change of the public assistance recipients' age group is shown in figure 5.3.5.

In 1990, the group of 70 and more years old public assistance recipients had already the largest share with 23.5%, followed by the group of 60-69 years with 20.4% and 50-59 years with 19.3%. The group of 0-19 years had a share of 17.3% and that of 40-49 years a share of 12.4%, while the share of the group of 20-29 years and 30-39 years was vanishingly small.

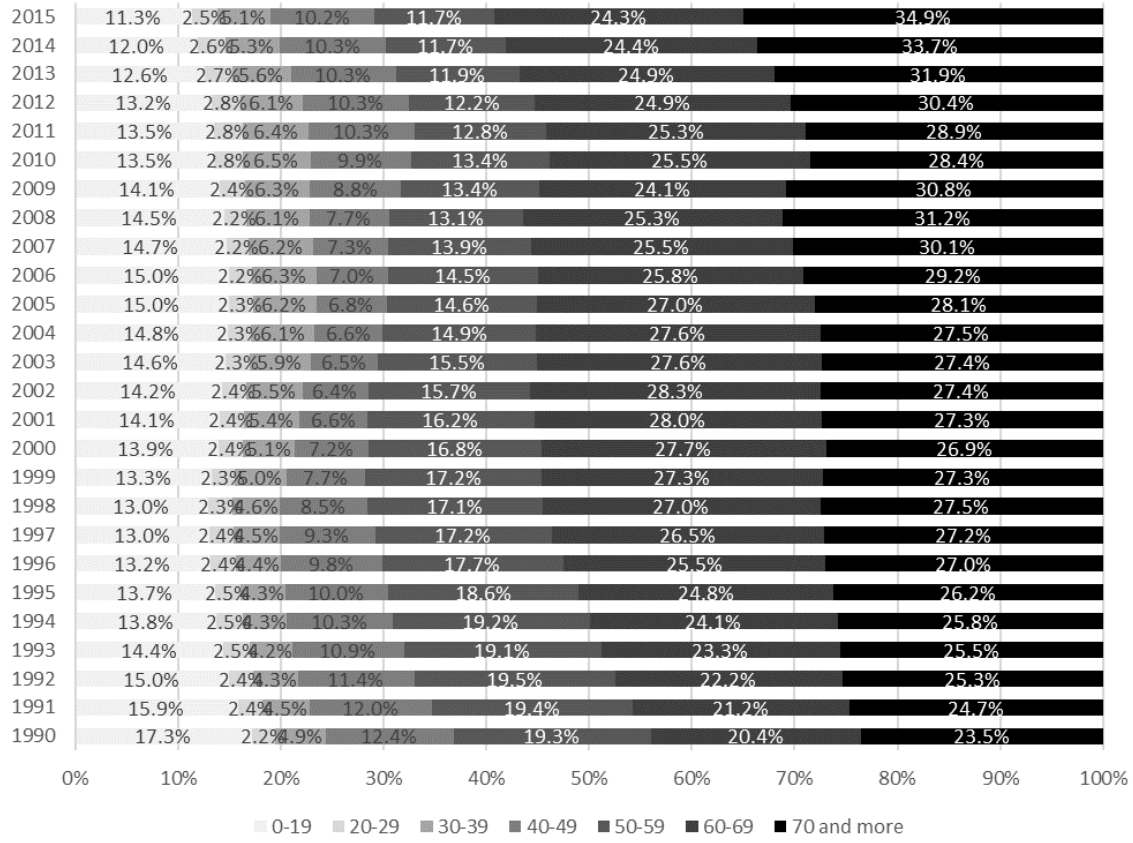
During the phase of neglect especially the share of 60 years and older public assistance recipients increased. In 1997 the group of 70 and more years old public assistance recipients had increased to 27.2% and that of 60-69 years to 26.5%. On the other side the share of younger people was decreasing. The share of 50-59 years old public assistance recipients decreased to 17.2%, that of 0-19 years to 13.0% and that of 40-49 years to 9.3%.

This pattern did not change crucially during the phase of homeless inclusion. In 2003 the share of public assistance recipient of 70 and more years was 27.4%, and that of 60-69 years 27.6%. Further, 50-59 years old public assistance recipients accounted for 15.5%, followed by 0-19 years with 14.6% and 40-49 years with 6.5%. The share of 30-39 years old public assistance recipients had slightly increased, reaching 5.9%.

During the phase of consolidation as well no major changes can be observed. In 2008 the share of public assistance recipients of 70 and more years old had slightly increased to 31.2%, and that of 60-69 years has slightly decreased to 25.3%. The share of 0-19 years old public assistance recipients was 14.5% and that of 50-59 years had slightly decreased to 13.4%. The share of 40-49 years had 7.7% and that of 30-39 years 6.1%.

In the phase of poverty inclusion especially the share of younger people increased. In 2011 the share of public assistance recipients of 70 and more years had slightly decreased to 28.9%, while that of 60-69 years accounted for 25.3% showing no crucial change. Further, the share of 0-19 years and 50-59 years as well had decreased to 13.5% and 12.8% respectively. The group that could account for an actual change was that of 40-49 years increasing to 10.3%, while that of 30-39 years accounted for 6.4%.

Figure 5.3.5 Age of public assistance recipients (people)



Source: OTCT (1991-2016); Note: Year= fiscal year;

During the phase of retreat the aging of public assistance recipients continued. In 2015 especially the group of 70 or more years was effected, rapidly increasing to 34.9%. The share of the group of 60-69 years decreased to 24.3%, and that of 50-59 years to 11.7%. Further, also the share of 0-19 years decreased to 11.3% and that of 30-39 years to 5.1%. The share of 40-49 yeas accounted for 10.2%, showing no crucial change.

In the four clusters the age composition changes in different ways during the five phases of welfare regime restructuring. In 1990 the share of people 60 years and older was the highest in cluster 4 with 49.8%, followed by cluster 1 with 46.5%, cluster 2 with 41.1% and cluster 3 with 37.7%. In contrast, the group of people 19 years or younger was especially in cluster 3 high reaching a share of 23.5%. It was followed by cluster 2 with a share of 20.0%, by cluster 1 with 16.6% and by cluster 4 with 10.9%.

In the phase of neglect the share of people 60 years and older increased in all four clusters, reaching 56.5% in cluster 4, 55.1% in cluster 1, 50.6% in cluster 2, and 47.1% in cluster 3 in 1997. This change was reflected in the share of 19 years or younger public

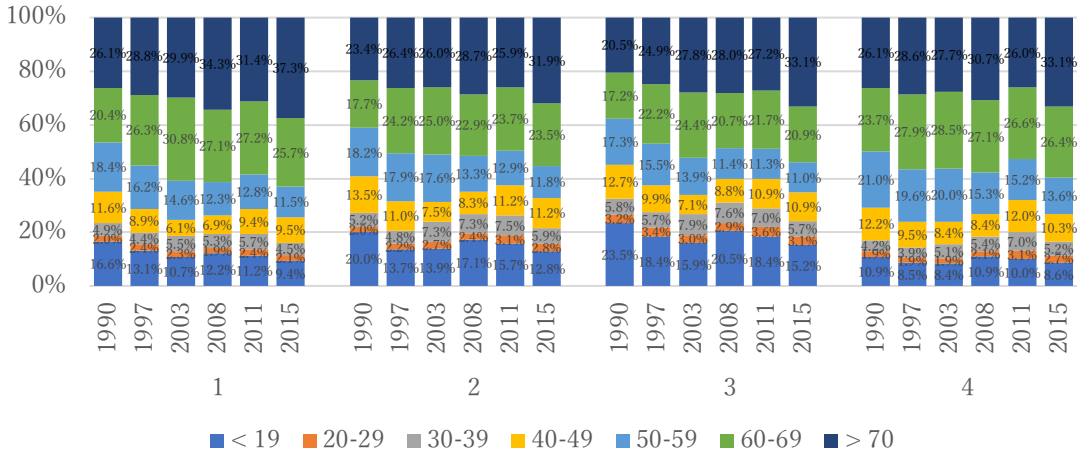
assistance recipients, which decreased in all four clusters, falling down to 18.4% in cluster 3, to 13.7% in cluster 2 to 13.1% in cluster 1 and 8.5% in cluster 4.

In the phase of homeless inclusion this development continued in cluster 1 which reached 60.1% and cluster 3 which reached 52.2% in 2003. In cluster 2 and 4 their number stagnated at 51.0% and 56.2%. For the group of 19 years or younger public assistance recipients this had an affect in cluster 3 and 1, where their share was dropping to 15.9% and 10.7% respectively. In cluster 2 and 4 their share stayed nearly the same.

In the phase of consolidation the increase of over 60 year old public assistance recipients continued in cluster 1 reaching 61.4% in 2008, and was this time joined by cluster 4, reaching 57.8%. In cluster 3 and 2 the share stagnated at 48.7% and 51.6%. In contrast, the share of 19 years or younger people increased again, reaching 20.5% in cluster 3, 17.1% in cluster 2, 12,2% in cluster 1 and 10.9% in cluster 4.

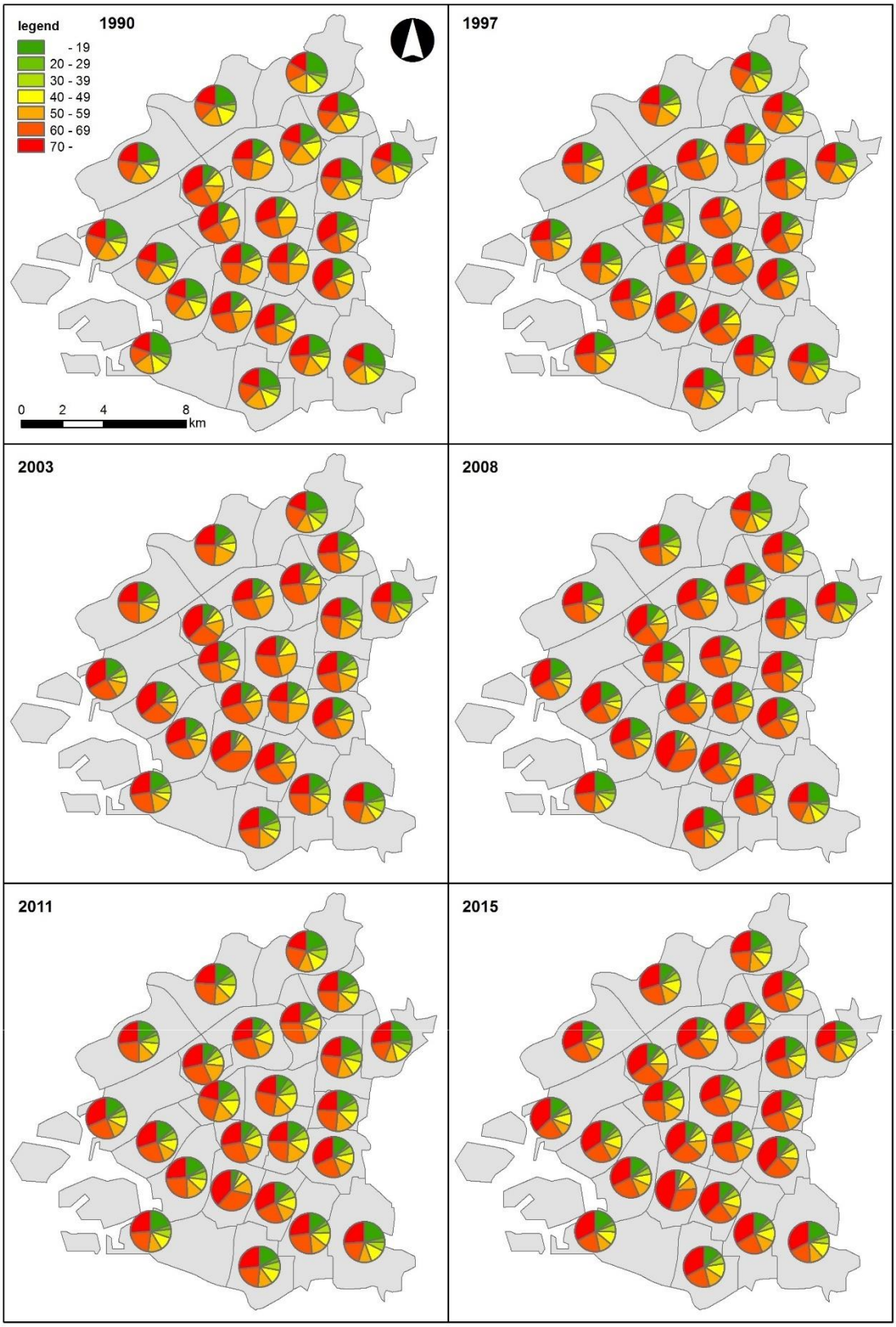
In the phase of poverty inclusion the share of recipients over 60 years increased only in cluster 3 slightly, reaching 48.9%. In cluster 2 it declined to 49.6%, in cluster 4 to 52.6%, and in cluster 1 to 58.6%. The share of 19 years old and younger public assistance recipients decreased as well, indicating that especially the share of middle aged people was increasing at that time. In cluster 3 it decreased to 18.4%, in cluster 2 to 15.7%, in cluster 1 to 11.2% and in cluster 4 to 10.0%.

Figure 5.3.6 Share of public assistance recipients per age and clusters



Source: OTCT (1991-2016); Note: Year= fiscal year;

Figure 5.3.7 Osaka city's changing geography of public assistance recipients per age



Source: OTCT (1991-2016); Note: Year= fiscal year;

This tendency was turned around in the phase of retreat and in all four clusters the share of over 60 years old recipients increased. It reached 54.0% in cluster 3, 55.4% in cluster 2, 59.5% in cluster 4, and 63.0% in cluster 1, being in all four clusters far over 50%. In contrast the share of 19 years and younger public assistance recipients continued to decline, dropping to 15.2% in cluster 3, to 12.8% in cluster 2, to 9.4% in cluster 1, and to 8.6% in cluster 4.

D) Recipients employment situation

During the five phases of public assistance restructuring, also the employment situation of public assistance recipients changed, being heavily influenced by the strengthening of self-reliance support, as shown in figure 5.3.8. In 1990, in 11.3% of public assistance receiving households people were in employment, accounting for a total of 3,585 households. With 8.0% of all public assistance receiving households, most commonly the household head was in employment.

During the phase of neglect, the percentage of public assistance receiving households with people in employment decreased, reflecting the general economic situation at that time. In 1997 only 7.5% of public assistance receiving households had people in employment, being a total of 2,899 households. The rate of public assistance receiving household heads in employment had decreased to 5.7%.

In the phase of homeless inclusion the employment situation did not change much. In 2003 public assistance receiving households with people in employment still accounted for only 7.8%, but their total number had nearly doubled to 5,507 people, reflecting the total increase of public assistance receiving households at that time. The rate of public assistance receiving household heads had slightly increased to 6.3%.

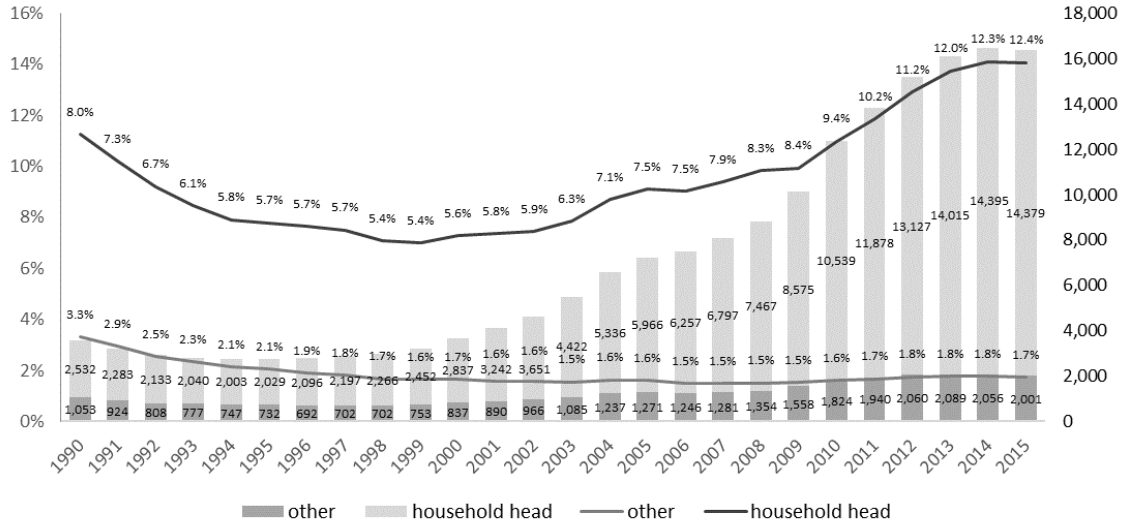
During the phase of consolidation the number of public assistance receiving households with people in employment increased, reflecting the policy change at that time. In 2008 9.8% of public assistance receiving households had people in employment, accounting for a total of 8,821 households. This increase was especially generated through household heads in employment, that reached a rate of 8.3%.

This tendency increased further in the phase of poverty inclusion. In 2011, the rate of public assistance receiving households with people in employment had increased to 11.9% surpassing even its number in 1990. In total they accounted for 13,818 households. Like in the phase of consolidation this growth was mainly produced by employed household heads reaching a rate of 10.2%.

Finally, in the phase of retreat public assistance receiving households with people in employment increased further. In 2015 they reached a rate of 14.1%, equivalent to a total

of 16,380 households. The majority of them were household heads, which accounted for 12.4%.

5.3.8 Employed household heads and other household members (household)



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

5.4. Dynamics of Benefit Types

Since 1990 public assistance did not change simply in quantitative terms, but also in qualitative terms, regarding the eight different benefit types it is providing. These eight benefits developed in distinctive patterns in relation to Osaka city's policies and the national public assistance scope's expansion described in the previous section. In this section first the changes that occurred according to the urban welfare regimes five phases of restructuring are identified, and based on the four clusters of socio-economic characteristics, the spatial dynamics of the eight benefit schemes are analyzed subsequently.

A) Chronological benefit type dynamics

The chronological changes of the eight different benefit types are displayed in figure 5.4.1 as their share in the whole number of public assistance receiving households, and as the number of public assistance receiving households. According to their share, two groups can be identified: A group with a large share, consisting of livelihood, housing and medical benefits, and a group with a relatively small share, consisting of educational,

maternity, occupational, funeral and care benefits.

Livelihood benefits, the most basic benefit type, had in 1990 the second highest share of 72.7% accounting for 23,219 households. During the phase of neglect their share increased only marginal, reaching 75.6% an equivalent of 29,251 households in 1997. But during the phase of homeless inclusion their share increased sharply to 84.3% in 2003, accounting for 59,164 households. This tendency of increase continues during the phase of consolidation, reaching 89.8% or 90,040 households in 2008. In 2011 at the end of the phase of poverty inclusion it had reached 92,4% or 108,423 households, and kept this high level, reaching 93.6% or 109,828 households at the end of the phase of retreat in 2015.

Housing benefits underwent a similar development but increased even sharper. In 1990 housing benefits had a share of 65,9% or 21,028 households, that changed only marginal during the phase of neglect, reaching 67,7% or 26,211 households in 1997. In the phase of homeless inclusion this share increased strikingly to 79.0% more than doubling the number of households to 59,164. Although slowing considerably down during the phase of consolidation their share increased further, reaching 86.3% or 77,716 households in 2008. During the phase of poverty inclusion and retreat the share of housing benefits increased further slightly, reaching 89.9% or 105,496 households in 2011 and 91.5% or 107,355 households in 2015.

Medical benefits on the other side did not experience any crucial changes. In 1995 they had a share of 83.0% or 26,499 households. Although they increased in total terms, the share stayed nearly the same over the 25 years and was at a level of 84.9% in 2015, accounting for a total of 99,305 households.

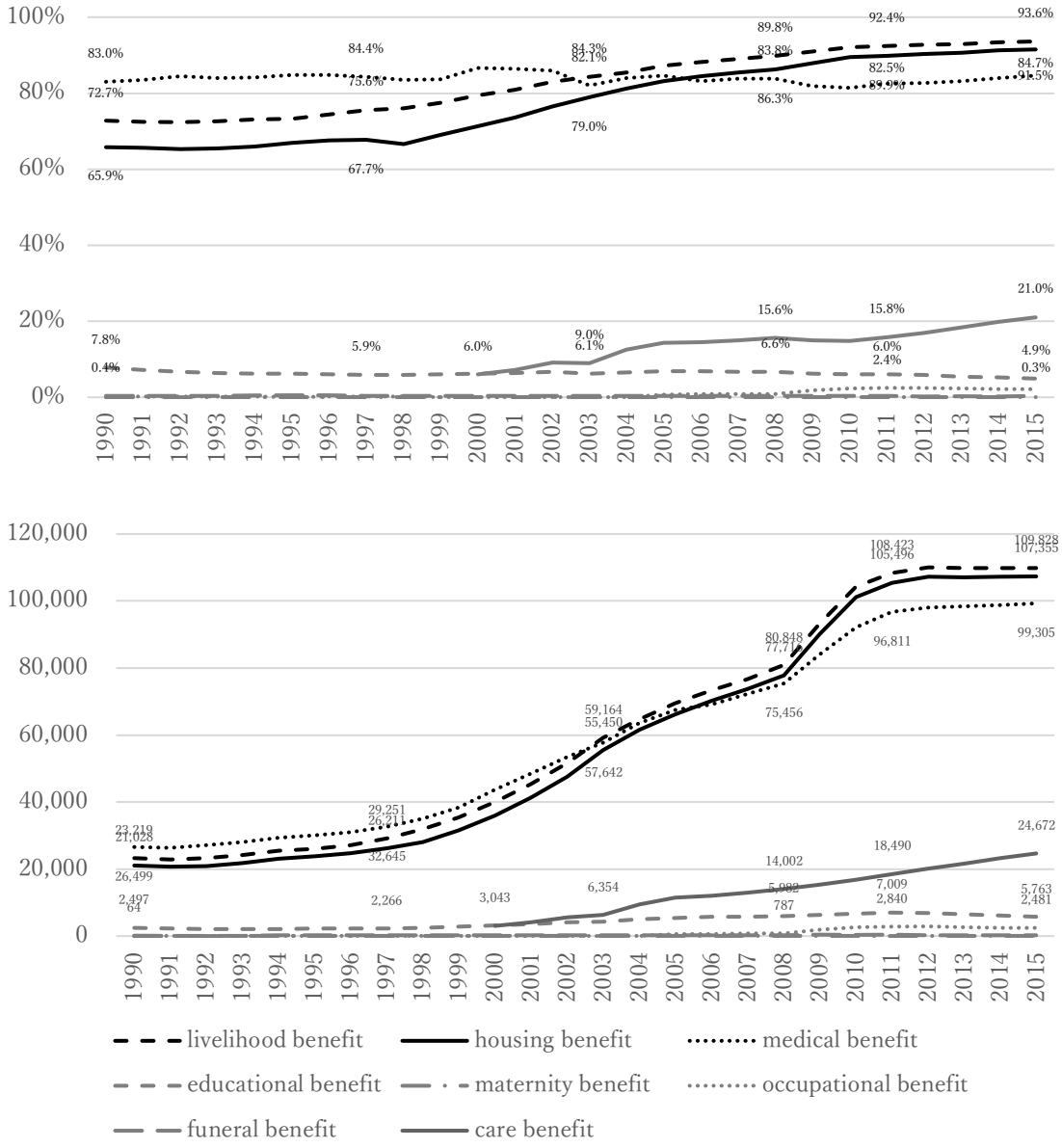
In the group of benefits with a relatively small share the share of educational benefits decreased since 1990, showing a contrary development. While their share was in 1990 at a level of 7.8% or 2,497 households, it declined during the phase of neglect to 5.9% or 2,266 households in 1997. During the following phase of homeless inclusion and consolidation their share increased slightly, reaching 6.6% or 5,982 households in 2008. This tendency changed during the phase of poverty inclusion and retreat, decreasing to 4.9% or 5,763 households in 2015.

Maternity benefits played during the observation period never a big role and accounted in 1990 only for 1 household. During the 2000s their number increased slightly and 22 households were recorded in 2015. Nevertheless, compared to other benefit types they stayed at a low level.

Occupational benefits as well were strongly marginalized and had in 1990 a share of only 0.2% equivalent to 64 households. Especially in the phase of homeless inclusion

their share dropped further to 0.0% or 25 households in 2003. But due to the introduction of self-reliance support in 2005 they revived reaching in 2008 a share of 0.8% or 787 households and after the period of poverty inclusion in 2011 a share of 2.4% or 2,901 households. During the period of retreat their share decreased slightly to 2.1% or 2,481 households in 2015.

Figure 5.4.1 Share of public assistance benefits



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Funeral benefits had during the observation period a very stable share without any large changes. In 1990 they had a share of 0.4% accounting for 133 households. In 2015 this share was by 0.3%, although the total number had increased to 339 households.

Finally, care benefits, although introduced not before 2000 were rapidly increasing. In 2000 they had already a share of 6.0% accounting for 3,043 households. During the phase of homeless inclusion and consolidation they were steadily increasing reaching in 2008 a share of 15.6% or 14,002 households. But in the phase of poverty inclusion the increase stagnated having 15.8% in 2011, accounting for 18,490 households. In the phase of retreat their share increased again, reaching 21.0% or 24,672 households in 2015.

The discussion showed that especially housing benefits that had already in the 1990s a considerable share increased strongly and exceeded medical benefits in the phase of consolidation. This marks the shift from a public assistance administration centered around the Airin System to a new form that is based on regular housing. The next sub-section deals with the spatial characteristics of the different benefit types.[12]

B) Spatial characteristics of livelihood benefits

Livelihood benefits showed initially a relative low share in the city center and a high share in the outer wards, displayed in figure 5.4.3. But this changed over time and at the end of the observation period they had an equally high share in all 24 wards.

As shown in figure 5.4.2 in 1991 the share of livelihood benefits took on the shape of concentric zones with a low share in the city center and a high share in the outer wards. According to figure 4.3.2. the highest share of livelihood benefits had cluster 2 with 81.5% equivalent to 3,579 households. It was followed by cluster 3 with 75.5% equivalent to 5,617 households. Cluster 1, that included at that time also clients of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office, had a share of livelihood benefits not higher than 70.7% equivalent to 11.249 households. Cluster 4 had with 60.4% equivalent to 2,414 households the lowest share of livelihood benefits of the four clusters.

Although the amount of livelihood benefit receiving households increased in all four clusters during the phase of neglect, their share developed differently. In 1997 in cluster 2 the share of livelihood benefits increased slightly to 83.6% equivalent to 4,063 households. Cluster 1 experienced a relative sharp increase to 77.4% reaching a total of 15,959 households. Cluster 3 and 4 on the other side experienced a relative decrease, dropping to 74.1% equivalent to 6,575 households and 56.2%, equivalent to 2,656

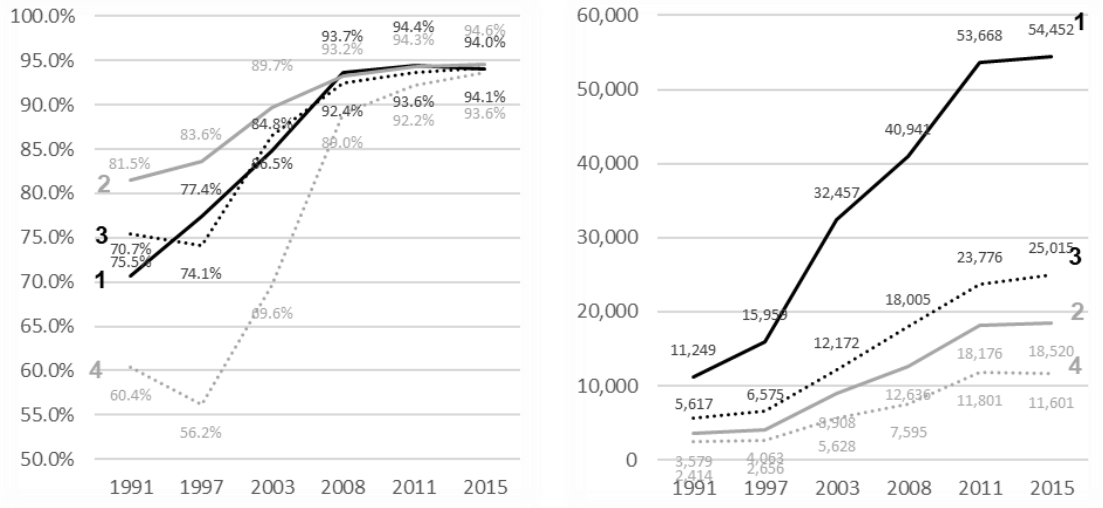
[12] Because of their low number no accurate statements can be made on the spatiality of maternity benefits, and therefore they are not further discussed. All other seven benefit types are analyzed in the following.

households. In cluster 4 the increase of homeless people at that time can be related to this development. As shown in figure 5.4.3. the share of livelihood benefits decreased especially in the wards Kita, Chūō and Tennōji which had a high homeless population.

During the phase of homeless inclusion, in all four clusters the share of livelihood assistance increased dramatically. In cluster 2 the share reached 89.7% equivalent to 8,908 households and cluster 3 followed tight reaching 86.5% equivalent to 12,172 households in 2003. Cluster 1 increased also to 84.8%, an equivalent of 32,457 households. The share in cluster 4, although considerably lower, increased as well, reaching 69.6% equivalent to 5,628 households. During this time in nearly all four clusters the number of livelihood benefits receiving households doubled, reflecting the eased access to public assistance and the other support possibilities that emerged for homeless people at this time.

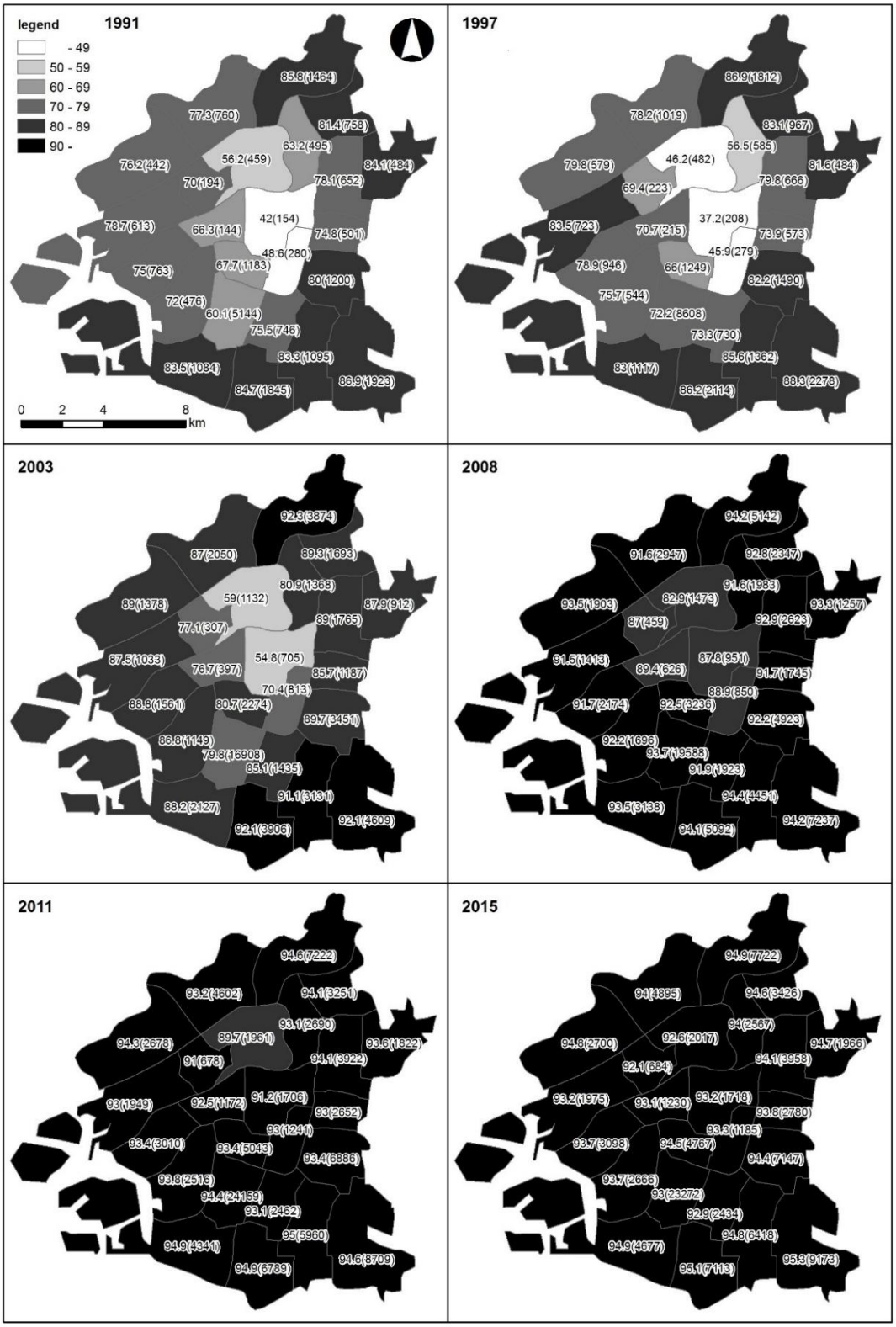
In the phase of consolidation the difference between the city center and the outer wards declined to a minimum. The share of livelihood benefits increased in all four wards and consolidated around 90%. In cluster one the share increased to 93.7% equivalent to 40,941 households, followed close by cluster 2 with 93.2% equivalent to 12,636 households and cluster 3 with 92.4% equivalent to 18.005 households. Cluster 4 followed with a slight distance, reaching 89.0% equivalent to 7.595 household. This drastic change can be partly explained by the fact that from 2004 on clients of the Municipal Rehabilitation Councelling Office and sick travelers are no longer included in the spatial data.

Figure 5.4.2 Livelihood benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.3 Osaka city's changing geography of livelihood benefits



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

During the phase of poverty inclusion and retreat all clusters kept their high level of livelihood benefits. In 2015 cluster 2 had reached a share of 94.6% equivalent to 18,520 households, cluster 3 a share of 94.1% equivalent to 25,015 households and cluster 1 a share of 94.0% equivalent to 54,452 households. Finally, also cluster 4 had caught up reaching a share of 93.6% equivalent to 11,601 households.

C) Spatial characteristics of housing benefits

The share of housing benefits shows a geography that in large parts resembles that of livelihood benefits, with a low share in the city center, and a high share in the outer wards. Although this pattern is weakening over time, it differs to livelihood benefits and is not disappearing entirely, after 2004.

As shown in figure 5.4.4 in 1991 cluster 2 had the highest share of housing benefits with 79.9% equivalent to 3,394 households, followed by cluster 3 with 71.6% equivalent to 5,507 households. Cluster 1 followed with a considerable distance, having a share of 61.0% that was equivalent to 9,709 households. As shown in figure 5.4.5. especially Nishinari ward's low share of housing benefits stood out at that time. Cluster 4 had with 52.8% the lowest share, that was equivalent to 2,112 households. Especially in the three wards Kita, Chūō and Tennōji, this share was low.

In the phase of neglect in the outer wards housing benefits were increasing further consolidating the ring pattern. As shown in figure 5.4.4 especially in cluster 1 and 2 the share of housing benefits was increasing slightly, reaching 64.6% equivalent to 13,317 households and 82.3% equivalent to 3,941 households. On the other side in cluster 3 and 4 the share of housing benefits was stagnating stopping at 71.9% equivalent to 6,470 households and 52.5% equivalent to 2,482 households. Especially, in cluster 4 the large population of homeless people in the city center can be considered responsible for the relatively low share of housing benefits.

In the phase of homeless inclusion in all wards of the city housing benefits were increasing, but the ring pattern was still clearly visible. In cluster 2 their share increased to 87.4% equivalent to 8,509 households and in cluster 3 their share increased to 82.6% equivalent to 11,857 households in 2003. The largest increase occurred in cluster 1 where the share reached 78.6%, more than doubling in absolute terms accounting for 30,083 households. Compared to this the increase in cluster 4 was rather modest, reaching only 61.9% equivalent to 5,003 households.

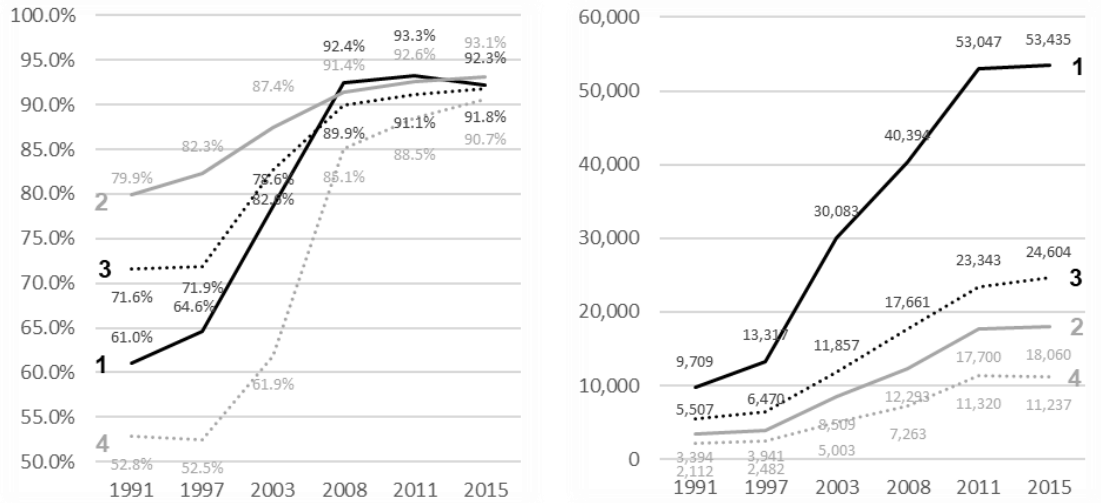
In the phase of consolidation housing benefits increased to a high share in nearly all wards, weakening the ring pattern considerably. In cluster 1 the share of housing assistance exceeded all other clusters reaching 92.3%, an equivalent to 40,394

households. Cluster 2 and 3 followed close reaching 91.4%, an equivalent to 12,293 households and 89.9%, an equivalent to 17,661 households. Cluster 4 followed with a considerable gap, reaching 85.1%, an equivalent to 7,263 households. Especially Kita ward had still a considerably lower share of housing benefits.

In the phase of poverty inclusion housing benefits receiving households increased further minimizing the gaps between their share. In cluster 1, 2 and 3 the share of housing benefits consolidated at a high rate reaching 93.3% equivalent to 53,047 households, 92.6% equivalent to 17,700 households and 91.1% equivalent to 23,343 households respectively. The share of cluster 4 closed up further and reached 88.5% equivalent to 11,320 households.

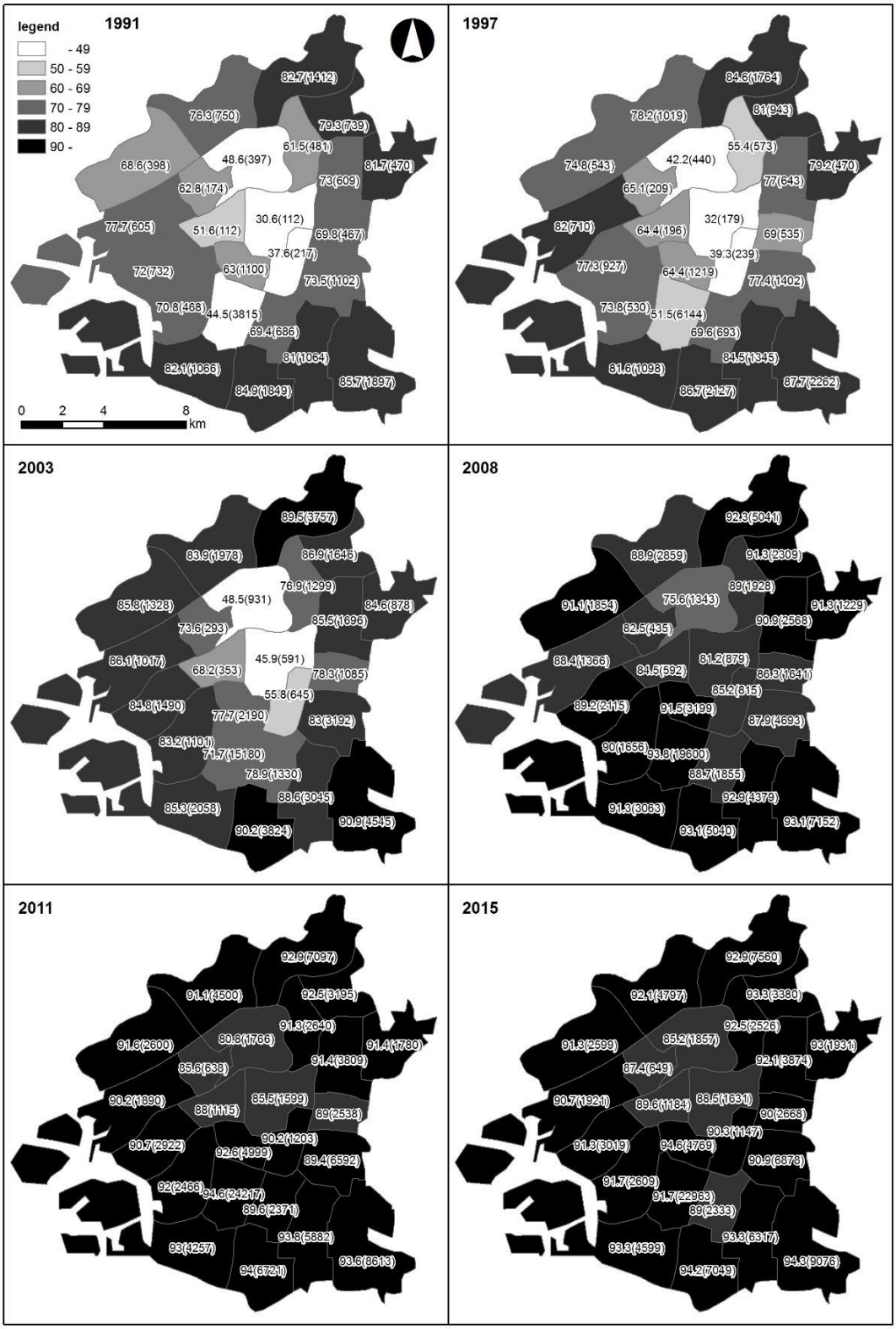
During the phase of retreat the gap between the clusters closed further. Cluster 2 reached a share of 93.1% equivalent to 18,060 households, while the share of housing benefits in cluster 1 decreased slightly to 92.3% equivalent to 53,435 households. The share in the clusters 3 and 4 showed a slight increase, reaching 91.8% equivalent to 24,604 households and 90.7% equivalent to 11,237 households respectively. As a result the gap between the city center and the outer wards had nearly completely diminished, showing a pattern similarly to livelihood assistance.

Figure 5.4.4 Housing benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.5 Osaka city's changing geography of housing benefits



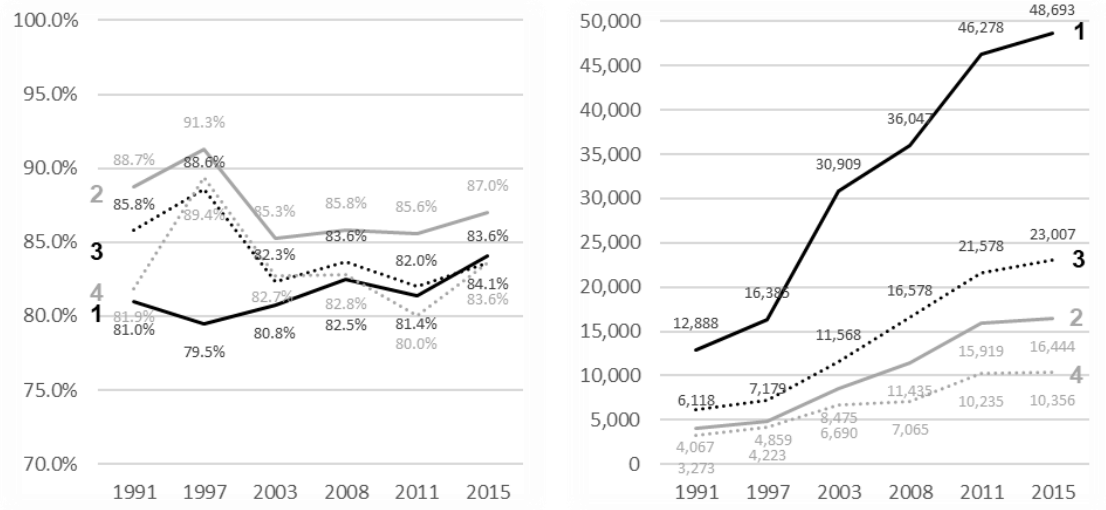
Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

D) Spatial characteristics of medical benefits

The geography of the share of medical benefits had initially a much lower variety than livelihood or housing benefits and did not show a clear or stable pattern. As shown in figure 5.4.6 in 1991 the share of medical benefits was highest in cluster 2, reaching 88.7% equivalent to 4,067 households, followed by cluster 3 with a share of 85.8% equivalent to 6,118 households. Cluster 4 and 1 had a slightly lower share of medical benefits, reaching 81.9% equivalent to 4,067 households and 81.0% equivalent to 12,888 households respectively. As figure 5.4.7 shows wards with a high share and low share could be found in the city center, like Nishi and Kita ward, but also in the outer wards, like Minato and Higashisumiyoshi ward.

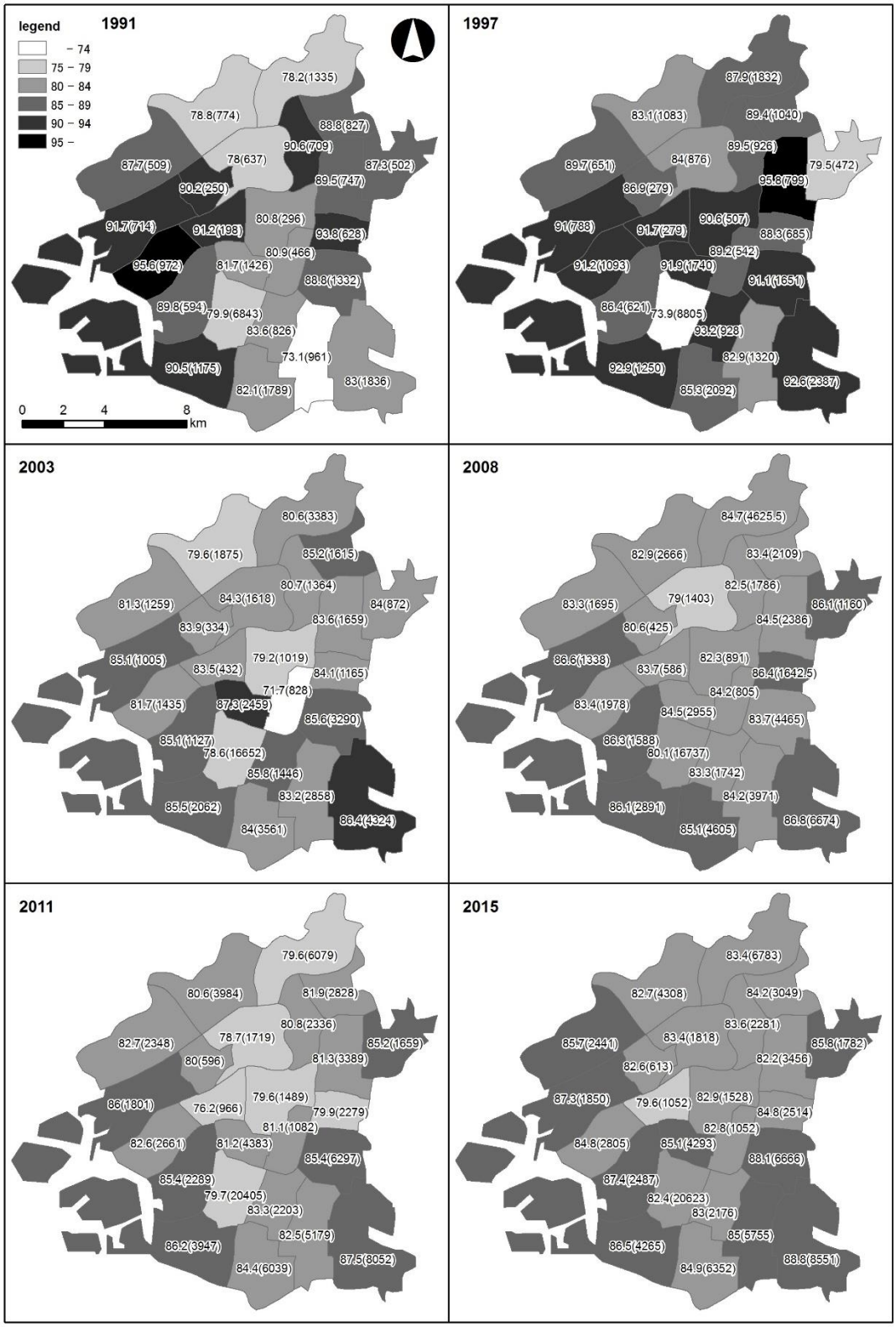
During the phase of neglect especially in the central areas an increase of the share of medical benefits could be observed. While the share in cluster 2 and 3 increased slightly to 91.3% equivalent to 4,859 households, and 88.6% equivalent to 7,179 households in 1997, cluster 4 accounted for a larger increase. It reached 89.4% equivalent to 4,223 households at that time, exceeding the share of cluster 3. The share of medical benefits in cluster 1 on the other side decreased slightly to 79.5% or 16,385 households. This suggests that at that time the Airin System was able to bolster a considerable part of medical emergencies, while the increase of homeless people in the city center is reflected in the increase of the medical benefits share.

Figure 5.4.6 Medical benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.7 Osaka city's changing geography of medical benefits



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

During the phase of homeless inclusion the share of medical benefits dropped again in most wards. In cluster 2 the share dropped to 85.3% equivalent to 8,475 households in 2003. The same tendency can be observed in cluster 3 and 4, in which the share dropped to 82.7% equivalent to 7,065 households and 82.3% equivalent to 11,568 households, respectively. In cluster 1 a slight increase of the share occurred against this tendency, reaching 80.8% or 30,909 households. While the decrease of the medical benefit share can be related to the newly available homeless support, the increase in cluster 1 can be related to a shift from support through the Airin System to housing protection.

In the phase of consolidation in all wards a slight increase of the medical benefits' share can be observed. In cluster 2 the share reached 85.8% equivalent to 11,435 households, in cluster 3 it reached 83.6% equivalent to 16,578 households, in cluster 4 it reached 82.8% equivalent to 7,056 households and in cluster 1 it reached 82.5% equivalent to 36,047 households in 2008.

In the phase of poverty inclusion and retreat no crucial changes occurred. Cluster 2 had the highest share with 87.0% equivalent to 16,444 households. It was closely followed by cluster 1 with a share of 84.1% equivalent to 48,693 households, and cluster 3 and four with a share of 83.6% each, but a total number of 23,007 and 10,356 households respectively. The medical benefits gap between the clusters decreased over time while their geography changed quickly.

E) Spatial characteristics of educational benefits

The geography of educational benefits resembles initially that of livelihood benefits, with a low share in the city center and a relatively high share in the outer wards. But in contrast, there is a strong tendency of decline in all wards during the observation period.

As shown in figure 5.4.8 in 1991 cluster 4 had with 11.4% equivalent to 388 households the highest share of educational benefits, followed by cluster 3 with a share of 8.2% equivalent to 784 households. Cluster 1 and 4 had a considerably lower share of 5.7% equivalent to 901 households and 4.4% equivalent to 175 households. According to figure 5.4.9 especially the presence of Nishinari ward which had an extremely low share of educational benefits can be considered of reducing cluster 1's total share.

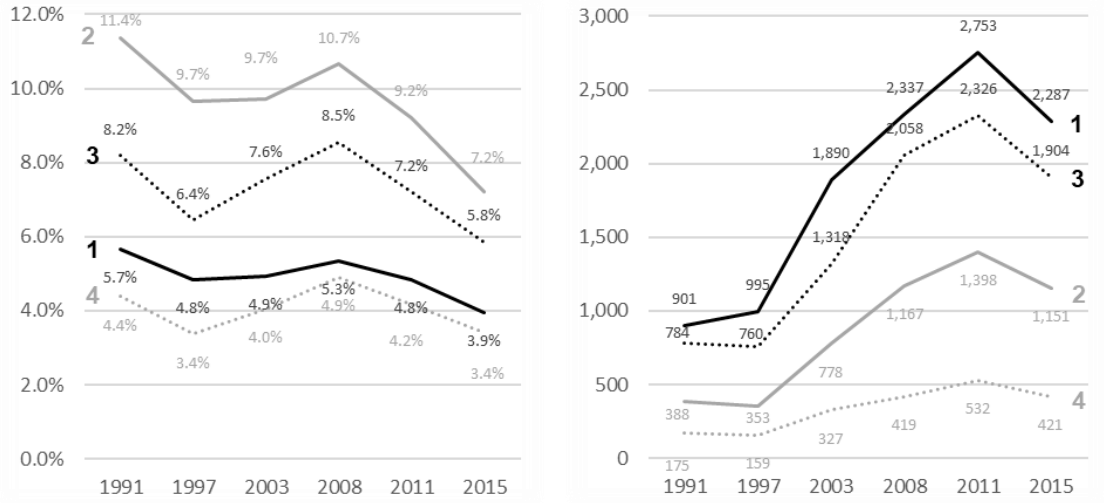
During the phase of neglect the share of educational benefits decreased in all four clusters. In cluster 2 the share declined to 9.7% or 353 households and in cluster 3 to 6.4% or 760 households in 1997. In cluster 1 this decrease was not so crucial and stopped at 4.8% or 995 households. In cluster 4 the share decreased to 3.4% accounting for 159 households. Not only the share of educational benefits, but also their total number declined in all clusters.

During the phase of homeless inclusion the share of educational benefits decreased especially in the southern parts of Osaka city, while in the city center and the Northern parts only a slight increases was recorded. In cluster 1 the increase of educational benefits share stagnated at 9.7% equivalent to 778 households in 2003. The share in cluster 3 on the other side experienced an increase to 7.6% equivalent to 1,310 households, and the share in cluster 1 increased slightly to 4.9% equivalent to 1,890 households. Finally, in cluster 4 the share of educational benefits increased to 4.0% equivalent to 327 household.

In the phase of consolidation the share of educational benefits increased further in all four clusters. In cluster 2 and 3 a relatively sharp increase of the share occurred, reaching 10.7% equivalent to 1,389 households and 8.5% equivalent to 2,326 households respectively in 2008. Cluster 1 followed with a certain distance, increasing slightly to 5.3% equivalent to 2,337 households. Finally, in cluster 4 the share increased to 4.9% equivalent to 419 households, having the lowest level of all four clusters.

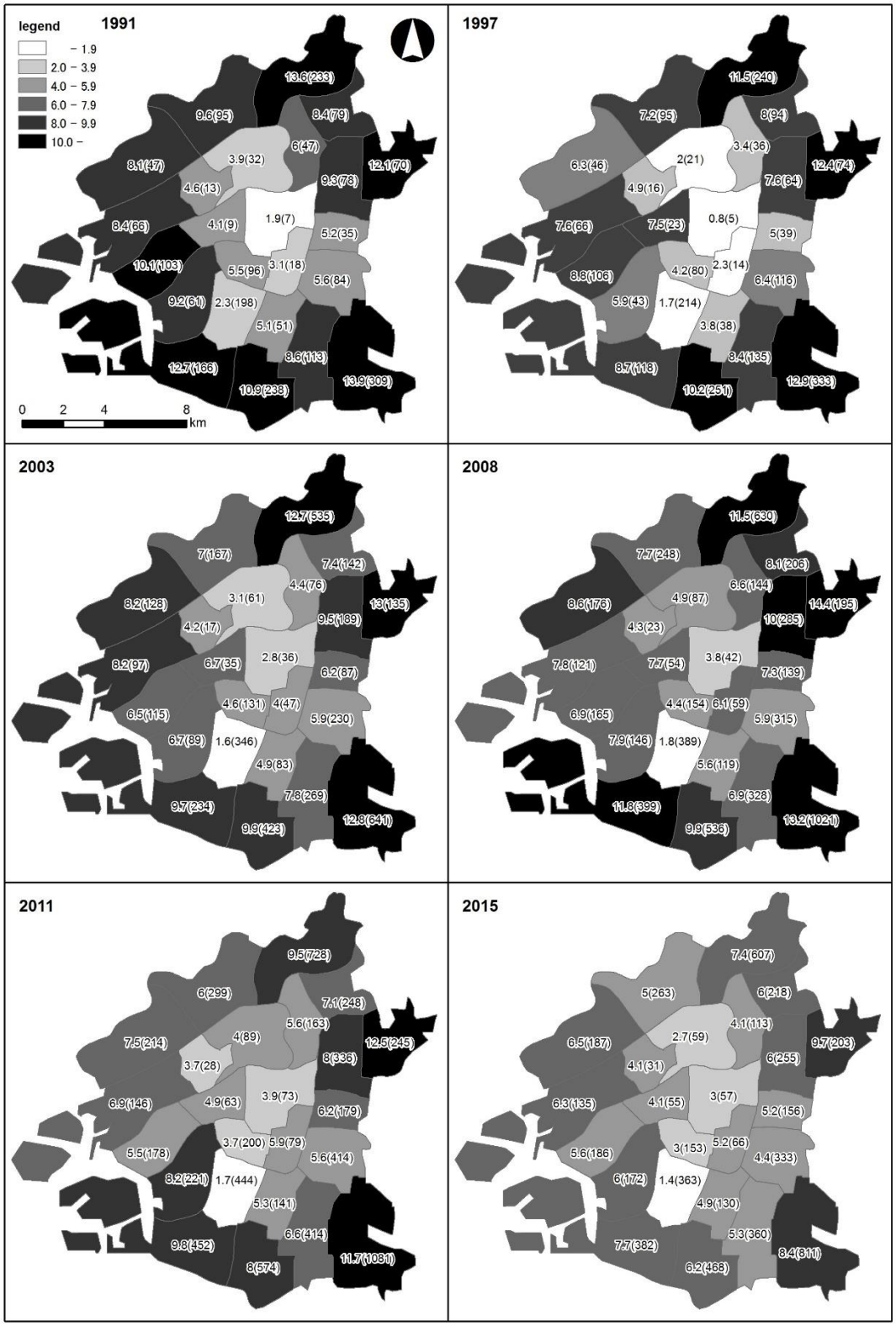
This tendency turned around in the phase of poverty inclusion and in all four clusters the share of educational benefits declined. In cluster 2 and 3 the share declined to 9.2% equivalent to 1,398 households and 7.2% equivalent to 2,326 households in 2011. Also in cluster 4 which had already a much lower share it declined down to 4.8% equivalent to 2,753 households. Finally, also in cluster 4 the share declined to 4.2% equivalent to 532 household.

Figure 5.4.8 Educational benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.9 Osaka city's changing geography of educational benefits



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

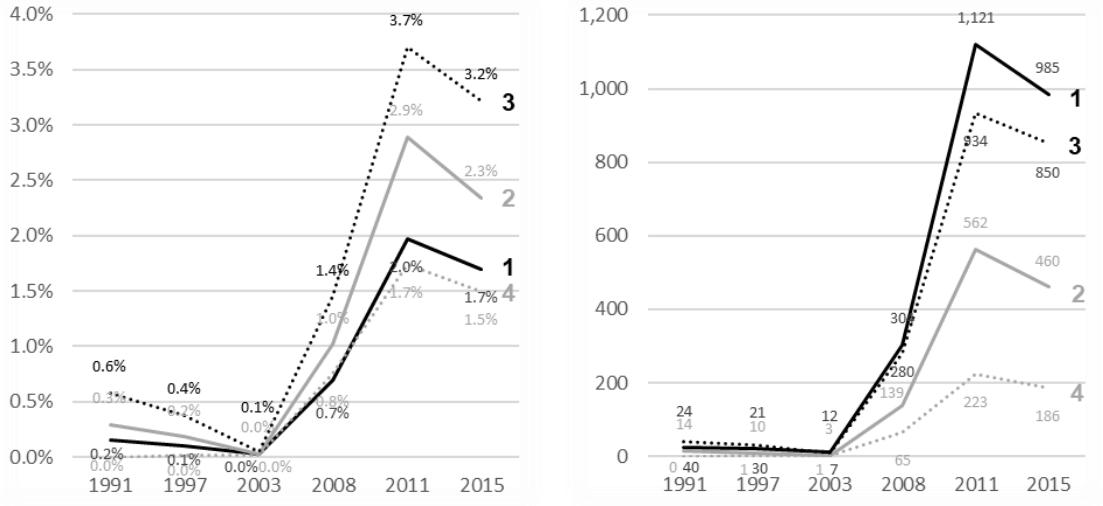
In the phase of retreat the same tendency observed during the phase of poverty inclusion continued but accelerated considerably. Now it was not only a relative decline but an absolute decline, observable in all four clusters. In cluster 2 and 3 the share decreased to 7.2% equivalent to 1,151 households and 5.8% equivalent to 1,904 households in 2015. In cluster 1 and 4 the share declined as well reaching 3.9% equivalent to 2,287 households and 3.4% equivalent to 421 households. Despite this general decline, the share of educational benefits kept its initial pattern of a lower share in the central wards and a higher share in the outer wards.

F) Spatial characteristics of occupational benefits

Occupational benefits did not play a significant role before self-reliance support was introduced to public assistance in 2005. After that, the geography of occupational benefits follows roughly the earlier observed ring pattern, with a low share in the central wards and a higher share in the outer wards.

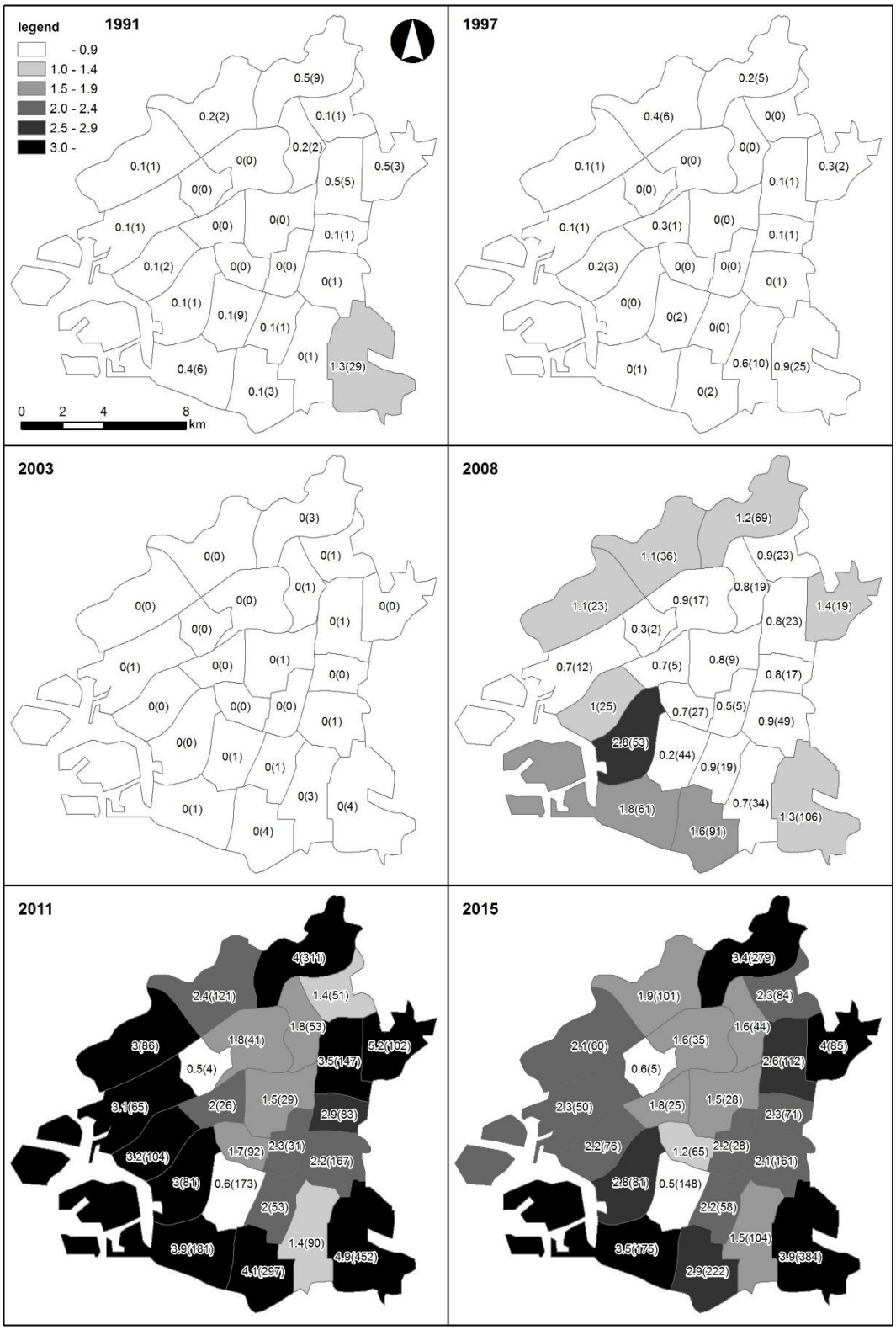
In the phase of consolidation an increase of the occupational benefits' share can be observed in the outer wards. As shown in figure 5.4.10 this increase was especially high in cluster 3 which reached a share of 1.4% equivalent to 934 households in 2008. Cluster 2 followed close, reaching a share of 1.0% equivalent to 139 households. In cluster 4 and 1 the increase was comparably moderate reaching 0.8% equivalent to 304 households, and 0.7% equivalent to 65 households

Figure 5.4.10 Occupational benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.11 Osaka city's changing geography of occupational benefits



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

In the phase of poverty inclusion the occupational benefits share increased further, especially in the wards in the West and North of Osaka city. In cluster 3 and 2 the share of occupational benefits increased rapidly, reaching 3.7% equivalent to 1,121 households and 2.9% equivalent to 562 households in 2011. With some distance cluster 1 and 4 followed reaching a share of 2.0% equivalent to 1,121 households and 1.7% equivalent to 223 households. Although cluster 1 had the highest absolute number of households receiving occupational benefits, as shown in figure 5.4.11 the low share of Nishinari ward pushed the share of the whole cluster considerably down.

After occupational benefits had peaked in the phase of poverty inclusion, in the phase of retreat their share declined again in relative and absolute terms. In cluster 3 and 2 the share decreased considerably to 3.2% equivalent to 850 households and 2.3% equivalent to 460 households in 2015. In cluster 1 and 4 occupational benefits declined too, reaching a share of 1.7% equivalent to 985 households and 1.5% equivalent to 186 households. Given this development, it can be assumed that occupational benefits were increasingly applied after 2009 to reduce the number of public assistance recipients considered to be able to work.

G) Spatial characteristics of funeral benefits

Because of their low number the interpretation of the geography of funeral benefits is difficult. Nevertheless, striking is the high number of funeral benefits receiving households in cluster 1, outnumbering at all time all other clusters. As shown by figure 5.4.13 this characteristic is strongly produced by the high number of funeral benefits receiving households in Nishinari ward.

In 1990, as shown in figure 5.4.12 cluster 1 had with a share of 0.52%, equivalent to 83 households, the highest share of funeral benefits. It was followed by cluster 4 with a share of 0.43% equivalent to 17 households. Cluster 2 and 3 followed close with a share of 0.35%, equivalent to 14 households, and 0.30%, equivalent to 24 households.

In the phase of neglect the share of funeral benefits in cluster 1 decreased while it increased in all other three clusters. In cluster 1 the share of funeral benefits dropped to 0.47% equivalent to 97 households. Further, in cluster 4 the share of funeral benefits increased exceeding even cluster 1 with 0.51% equivalent to 24 households. In cluster 3 and 2 the share increased as well reaching 0.38% equivalent to 29 households and 0.37% equivalent to 21 households.

In the phase of homeless inclusion the share of funeral benefits decreased in all four clusters. In cluster 1 it dropped to 0.38% equivalent to 144 households in 2003 and in cluster 4 it dropped to 0.36% equivalent to 29 households. In cluster 3 and 2 the share

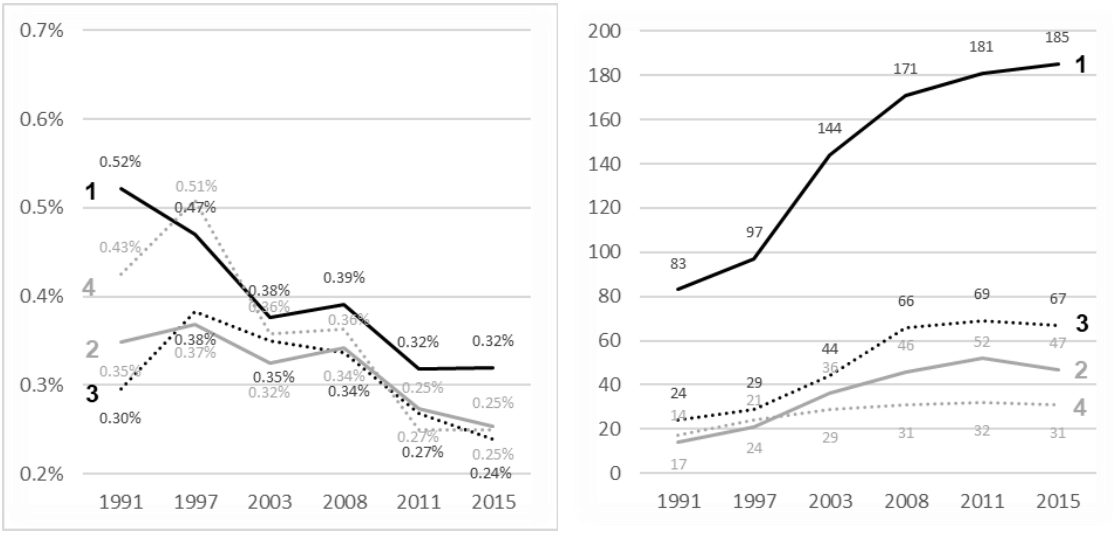
dropped to 0.35% equivalent to 44 households and 0.32% equivalent to 29 households.

In the phase of consolidation the share of funeral benefits did not change much in all clusters. In cluster 1 it increased slightly to 0.39% equivalent to 171 households while in cluster 4 it showed no significant change having a value of 0.36% equivalent to 31 households in 2008. Cluster 2 and 3 as well showed only slight changes both accounting for 0.34%, equivalent to 31 and 66 households.

In the phase of poverty inclusion the share of funeral benefits dropped further. In 2011 in cluster 1 it dropped to 0.32% equivalent to 181 households. In the clusters 2 and 3 the share dropped to 0.27% an equivalent to 52 and 69 households and in cluster 4 it dropped to 0.25% an equivalent of 32 households.

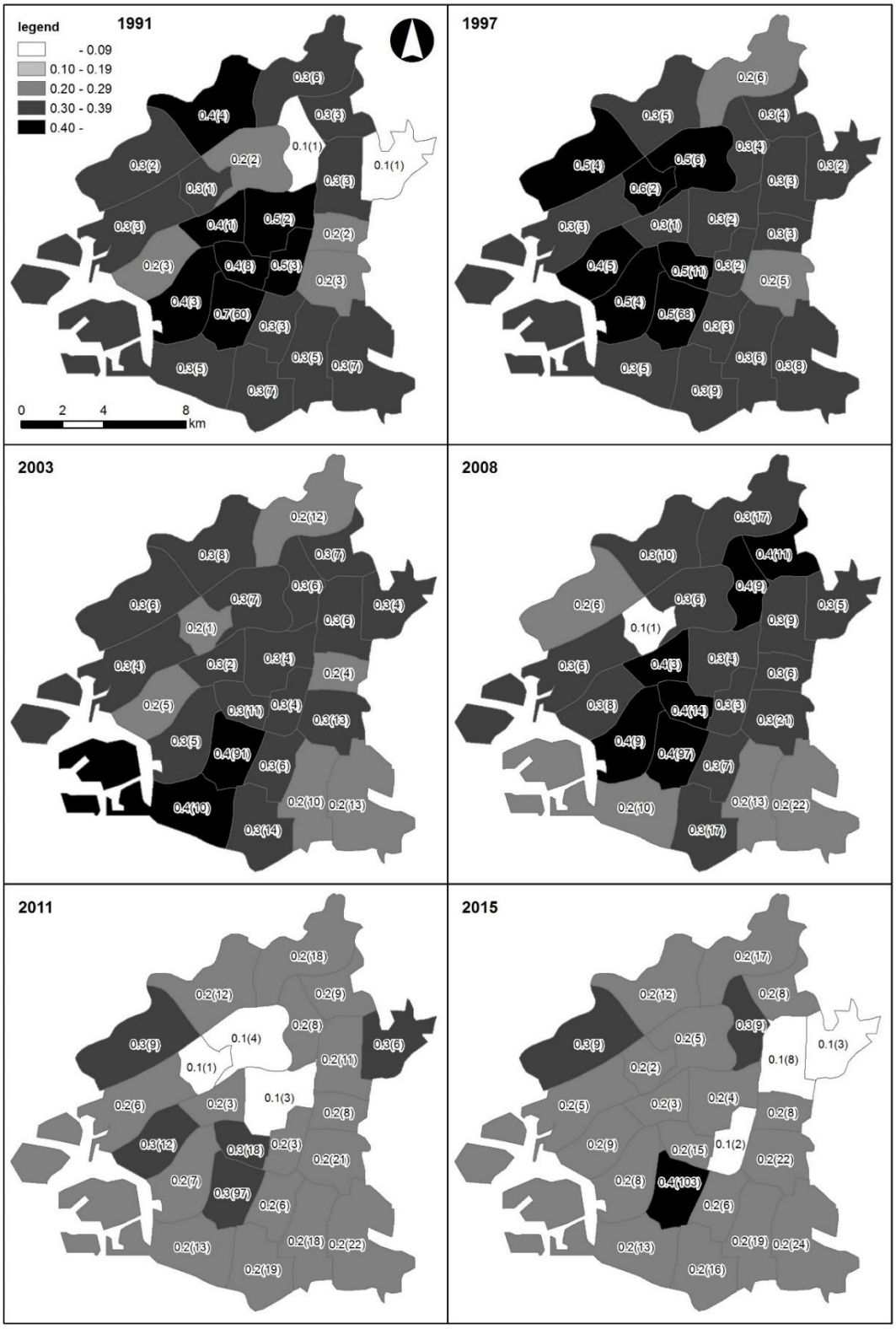
In the phase of retreat the share of funeral benefits stagnated further in all wards of the city. In 2015 in cluster 1 it had a share of 0.32% equivalent to 185 households. In cluster 2 and 4 the share was at 0.25% accounting for 47 and 31 households. Finally, in cluster 3 the share was not higher than 0.24% equivalent to 67 households.

Figure 5.4.12 Funeral benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.13 Osaka city's changing geography of funeral benefits



Source: 1991-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

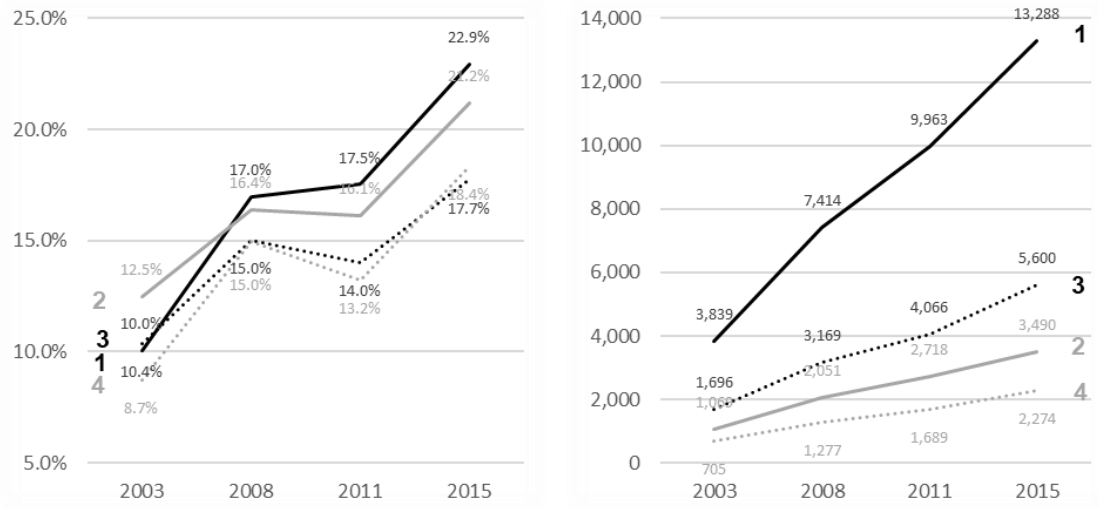
H) Spatial characteristics of care benefits

The share of care benefits, although newly introduced in 2000, showed a fast increase. They resemble the earlier observed ring pattern of central wards with a low share and outer wards, with a higher share, being especially high in the South of the city and the bay area.

During the phase of homeless inclusion care benefits were rapidly increasing, and the typical ring pattern became soon visible. As shown in figure 5.4.14 in 2003 cluster 2 had the highest share of 12.5% equivalent to 1,069 households. With some distance, it was followed by cluster 3, 1 and 4 accounting for 10.4% equivalent to 1,696 households, 10.0% equivalent to 3,839 households and 8.7% equivalent to 705 households. Figure 5.4.15 reveals that at this time the share of cluster 1 and 4 was dragged down by Nishinari wards relative low share, that still included clients of the Municipal Rehabilitation Counseling Office and sick travelers.

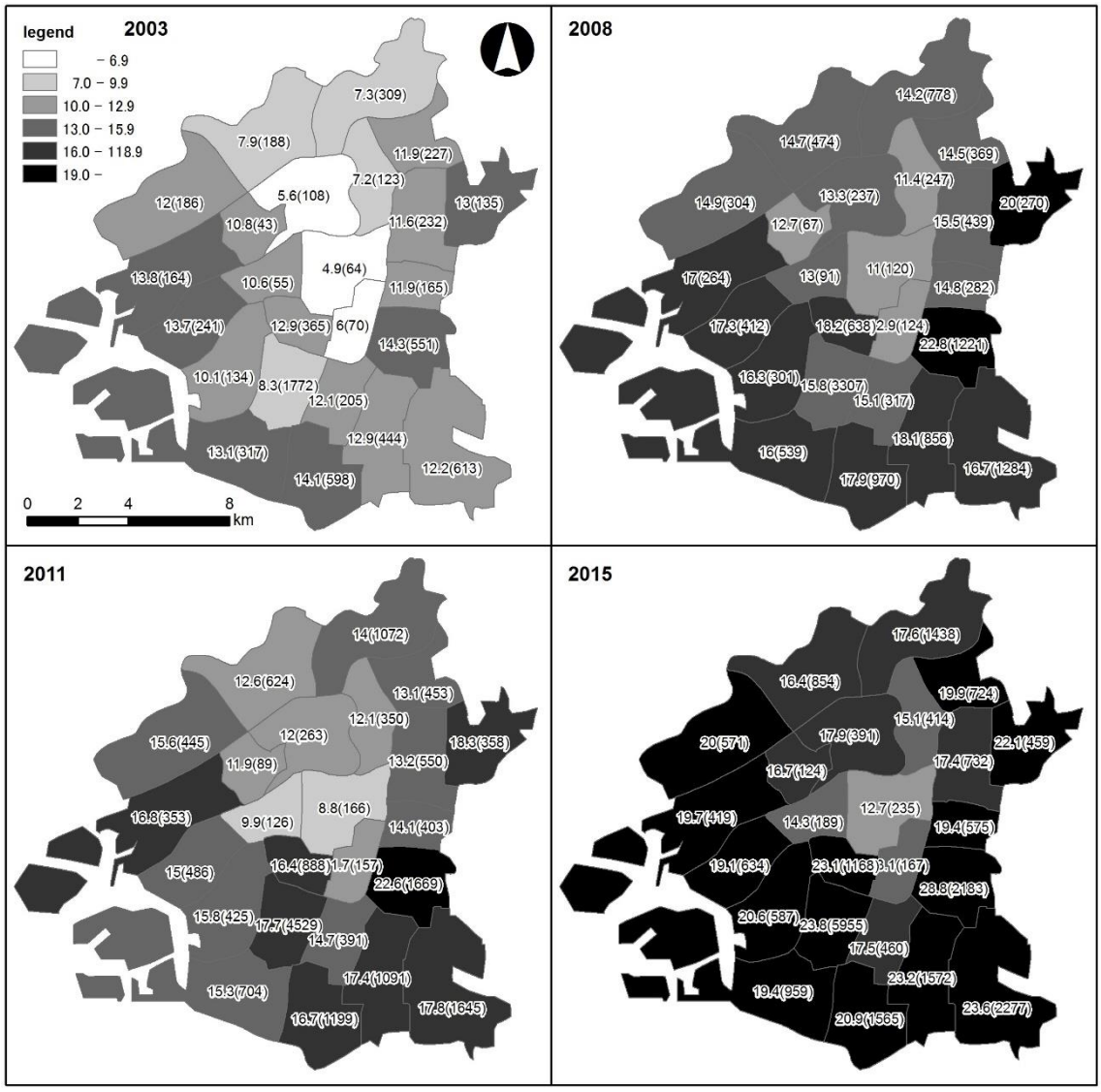
During the phase of consolidation the share of care benefits rapidly increased further, this time also in the central wards. In 2008 cluster 1 became with a share of 17.0% equivalent to 7,414 households the cluster with the highest share of care benefits, showing also an increase in Nishinari ward. Cluster 2 followed close, reaching a share of 16.4% equivalent to 2,051 households. In cluster 3 and 4 the share reached 15.0% in each, being equivalent to 3,169 and 1,277 households.

Figure 5.4.14 Care benefits receiving households and their share in the four clusters



Source: 2003-2010: OKF (2005-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

Figure 5.4.15 Osaka city's changing geography of care benefits



Source: 2003-2010: OKF (2005-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

In the phase of poverty inclusion the share of care benefits was in many areas decreasing slightly, suggesting that younger public assistance recipients increased relatively. Nevertheless, the absolute number of households receiving care benefits increased. In 2011 the share in cluster 1 increased slightly to 17.5% equivalent to 9,963 households, while it decreased in all other clusters. This was the case in cluster 2, where the share decreased slightly to 16.1% equivalent to 2,718 households. Cluster 1 and 4 showed a stronger decrease, declining to 14.0% equivalent to 4,066 households and 13.2% equivalent to 1,689 households.

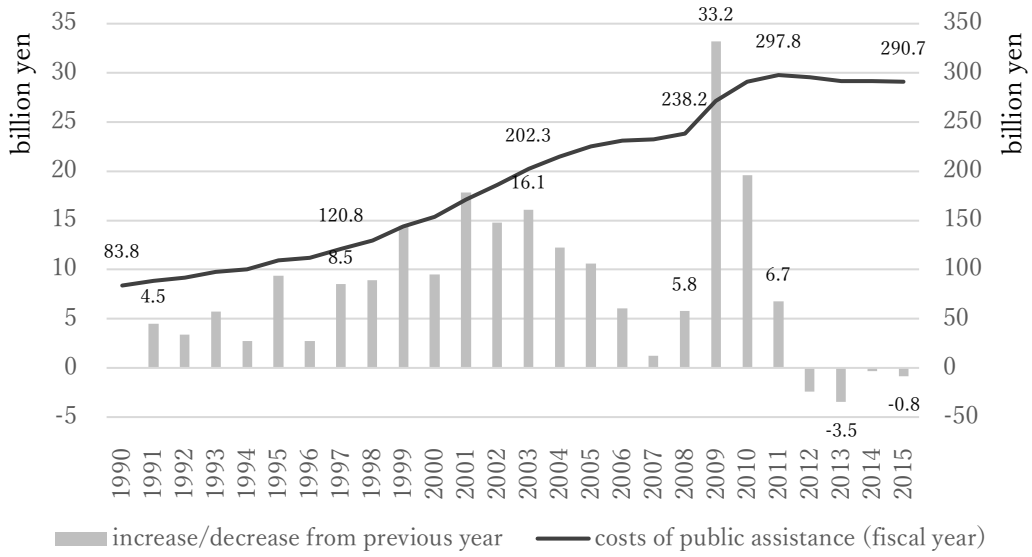
In the phase of retreat, the share of care benefits increased again strongly in all parts

of the city. Nevertheless, the ring pattern is still clearly visible, and the wards in the center of the city show a considerably lower share of care benefits than in the outer wards. Cluster 1 had the highest share of care benefits, reaching 22.9% equivalent to 13,288 households in 2015. It was closely followed by cluster 2 that had a share of 21.2% equivalent to 3,490 households. Cluster 4 and 3 followed with a small gap, reaching 18.4% equivalent to 2,274 households and 17.7% equivalent to 2,274 households, respectively.

5.5. The Costs of Public Assistance

The increase of public assistance receiving households and the changing provision of benefits had also a profound impact on the costs of public assistance. The development of the costs is here discussed according to the five phases of welfare regime restructuring.

Figure 5.5.1 Total costs of public assistance and annual increase/decrease (billion yen)



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

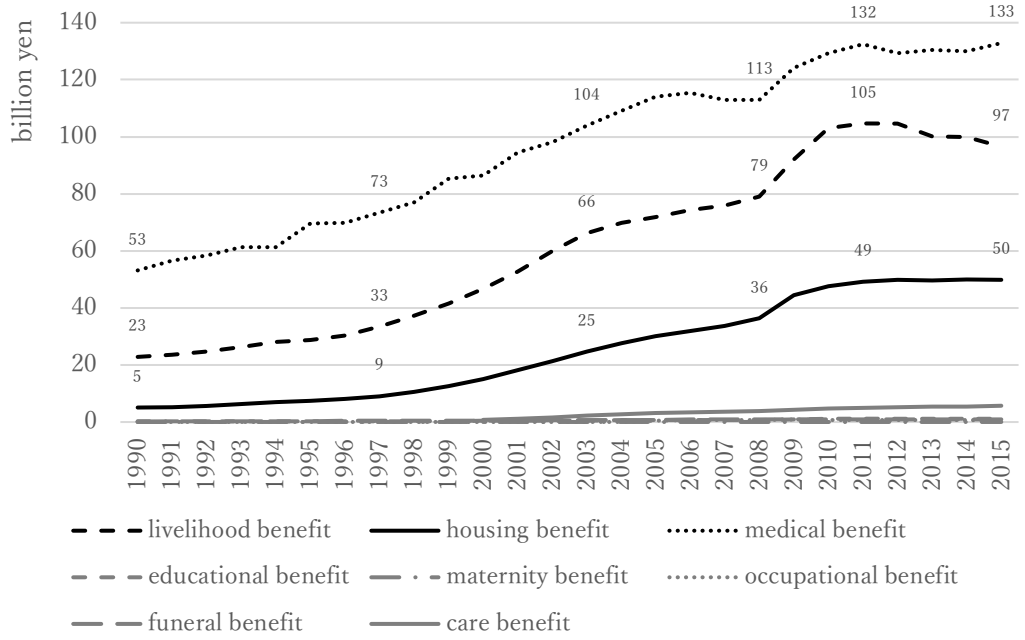
Figure 5.5.1 shows the total costs of public assistance and their annual increase/decrease in Osaka city. While in 1990 the total costs of public assistance have been 83.8 billion yen, they increased already during the phase of neglect, reaching 120.8 billion yen in 1997. The highest increase of costs occurred during the phase of homeless inclusion counting 202.3 billion yen in 2003. During the phase of consolidation only a

modest increase occurred and in 2008 the costs accounted for 238.2 billion yen. During the relative short phase of poverty inclusion public assistance costs increased again rapidly, reaching with 297.8 billion yen their peak in 2011. In the phase of retreat Osaka city's counter measures showed effect, and costs declined again to 290.7 billion yen in 2015.

At next these costs are analyzed according to the benefit types of public assistance. As figure 5.5.2 reveals, the bulk of the costs is carried by the three benefits, livelihood, housing, and medical benefits.

At all time the largest part of the costswas held by medical benefits, although they increased only moderately by a factor of 2.5 during the 25 years. In 1990 medical benefits accounted for 53.2 billion yen covering 65.2% of the total costs for public assistance. During the phase of neglect and the phase of homeless inclusion they increased steadily, reaching 104 billion yen in 2003. In the phase of consolidation this rapid increase was stopped, and in 2008 the costs of medical benefits reached only 113 billion yen. While during the phase of poverty inclusion, the costs increased again, reaching 132 billion yen in 2011, this development was halted in the phase of retreat and in 2015 they accounted for 133 billion yen. Due to the rapid development of other benefits the costs of medical benefits had lost a part of the share and account in 2015 for only 45.7% of the whole.

Figure 5.5.2 Public assistance costs per benefit type



Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017); Note: Year = fiscal year;

The costs for livelihood benefits increased by a factor of 4.2, faster than medical benefits. In 1990 they accounted for 22.8 billion yen, that was equivalent to 28.0% of the total costs. During the phase of neglect these costs increased slightly, reaching 33 billion yen in 1997. During the phase of homeless inclusion they started to increase rapidly, reaching 66 billion yen in 2003, twice as much as in 1997. This increase slowed down during the phase of consolidation, reaching 79 billion yen in 2008. In the phase of poverty inclusion they were increasing rapidly again, reaching 105 billion yen in 2011. This development changed during the phase of retreat, and the costs for livelihood benefits decreased to 97 billion yen, accounting for most of the total decrease at that time. Because of their relative fast increase during the 25 years, their share of the total costs increased, reaching 33.2% in 2015.

Although housing benefits accounted in 1990 only for 5 billion yen, and had a share of the total costs not larger than 6.2%, they increased during the 25 years by a factor of 9.7 much faster than the other benefit types. During the phase of neglect, the costs of housing benefits increased moderately, reaching 9 billion yen in 1997. A big change can be observed during the phase of homeless inclusion, when the costs for housing benefits nearly drippled, reaching 25 billion yen in 2003. In the phase of consolidation this increase slowed down, reaching 36 billion yen in 2008. After in the phase of poverty inclusion the costs of housing benefits had increased again rapidly, reaching 49 billion yen in 2011, in the phase of retreat this development was stopped, and they accounted for 50 billion yen in 2015. Their share of the total costs had increased considerably, covering 17.1% of them at that time.

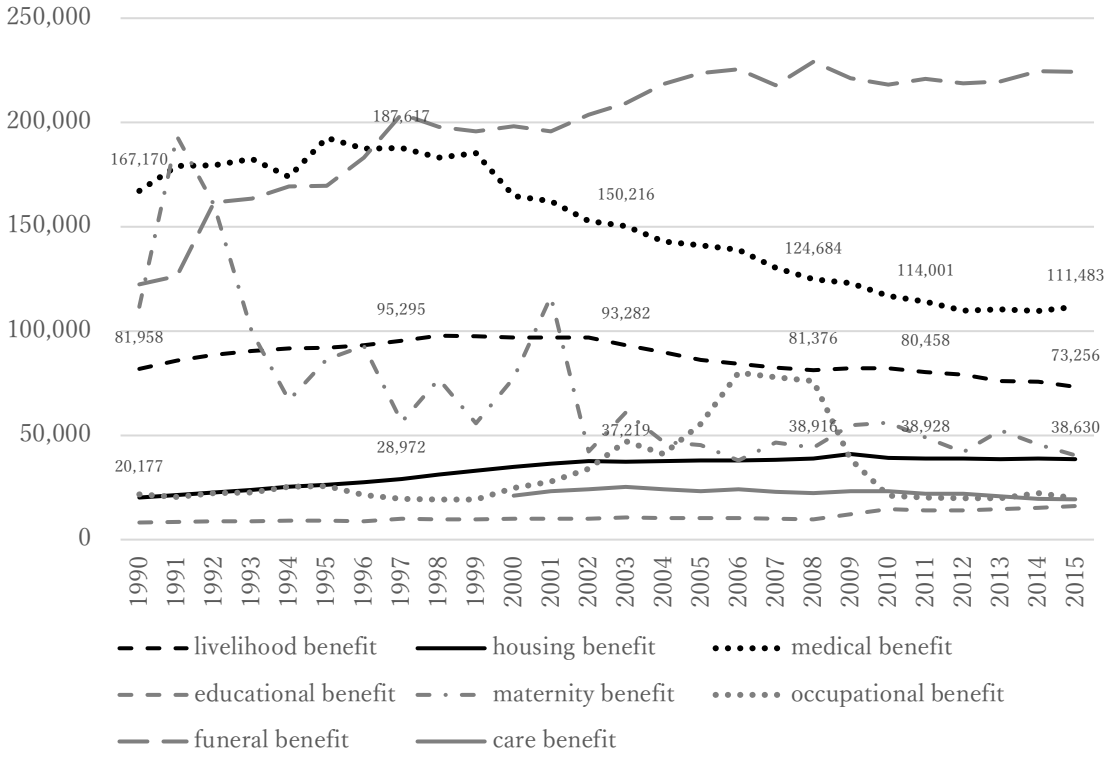
The costs of other benefits increased as well, but account only for a small share of the total public assistance costs. For instance, the costs for care benefits increased from 0.8 billion yen in 2000 to 5.7 billion yen in 2015, but their maximum share were only 2.0%. The share of the other benefits – educational, maternity, occupational and funeral benefits – stayed even beyond that.

The change of total costs per benefit type are not only associated with increasing/decreasing numbers of public assistance receiving households, but also with the average costs of a household. The average monthly costs per household are shown in figure 5.5.3 and the three benefit types associated with the highest costs are discussed in the following.

The average monthly costs per household of medical benefits were with 167.170 yen the highest in 1990. During the phase of neglect, they increased further, reaching 187,617 yen in 1997. During the phase of homeless inclusion this tendency was turned around and the costs decreased to 150.216 until 2003. In the phase of consolidation and

poverty inclusion the costs of medical benefits per household continued to decline and reached 114,001 yen in 2011. This decline slowed down during the phase of retreat, and they accounted in 2015 for 111,483 yen.

Figure 5.5.3 Public assistance benefits average monthly costs per household



Source: Calculated from household number (Source: 1990-1999: OMSC (1993-2000), 2000-2010: OKF (2002-2012), 2011-2015: Osaka city (2014-2017)) and total costs of the benefit (OTCT (1991-2016)); Note: Year = fiscal year;

The average monthly costs per household of livelihood benefits were in 1990 only half of the costs of medical benefits, accounting for 95,295 yen. They did not change crucially during the phase of homeless inclusion and accounted in 2003 for 93,282 yen. During the phase of consolidation they decreased to 81,376 yen, while they showed in the phase of poverty inclusion no crucial change, accounting for 80.458 yen in 2011. During the phase of retreat they declined further to 73,256 yen in 2015, being now considerably under their level from 1990.

Finally, the average monthly costs per household of housing benefits showed a contrary development. In 1990 their costs were with 20,177 yen rather low, but increased already during the phase of neglect, reaching 28,972 yen in 1997. During the phase of homeless

inclusion they increased further, reaching 37,219 yen in 2003. From there on they showed no other crucial change, increasing only slightly during the phase of consolidation and poverty inclusion. In 2011 they accounted for 38,928 yen. During the phase of retreat they declined slightly accounting for 38,630 yen in 2015.

The discussion on public assistance costs showed that, although the costs for all benefit types were increasing, especially the housing, livelihood and medical benefits accounted for the bulk of costs. Under these the costs for housing benefits stand out through their fast increase during the 25 years. This was caused not only by the increase of public assistance receiving households, but also by the development of the average monthly costs of the different benefit types. While the average monthly costs of medical and livelihood were decreasing, the average monthly costs of housing benefits increased especially in the phase of homeless inclusion and stayed at a high level.

5.6. Summary

The analysis of data on public assistance revealed how public assistance receiving households changed in Osaka city, and gave also some insights on their spatial development according to the socio-economic characteristics in the 24 wards.

The number of public assistance receiving households was especially strongly increasing during the phase of homeless inclusion and poverty inclusion, while it started to decrease in the phase of retreat. Nevertheless, the analysis of approvals and abolitions of public assistance showed, that the data is biased towards, long term recipients. Especially until the phase of homeless inclusion, a large number of short term recipients were not adequately reflected in the published data. Mainly they consisted of day laborers, which were approved public assistance through the executive authority of case workers. The analysis of public assistance benefits, showed that especially livelihood, housing and medical benefits had a considerably high share of the whole public assistance receiving households. While the share of medical benefits shows no crucial changes, that of livelihood and housing benefits started to increase especially during the phase of homeless inclusion and both reached in 2015 over 90%. Outstanding was the share of housing benefits, which increased with over 25% more than the other two.

Public assistance receiving households were initially strongly dominated by elderly households and households of sick or handicapped people but shifted during the phase of neglect and homeless inclusion towards elderly households. During the phase of poverty inclusion, the share of other households increased rapidly but decreased again during the phase of retreat in favor for elderly households. These findings are also

supported by the age distribution of public assistance recipients, suggesting that the increase of other households is related to a temporary increase of younger people. Most of the public assistance receiving households were single households, that increased further to more than four-fifths during the 25 years. The analysis showed also that while the number of public assistance receiving households with people in employment was declining during the phase of neglect, they increased during the phase of consolidation, accelerating even further during the phase of poverty inclusion and retreat.

The development of public assistance costs mirrors the increase of public assistance receiving households, increasing fast during the phase of homeless inclusion and poverty inclusion, and declining in the phase of retreat. Livelihood, housing and medical benefits accounted for the bulk of the costs. While medical benefits had already increased during the phase of neglect, all three increased especially during the phase of homeless inclusion and poverty inclusion. Out of these three housing benefits increased the fastest by a factor of 9.7, expanding their share of the total costs to 17.1% in 2015. Further, while the average monthly costs of medical benefits started to decline in the phase of homeless inclusion, and that of livelihood benefits in the phase of consolidation, the average monthly costs of housing benefits increased especially during the phase of homeless inclusion and stayed at a high level.

The spatial analysis of public assistance receiving households revealed several concentration patterns. According to the analysis of the 24 wards' socio-economic characteristics a gap between (4) the city center which is dominated by new non-wooden private tenements with less vacancies, a low rate of people employed in the manufacturing industry and an increasing relatively young population, and the outer wards, exists. While (2) the Northern wards had still an increasing and younger population, the by wooden tenements characterized (1) South-eastern wards, and by public housing characterized (3) bay area wards were heavily hit by deindustrialization, had a rapidly declining and aging population and high vacancy rates.

The spatial analysis of public assistance showed that while in 1990 public assistance receiving households were contained through the Airin Policy in Nishinari ward, this started to change during the phase of homeless inclusion. Public assistance receiving households increased in the outer wards, especially in the (1) South-eastern and (3) bay area wards. Single households and elderly people increased in all four clusters. Their increase was especially strong in (1) the South-eastern wards, while (3) the bay area wards preserved a high rate of multi member households and younger people.

This ring pattern had also a qualitative character that became visible through the analysis of benefit types. Initially, livelihood and housing benefits were especially low in

areas with a high number of homeless people. These were (4) the city center and (1) the South-eastern wards which's rate considerably decreased through the presence of many homeless people in Nishinari ward. While medical benefits showed no clear spatial characteristics educational and occupational benefits were especially high in (2) the Northern and (3) the bay area wards, which had a higher percentage of younger public assistance recipients. Contrary care and funeral benefits had especially in (1) the South-eastern wards, strongly influenced by the presence of Nishinari ward, a high share.

This concentration is in line with Iwata's (2017) findings about the concentration of public assistance recipients. On the one side (3) the bay area wards with their high percentage of public housing, showed high rates of public assistance receiving households. This concentration was created through the very construction of public housing that improved the living environment of the poor without addressing the issue of poverty, confining them in particular places. On the other side these were areas were private wooden tenements concentrated, associated with (1) the South-eastern wards. The findings show that this area can be considered to attract public assistance recipients, especially aged single men.

Under (1) the South-eastern wards the three wards Nishinari, Ikuno and Higashisumiyoshi, which have a particularly high rate of private wooden tenements stand out. They were also in 2015 the three wards with the highest rate of public assistance receiving households, having a high rate of single households and elderly people, suggesting that they absorbed many of the homeless people that went on public assistance. The JR Shin-Imamiya station in Nishinari ward, the Kintetsu Yata station in Higshisumiyoshi ward, and the Kintetsu Imazato station in Ikuno ward were frequently named by the interviewed real estate agents, discussed in the following chapter, as marking the three areas in Osaka city with a low-rent housing market attractive for former homeless people. The next chapter turns to Nishinari ward, which had the highest rate of public assistance receiving households, in order to discuss the changes that occurred in the housing market due to the increase of public assistance recipients.

6. The Inner City as Space for Entrepreneurial Welfare

This chapter, analyses the changes in Nishinari ward's housing market that occurred due to the change of public assistance policies. First it gives an overview on the development of the housing market and its relation to the local industries, that formed the tenant revenue base. It shows how the downturn of the local industry caused a crisis in the housing market, which faced difficulties to acquire new residents. Before this background, the gains promised by the housing business for public assistance recipients were welcomed by the housing market.

Therefore, many of the real estate agents and landlords altered their business framework, enabling them to cope with the new situation. Based on interviews with local landlords and real estate agents the most outstanding strategies they developed are discussed and their meaning for the real estate business analyzed.

6.1. A Short Historical Overview on Nishinari Ward

A) The urbanization of Nishinari ward

Nishinari ward is characterized, and strongly associated with two socially disadvantaged areas in its northern part: the burakumin area called "North West Nishinari" and, the day laborer area called "Airin District". Although located geographically next to each other, both areas have their own distinctive housing market.

North West Nishinari[13] historically developed as a residential area mixed with small industry and commerce in the 1910s (Haraguchi 2002). At a fast pace, it absorbed large numbers of people from rural areas in Japan and the Korean peninsula, who were attracted by Osaka's booming industry. In the western part of Nishinari, ship yards, spinning mills and other factories flourished, and the workers settled in their vicinity (Iwayama et al. 2014). Typically for areas developed before the introduction of urban planning and building regulations, North West Nishinari was densely built up and characterized by a poor living environment. Roads and alleys were narrow, ending frequently in impasses, and open spaces like parks were minimal (Mizuuchi, Katō & Ōshiro 2008).

The northern part of North West Nishinari was heavily bombed during the Second World War and turned afterwards partly into a shanty town mainly inhabited by the *burakumin.* Following fierce campaigning by the Buraku Liberation Movement, that was

[13] The term "North West Nishinari" stems from the area's designation as a "densely built up residential area with high priority for intervention" by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism in 2002 (TS 2008).

itself a reaction to a discriminative city policy, public housing provision was started in 1960 and subsequently the entire area was officially designated as a "Dōwa District". This opened up possibilities for large scale public funding in the form of public housing estate construction (BKDNS 1998). However, these developments didn't reach into the southern parts which had been spared from the World War Two bombings, thereby retaining substandard pre-war living environments. From the 1950s onwards, the *burakumin* developed a vibrant leather industry around the eastern part of the Tsurumibashi Shopping Street, which became the commercial center of this area, popularly known as "Shoe Street" in Osaka (Iwayama et al. 2014). Yet, outside investors avoided this area due to the general stigma that the Dowa District carried. Therefore, most of the investments in the real estate market came from the profits made by the booming leather, ship and machinery industry, joined by the local business men active in commerce. Eventually new kinds of wooden tenement houses like *bunkajūtaku*[14] and apartment buildings[15] were added to the pre-war *nagaya*[16] housing stock.

The urbanization of the "Airin Distict" started at the beginning of the 1900s through the construction of flophouses for the lower working class (Yoshimura 2012). After the Second World War, land readjustments were conducted to facilitate the reconstruction of war-damaged areas and from the 1950s onwards it revived as a flophouse district, becoming even larger than before, already registering 134 flophouses in 1960. The original flophouses were wooden two-story buildings with rooms not larger than 3.3m^2 or large dormitories. They were mainly rented to day laborers working in the port and construction industry (Haraguchi 2003). The establishment of the "Airin System" in 1966s heralded some crucial changes. Next to the institutionalization of the district as *yoseba*, most of the flophouses were rebuilt, driven by the construction boom of the 1970 World Exposition (Haraguchi 2003) and later the bubble economy in the second half of the 1980s. Today they are typically 6-9 story high light-gauge steel and ferro-concrete buildings with elevators and 4.9 m^2 rooms, equipped with color television and air conditioning (Hirakawa 2011).

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[14] *Bunkajūtaku* is a tenement building predominantly built in the Kansai region during the 1950s and 1960s. Typically it is a two-floored building made of wood and plaster, with several flats in a row. Meaning "culture housing", it takes pride in the higher living standard it offered with a toilet in every flat, but lacks nevertheless a bathroom.

[15] In the Japanese context apartment buildings (*apāto*) are wooden tenement houses with shared toilets and without bathroom.

[16] *Nagaya* are wooden row houses without bathroom that were the standard housing before the Second World War in Osaka.

B) Crisis of the housing market

Over time, reinvestments in both areas gradually declined, suddenly halting when the Japanese economy fell into stagnation at the beginning of the 1990s, Japan's socio-economic landscape changed dramatically at that time, followed by a long deflationary period that lasted until the 2000s. In Osaka city, the subsequent economic restructuring was mostly felt in the inner city areas, like Nishinari ward, where precarious sectors have borne the brunt (Mizuuchi, Katō & Ōshiro 2008).

North West Nishinari started economically declining from the second half of the 1970s when the shipyards were gradually dismantled (Haraguchi & Sakurada 2016). In the 1980s, the leather production and processing industry followed due to the rise of artificial leather and intensifying international competition caused by tariff deregulations (Kiener & Kornatowski 2015). In addition, local shoe shops started to sell their products at department stores and gradually retreated from the Tsurumibashi Shopping Street, which lead to its continuing decline. Under the general stagnation of the Japanese economy at the beginning of the 1990s Nishinari ward's manufacturing industry suffered further, reducing its workers from 14,812 to 3,978 people in the 25 years till 2015. This pushed the real estate market into acute crisis. The demand for old tenement buildings started to decline, while the younger generation of tenement buildings owners moved away from the area, the remaining aged owners had increasingly difficulties maintaining their property. A steady increase in vacant houses and an aging of residents was the result. The Osaka city government tried to tackle this problem and proposed a plan to ameliorate the built environment, turning the area into a place that is "friendly to elderly people and attractive to the younger generation" (TS 2008). But this plan was soon abandoned because of insufficient response from the private market (Mizuuchi et al. 2002). Although two organizations that had roots in the Buraku Liberation Movement initiated some market oriented housing projects, only a limited number of new housing and welfare facilities were constructed, far too little to overcome the crisis.

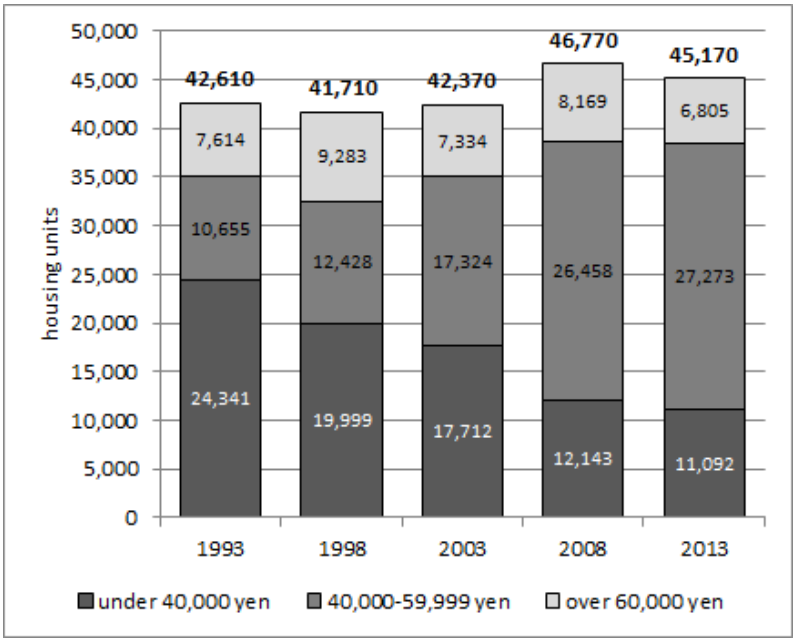
In the Airin District the rebuilding of flophouses was suddenly halted in the second half of the 1990s, when public investment in the construction sector decreased. Consequently, the construction industry lost its ability to absorb unskilled workers, leaving numerous day laborers without job opportunities (Aoki 2003). This is reflected in the numbers of Nishinari ward's construction workers, that decreased from 21,745 in 1990 to 2,225 people in 2015. A large number could not afford the rents for flophouses any longer, and were forced into homelessness (Hirakawa 2011). The flophouses were hit hard by this situation, and some even had to manage vacancy rates of 50% and more (Shōji 2015).

The analyses of the housing market showed that the production industry that sustained the local housing market was hollowed out due to ongoing restructuring under globalization and the rapid shrinking of the construction industry after a collapse of public investment. This led to decreases in tenant revenues and pushed the inner city housing market into serious crisis, becoming evident in high vacancy rates and disinvestment.

C) Emerging housing market for public assistance recipients

The increase of public assistance recipients is reflected in the dynamics of Nishinari ward's rental housing market. While until 1998 the number of rental housing units was decreasing, this tendency changed when the scope of public assistance expanded.

Figure 6.1.1 Change of housing stock in Nishinari ward



Source: STK (2016)

According to figure 6.1.1, the amount of rental housing increased slightly by 660 units between 1998 and 2003, and then dramatically by 4,400 units between 2003 and 2008. By 2013 it decreased again by 1,600 units in response to Osaka city's countermeasures. Units in the price range of 40,000 to 60,000 yen commonly preferred by public assistance recipients receiving the maximum amount of housing allowance benefits increased by 4,896 units between 1998 and 2003 and by 9,134 units between 2003 and 2008. Between 2008 and 2013 the sector stabilized and increased incrementally by 815 units. This rise was especially noticeable in the amount of dwelling units sized 10.9m² and smaller and

10.9 to 20.0m², which increased between 2003 and 2008 by 2,190 units and 6,780 units[17]. On the other hand, units cheaper than 40,000 yen decreased between 1998 and 2013 by 9,093 units, suggesting that a considerable part of the rental housing market was restructured towards the intake of public assistance recipients. These transformations were briefly accompanied by a slowdown in vacancy rates in the local housing market. Vacancies had constantly been increasing, from 16.7% to 19.9% between 1998 and 2003, but stabilized at 20.0% in 2008 when the market for welfare housing was peaking. The amount of vacancies eventually reached 23.8% in 2013, making Nishinari ward Osaka city's number one ward in vacancy rates.

In 2013, 60.4% of all rental units were in the price range of 40,000 to 60,000 yen, which is nearly twice as much as Osaka city's average of 32.7%. Since the market for units over 60,000 yen is rather underdeveloped, the average rent of 45,552 yen in Nishinari ward is far lower than that of Osaka city's average of 56,641 yen. But a comparison in unit sizes shows that these units only have an average size of 16.5m², which is considerably lower than that of Osaka city's 21.5m² (ST 2016). This suggests that the market for public assistance recipients consists of small and cheap units.

This change was produced by landlords and real estate agents who seized the opportunity of housing public assistance recipients into a new type of profitable housing known as "welfare apartments". The local conditions of Nishinari ward's housing market played a crucial role in this new trend. First, the depressed land prices were a major factor. In 2015 the land price in North West Nishinari ward's Tsurumibashi was less than one third of that in Kitahorie, a trendy residential neighborhood bordering Osaka city's CBD in the west[18]. Although outsiders avoid the area due to its history as a residential area for *burakumin* and day laborers, it became a suitable residential area for public assistance recipients who are often rejected by the common private rental market. Combined with the relatively high and stable housing allowance benefits, investments into welfare housing in Nishinari ward became highly profitable. Our interviewees expected return rates of 10-11% in North West Nishinari, and up to 30-35% in the Airin District, far exceeding the average of about 6% for one room rental apartments in Osaka city (KREINS 2014).

Second, sufficient vacancies were available to absorb a large number of homeless

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[17] Flat sizes in Japan are normally calculated in the amount of *tatami* mats. In the Kansai region one *tatami* corresponds to approximately 1.82m2, but many flophouses use smaller *tatami*.

[18] The compared places are Tsurumibashi 1chō-me 10ban 19 rated 150.000 yen and Kitahorie 1chō-me 44ban rated 445.000 yen. Both areas are comparable zones for normal commerce (TK 2016).

people. In North West Nishinari, real estate agents started to target the old wooden tenement housing stock and landlords had become less anxious to admit public assistance recipients into their apartments (EAK 2010). Since the flophouses in the Airin District are run under the Hotel Business Law, their residents in Osaka are not eligible for public assistance. Therefore, they had to be converted into welfare apartments by abandoning the flophouse business. In accordance with the changes in Nishinari ward's rental housing market, flophouse conversion gained momentum during the 2000s, reaching in 2010 about half of the 199 flophouse buildings (Mizuuchi & Hirakawa 2011). The scope of these welfare apartments is fairly wide, sometimes being not much more than a change of name on official documents, and sometimes including a complex menu of genuine services (Inada 2011).

Third, the proximity to the Airin District became an important factor for recruiting clients and providing welfare services. Since traditionally many homeless people come to the Airin District new residents could be recruited through available information on the streets or welfare organizations and hospitals that are concentrated in the area (Inada 2011). Proximity to numerous welfare providers, like home care services, also became crucial for care-dependent public assistance recipients (EAK 2010).

This section showed how the extension of the scope for public assistance enabled a response on part of the housing market. The production of welfare housing was further stimulated by the inherent characteristics of the inner city that turned it into a profitable business. Through this development more than half of the rental housing was geared towards public assistance recipients, changing the tenants' revenue base crucially.

6.2. Landlords and Real Estate Agents

In order to understand how this new geography of public assistance receiving households emerged, changes of the housing market on the ground were identified through qualitative semi-structured interviews with landlords and real estate agents. In total, 26 cases were collected as shown in figure 6.2.1. These cases consist of 11 landlords (L1-L11), nine real estate agents owning a considerable number of buildings (R12-R20) and six real estate agents who engage in developing, brokering or managing buildings but do not own them (R21-R26).

Figure 6.2.1 Overview on the interviewed landlords and real estate agents

ID	year of interview	type	legal body	area	start		number of flats in Nishinari		renovation		selection of residents		monitoring		support	
					general business	welfare housing	managed	owned	*nagaya*, *bunkajūtaku* and detached houses	condominiums and apartment buildings	network	screening of residents	buildings with manned counter	buildings without counter	general assistance	professional home care services**
L1	2007	ll	pp	NWN	1960	-	23	23	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes
L2	2015	ll	pp	other	*-	1995	38	38	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
L3	2015	ll	pp	Airin	1975	-	48	48	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
L4	2007 2015	ll	pp	NWN	*1963	-	30	30	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes
L5	2015	ll	sc	NWN	*1985	-	196	196	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
L6	2015	ll	pp	NWN other	*1999	1999	250	250	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no
L7	2016	ll	pp	Airin	*-	2001	120	120	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
L8	2016	ll	NPO	Airin	2008	2008	40	0	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
L9	2016	ll	pp	Airin	2014	2014	11	11	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
L10	2015	ll	sc	NWN	*-	-	3	3	no	no	-	-	no	yes	no	no
L11	2015	ll	wf	NWN	1995	1995	173	173	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
R12	2007	rea, ll	sc	NWN	1998	1998	200	75	yes	no	-	-	-	-	-	-
R13	2015	rea, ll	pp	Airin other	2003	2003	-	-	-	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
R14	2015	rea, ll	-	Airin	-	-	50	50	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes
R15	2015	rea, ll	pp	NWN other	2000	2000	80	80	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
R16	2015	rea, ll	lc	Airin	2000	-	-	-	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no
R17	2007 2016	rea, ll	sc	NWN	*-	-	-	-	yes	no	-	-	no	yes	yes	no
R18	2016	rea, ll	sc	NWN other	2004	2004	219	0	no	no	-	-	yes	no	yes	yes
R19	2016	rea, ll	pp	Airin, other	*1954	-	40	-	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
R20	2017	rea, ll	sc	Airin other	2005	2014	30	30	yes	no	-	-	no	yes	yes	yes
R21	2007	rea	-	NWN	*1961	-	-	-	yes	no	-	-	no	yes	yes	yes
R22	2007	rea	-	NWN	1997	1997	-	-	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
R23	2013 2014 2015	rea	lc	NWN Airin other	2003	2003	480	0	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no
R24	2014 2016	rea	sc	NWN	1997	1997	147	0	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes
R25	2015	rea	sc	NWN other	2011	2011	30	0	no	no	yes	-	no	no	yes	no
R26	2015	rea	sc	NWN Airin other	2011	2011	0	0	no	no	yes	-	no	no	yes	no

Note: rea = real estate agent, ll = landlord, NWN = North West Nishinari; pp = private person, lc = limited company, sc = stock company, wf = welfare foundation, NPO = nonprofit organization; *Business that continues over more than one generation; **Professional home care services provided or introduced by the landlord or real estate agent.

The criteria for selecting these cases were based on whether they accommodate welfare recipients, and own, manage or broker welfare apartments in Nishinari. These companies were of small scale, usually run by only one or two people. Only a few organizations like "L11" and "R24", both related to the buraku liberation movement, or "R18", a large welfare organization, that engage in a large variety of activities had a large number of staff surpassing 100 people, although most of them were not assigned to welfare housing. They managed between 3 and 480 flats. Because some do not keep clear records, the flat numbers of only 21 cases could be collected. In total, they manage 2,208 units, thereby housing approximately 8.8% of the 25,015 households receiving public assistance in Nishinari ward in 2015.

As it is typical for Japan (Hirayama 2009) most of the landlords were private persons, that engage in amateur real estate business. On the other side real estate agents, although they were of small scale, were mostly stock companies, or limited companies. Other legal bodies with a strong social mission like NPOs or welfare foundations were rather rare. The people engaging in these companies varied from those related to crime organization (*yakuza*), to those who are purely business-oriented and those who aim to provide genuine help.

Under the landlords and real estate agents were people who started business with the declared aim to house public assistance recipients, as well as people who's family had run over several generations housing business in the area that had to adapt to the new circumstances. Below both groups are discussed in detail.

A) The lure of the welfare housing business

The profits promised by the welfare housing business, enabled through the expansion of the public assistance scope, attracted many people who became active in this business in Nishinari ward. Out of the interviewed 26 landlords and real estate agents, 11 started business with the clear aim to cater to public assistance recipients. Six of these landlords and real estate agents opened their business in the phase of homeless inclusion, indicating that during this time the welfare housing business was most promising. Further during the phase of consolidation one, the phase of poverty inclusion two, and the phase of retreat one further landlord or real estate agent opened business[19].

People who started their business during the phase of homeless inclusion, had most times ties to Nishinari ward and had a crucial moment in which they realized that welfare housing is a profitable business. A typical example is "R15" a real estate agent

[19] Since the year one of the landlords opened its welfare housing business is unknown, only ten landlords and real estate agents could be listed.

who owns eight buildings in Nishinari ward and whose parents were running a café in the area. When he started his business in the year 2000, land prices dropped and welfare housing was less known, making it easy to buy a property at a low price. By renovating or rebuilding the building relative high revenues could be gained through public assistance recipients who could receive at that time a maximum of 42,500 yen housing benefits. Because of the high demand he could easily find tenants even while the building was still under construction.

"R15", a member of a crime organization, came to the real estate business more by chance. In 2000, he was asked by a befriended flophouse manager to help him with his business. Because of the economic downturn residents, most of them had been day laborers, could no longer afford the rent. At that time only 7-8 permanent residents were living in the 120 rooms of the flophouse he manages, making it highly unprofitable. With the aim of turning the building in a welfare apartment, he found a new owner, renovated the rooms with the help of homeless people from the nearby park and searched new tenants who want to go on public assistance. After successfully helping the flophouse manager, he continued to do this business and expended it by collaborating with other landlords and buying some buildings by his own.

This pattern is similar to "R23" who had worked already at a real estate agent in Nishinari ward. He was approached by many of the local landlords, who were most times elderly people, and asked to help them with their apartment business by finding new tenants. While this was initially a troublesome issue he had no solution for, this changed with an encounter of a homeless man who came to his shop in order to get help to go on public assistance and find an apartment. By understanding that there was a demand for housing from homeless people, that had just became able to apply for housing protection, a new business idea was born and he started in 2003 his own welfare housing business.

This pattern changed over time, and those who started their business in the phase of poverty inclusion or retreat, were either people who came from outside and had learned on the job about welfare housing business or just had heard that one can make a fortune with it. A typical example is "R26" who had no connection to Nishinari ward, but had worked at "R16". After working there for several years and learning about the welfare housing business, he started in 2011 his own real estate business.

"L9" on the other side started his welfare housing business in 2014 after hearing about the high profits it promises. He bought one building in the Airin District with the expectation of being able to expand his business. But he soon got convinced that he was cheated, because of the high stigma that derived from the many homeless people in the vicinity. Because of the location he judged that the building is difficult to sell at the

expected price. Nevertheless “L9” considers welfare housing as profitable and aims to buy a new building in North East Nishinari, where not so many homeless people are around.

B) Adapting to the changing environment

But more frequently already in Nishinari ward established landlords and real estate agents adapted their business to the increase of public assistance recipients. Out of the 26 landlords and real estate agents, 15 have been operational in Nishinari ward before the welfare apartment business started gaining momentum. Eight of them have been doing so for two generations or more.

For instance, “L2” a landlord in North West Nishinari, had inherited a lot of land in the area. While it was originally for agricultural use, after the Second World War it became quickly a housing area where people working in the booming leather industry settled. But around 1995 the land together with the buildings was given back to the landlord, because the next generation did not want to live there any more. In search for a new way to utilize the buildings he started to gear his buildings towards public assistance recipients. He especially aimed at day laborers that were living in the flophouses which are much smaller and poorer equipped than the flats he offered. “Originally other people were living in my apartments. When they moved out I renovated the buildings. I thought, ‘if I install a toilet and bathroom in every apartment they [former day laborers] will come’, and as expected, they came.”

In the case of the flophouses that were converted to supportive houses this adaption was a clear break with the earlier business and came with a strong determination to provide support for public assistance recipients. The example of “L7” showed this clearly. After the husband of the flophouse owner, whose parents were already in this business, had died, she took over the business. Since, at that time vacancies were over 50%, and the business was not profitable any more, she decided in 2001 to turn it into a supportive house. Therefore she gave up the flophouse business, renovated the building and started to provide a series of new services, that aimed especially to help homeless people to move in and support the lives of elderly public assistance recipients. Next to a full renovation, this involved a series of new services that were payed as part of the rent.

“R16” on the other hand is a real estate agent, which’s business was started by the parents of her husband in 1954. At that time there were many people working in the construction industry living in the area, sustaining a stable housing market. Although she did not actively reached out for public assistance recipients, their number started to increase in the buildings she was managing. As a consequents, she had to adapt her

business to this new situation. She applied methods to select clients, monitor them and connect them to home care providers, that are described in the next section. Although she recognized these activities as different to the normal real estate business, they were not part of an active strategy to promote welfare housing. They were rather necessary adaptions to the changing environment.

The adaption of welfare housing was in the case of newer established business, that started from the late 1990s, often a method to serve for their already existing clientele. For instance, “L11” and “R24” have both roots in the buraku liberation movement, and provide a wide range of services, like home care or work support for handicapped people, to their community. As part of these services they started to venture also into the welfare housing business, by focusing especially on specialized facilities like housing facilities with support for elderly people (*sapōto tsuki kōreisha jūtaku*) or nursing homes (*tokubetsu yōgo rōjin hōmu*).

But also the effective utilization of some buildings was a reason to venture into the welfare housing business for newly established landlords and real estate agents. For instance ”R20” had started his business in 2005 as a landlord that specialized on karaoke bars run mainly by Chinese people. For this purpose he is owning several buildings in the local shopping streets. While the ground floor is used as space for the karaoke bar he had for a long time no use for the first floor. In order to find a solution he started in 2014 a welfare housing business, letting the first floor of the bar buildings to public assistance recipients.

6.3. Innovations for the Development of Welfare Apartments

Welfare housing is characterized by a series of strategies that differ from the usual real estate business. Although all of the 26 interviewed landlords and real estate agents had slightly different business models, four recurring strategies could be identified, that are crucial for the success of welfare housing.

A) Renovation and the production of welfare apartments

In Nishinari ward renovation became a widely used strategy to provide housing for public assistance recipients. This stands in contrast with other areas as the share of traded pre-owned houses is relatively small in Japan, accounting for a mere 13.5% in 2008 (Osaka City 2015). 16 of the cases have executed some kind of renovation work on their buildings. Those who did not renovate are landlords who do not see the specific need for that and a real estate agent who specialize only on brokering and managing.

There are three major reasons why renovation is preferred.

First, the location of the building does not allow rebuilding without reducing its size. The reason for this is the lack of sufficient road width in areas urbanized before the war. According to the Japanese Building Standards Act (*kenchiku kijun-hō*), buildings must face roads with a width of four meter or more. If this is not the case, they have to be set back at least two meter from the center of the road in order to get a permission for rebuilding (Kiener & Kornatowski 2015). Especially for the real estate agents and landlords active in North West Nishinari, this is a troublesome issue.

Second, the low land prices allow only limited use of land for mortgages. According to "R23", a real estate agent helping local landlords to develop their property, the low land price is the reason why most banks do not accept land in Nishinari ward as mortgage for housing loans. Consequently, many landlords reinvest their own savings. "R15", who started his welfare housing business from zero, reported that the bank did not trust in his business in the beginning. Hence, he had his parents, who run and own a café, become guarantors for the loan. Also "L6", a landlord who had been running *pachinko* parlors in the past and is today with about 250 flats one of the largest landlords in North West Nishinari, reinvested only his own capital and has no credits running. Finally, "L2" financed about 60-70% of his renovations with bank loans. Since he inherited a lot of land and got the buildings from former tenants who moved away, he had considerable assets and required only a low starting capital.

Third, the structure of the apartment has to be suitable to the needs of welfare recipients because most of them are aged single men, often with different kinds of disabilities. Especially smaller buildings, like two-story detached houses or *nagaya*, which were originally intended to house family households, yet lacking a bathroom, require extensive renovation (figure 6.3.1, top left). The common practice is to leave not more than the pillars of the original building untouched. By redoing the walls, former one family houses are split into four or more flat units, two on the ground floor and two on the first floor, installed with bathrooms, toilets and kitchen corners. However, the rooms are rather small. "R12" reports that they are frequently between 8.21m^2 and 16m^2, smaller than the promoted minimum for single household rooms of 18m^2 by Osaka city. But, like in the case of "R15", also older wooden apartment buildings with two or three floors are often converted into welfare housing (figure 6.2.1, top right). Because the lat units are originally very small and lack bathrooms, they have to be enlarged and bathrooms installed. Because these buildings have no elevators they are rarely considered barrier-free.

Figure 6.3.1 Renovated buildings in Nishinari ward

Note: top left: renovated *nagaya* by "L6" in North West Nishinari; top right; renovated apartment building by "L6" in North West Nishinari; bottom left: supportive house "L7" in the Airin District; bottom right: renovated room by "L7".

Moreover, accident risks have to be minimized. “R23”, for example, installed induction heaters instead of gas ovens in order to avoid fire hazards, and chose not to allow washing machines in order to avoid potential water leaking. Such renovation however is quite costly since a flat unit including bathroom, toilet, kitchen corner and air conditioning situates between 2,000,000 yen and 3,000,000 yen. With a monthly rent of 42,000 yen and additional 3,000 yen for utility expenses investments becomes profitable after approximately 6 years.

In the case of larger buildings, like former flophouses, condominiums and sometimes apartment buildings, renovation only necessitates minor changes. For instance, “L7”, a flophouse owner who converted its building into a supportive house, converted eight rooms on the ground floor into a common space, made the community bathes, toilets and lavatories barrier-free, changed in all rooms wallpapers and *tatami*, and installed improved power access, air conditioning, fridges and televisions. Although this renovation costed about 25,000,000 yen, it was rather cheap considering that the whole building has 120 rooms (Shōji 2015). “L5”, a landlord who owns four condominium buildings in North West Nishinari, did only minor changes on the outer appearance, since each room was already equipped with bathroom and toilet. He had the outer walls and corridors painted, and slopes and handrails at the entrance installed. “L4”, a landlord of an apartment building in North West Nishinari, does renovation more sporadically. If two adjacent rooms are vacant, he is combining them by tearing down the separating wall and redoing the wallpapers and *tatami*.

While the first and second reasons for renovation apply more to densely built-up areas, such as North West Nishinari, the third reason applies also to buildings in the Airin District, but differs in building type. The cases show that renovation is used as a method to produce adequate housing in a hardware sense. Yet, in order to cater for the residents' special needs, the actual management of welfare housing required new approaches.

B) Avoiding trouble through the selection of residents

Because troublesome residents are considered an excessive burden on management and drive out other residents, most of the landlords and real estate agents are selective on what kind of residents they take in. “L5”, considers the suppression of delinquent behavior as the very essence of real estate management: ”The essence of management is to suppress or force out delinquent people, who for instance do not pay the rent, do drugs, mess around in the corridor and have over many people to their flat.” Therefore 18 of our interviewees implement some kind of strategy to handpick clients who seem easy to handle. Overall, there are two basic methods to select residents: 1) regulating the stream

of clients by forging relations to particular organizations and avoiding others, and 2) screening potential residents individually. Only “R13”, a real estate agent who has some ties with crime syndicates in the Airin District, and “R14” who works together with “R13”, stated that they take in anyone and actively accept a variety of clients that have been released from prison.

In most cases where the stream of clients was regulated, landlords and real estate agents built up networks with organizations that introduce particular kinds of residents. For instance, “L5” operates closely together with established brand real estate agents whose clients are generally considered as easier to handle, and avoids small local real estate agents. “R15”, on the other hand, recruits his residents from a wide range of organizations, like welfare facilities, the Municipal Rehabilitation Counselling Office and local real estate agents. Yet, he avoids “R13”, because in the past he introduced a fair amount of crime organization-related clients who caused many troubles.

Nevertheless, these networks do not always have the purpose to avoid troublesome people, as the case of “R21” shows. Being a real estate agent and also a local welfare commissioner, her genuine aim is to help people in need of assistance and therefore caters mainly for people with disabilities or illness introduced by the ward's welfare office. In some cases such networks enable people with difficult backgrounds to secure appropriate homes. “L4” is an apartment building owner in North West Nishinari who takes in clients introduced by a welfare organization that remains mediating between both parties even after signing the resident’s contract. In case of any trouble, the welfare organization steps in to solve the problem. “L5” has a similar partnership with the same welfare organization and other real estate agents. As opposed to normal practices, their clients do not require a guarantor, but the mediator is expected to step in when troubles occur.

Lastly, some of the cases screen applicants individually in order to sort out those who are likely to cause troubles. For instance, “R16” conducts detailed interviews by asking the applicants about their background, criminal record, drug and alcohol habits, etc. and decides on this information whether the applicant is accepted or not. “L6” also does this in order to reject applicants with crime organization-related backgrounds. He prioritizes elderly residents, because “they lack the energy to cause trouble”. But as “R23” points out, there are no fixed rules to these interviews, and sometimes troublesome applicants are accepted because new residents are required. Furthermore, through the screening process information about the residents is collected, making it easier to communicate with them when some problems occur, as “L5” pointed out. Like in the case of “L7”, who is screening applicants in order to find appropriate care services, the gathering of

information becomes its central purpose.

In order to minimize troubles often associated with welfare recipients, most landlords and real estate agents try to filter out specific residents by recruiting them through networks and individual screening. Although these methods prove to be efficient for managing troubles, other strategies come into play once the applicant has become a residents, as examined in the following part.

C) Monitoring of residents

After taking in a client, 23 of the cases systematically monitor them. This is done due to the fact that most residents have experienced rough sleeping, worked as day laborers etc. and therefore they are not used or able to live self-dependently in a flat. Because of their age and disabilities they are at high risk to suffer accidents. In addition, most of the men severed all contacts with their relatives and cases of solitary death are frequent. These factors pose a substantial problem for the daily management. The cases report about rent arrears, non-response to notifications from public offices and complaints from neighbors. When residents get caught up in an accident, they are often permanently transferred to care facilities, leaving the flat vacant. Moreover, in case of a solitary death, costs have to be borne for the disposal of belongings and cleaning, and it becomes difficult to rent out the flat again. For instance, “R16” stated that in this case cleaning costs easily exceed 100,000 yen, and when the body was found in an advanced state of decay, it becomes hard to eliminate the odor, meaning the flat can't be rent for at least half a year.

The actual monitoring varies according to the type of building. Former flophouses and some apartment buildings have a front desk from which the resident's frequency of going out can be observed. Such monitoring is meant to prevent solitary deaths and rent arrears. For instance, “L1”, who lives on the ground floor of his apartment building, observes the coming and going of the residents during the day. In case the resident hasn't been seen for some days, he checks the shoebox next to the entrance of the building. If the shoes stay untouched for a certain period of time he visits the flat in order to verify whether the resident is all right. Similarly, “L7”, who runs a supportive house, makes use of a front desk which is manned around the clock on every day of the year, and is employing eight staff members for this. The staff also accompanies residents with dementia, when they go outside, in order to make sure that they do not lose their way. However, manned front desks not always guarantee effective monitoring. Another former flophouse that was converted into a welfare apartment is managed by the crime syndicate related real estate agent “R21”. The building has also a manned counter, but many residents are in bad condition and solitary death is frequent. The caretaker is

checking on the clients only very loosely and avoids visiting their rooms.

Cases owning or managing more than one building often don't have the resources for an extensive monitoring system. Thus, in order to acquire necessary information, they collect rent from the residents directly in cash and use this occasion to check up on their condition. “L6”, for instance, has all his residents pay the rent to him in person. Those who fail to come to his office because of health reasons etc. are visited upon by him or his staff. Any abnormalities that occur are recorded and used for further reference. Other cases make use of separate occasions to get in contact with their residents. For instance, “R15”, who manages eight buildings, visits every building twice a week in order to clean the corridors and the outside part on the street. Since the walls of the buildings are rather thin, the residents notice his presence when he greets someone and come out to consult about their troubles. Sometimes this kind of monitoring is executed in a specific period of the year. “R22”, a real estate agent and local welfare commissioner, visits all her residents during the new-year holidays. During this time the ward office is closed and residents cannot make use of its services.

The method of monitoring discussed above enables our cases to identify any troubles a resident might be facing at an early stage. By promptly attending to these troubles they can increase the period of resident and effectively sustain their business. Often they will refer the residents to some other organization, but a substantial bulk of the troubles is dealt with by the landlords and real estate agents themselves.

D) Livelihood support and home care services

Because of the special attention welfare recipients require, many of the cases provide multiple services which common landlords and real estate agents rarely offer. These services aim to enable the welfare recipients to move in and make their life sustainable.

Since many of the residents have been homeless, or come directly from the prison, welfare facilities and hospitals, they lack financial and material means. This is why landlords and real estate agents try to bridge the transition into a flat life. For instance, real estate agent “R16” collaborates with several hospitals. He picks up the discharged patients with their luggage and takes them directly to flats they can move in on the same day. In this way, the hospital can be reassured that patients are not released into homelessness and for the ex-patients it spares a lot of effort. Since some clients don't carry any belongings, and welfare payments are not payed immediately, “R21” provides also *futons* for his new residents. Moreover, “L7”, the supportive house owner, provides an extensive array of support, such as assistance in applying for welfare benefits and offering food, clothes and other necessities free of charge until the first welfare payments

arrive.

The support of most landlords and real estate agents does not stop after the residents have moved in, but stretches over the whole period of stay. Often this assistance aims to help people solve their everyday problems. For instance, “R22” consults with her residents when they have to see a doctor or go to hospital and accompanies them in case they require so. Like in the cases of “L4” and “L5”, sometimes such assistance is provided by other organizations that consult with their residents on any kind of trouble and provide help if necessary. Supportive house “L7” offers the most complex service menu, ranging from supervision of the residents’ medication and finances and consultation on daily life issues, to the organization of activities like a morning café, seasonal events, or funeral visits.

Since the new residents carry different needs compared to the local population, many cases especially in North West Nishinari assist in mediating between both parties. “R21” has experience with mediating between a resident suffering from dementia and his neighbor, whose apartment he used to confuse with his own. “R22” provides instructions and support for the garbage disposal. This is necessary since different kinds of garbage are collected on different days of the week and garbage that is put out on the wrong day tends to cause problems in the neighborhood. “L6”, who owns many buildings in different places goes as far as to move residents who got into trouble with neighbors to other flats where they are not likely to disturb anyone.

Introducing other support organizations to the residents also plays an important role in the management strategies of our cases. Especially for solving everyday life issues, it eases the landlords’ and real estate agents’ workload and makes the resident's flat life more sustainable on the longer run. “L5”, who also started to run a home care company, offers professional care to his residents. With such care assistance, residents with high age can remain in their flats, without having to move to care facilities. In order to keep their flats tidy and find solutions for health issues, “L1” convinces residents to apply for home care services, although he doesn't have any formal relation with a provider like “L5”. Further, “L7” has set up a network with approximately ten different home care companies to cater for the residents' individual needs. This is done to trigger more competition between the home care providers, in order to secure higher quality of service.

Close cooperation with home care providers is also essential to prevent residents from moving away. “R15”, who has many residents using home care introduced through the ward office, had issues with residents moving away. Since a substantial amount of home care providers also run housing facilities for elderly people, they often try to recruit residents into their own facilities. This is sometimes encouraged through bonus

payments home care helper get for introducing new clients. “R16” also faces this issue, which especially tend to occur in older apartments without elevator or front desk. But for the residents themselves, this is often an opportunity to move into a better living environment. “L7”, for instance, reported about cases where home care helpers introduce new clients to her, because they do not consider their current living environment as appropriate. For this reason, some residents of “R13”'s welfare housing moved to “L7”'s supportive house because it has a good reputation for providing professional assistance.

Assistance and home care services play an important role for the residents in order to ease their transition to a flat life, to make sure it is sustainable and to mediate troubles between the residents and neighbors. The role of home care services is a complex issue, sometimes contributing to make the residents' flat life sustainable, but also sometimes causing the residents to move out.

E) The small difference

While clear characteristics of the welfare housing business could be identified, many of the landlords and real estate agents do not brand their business as “welfare housing” and are frequently also active in other kinds of real estate business. In fact, most of them deal with people who need special attention inside the framework of solving residents' issues common in the real estate business. This means that they often lack an elaborated strategy to deal with public assistance recipients and react to emerging needs “on the fly” (DeVerteuil 2015). For instance, “R19” illustrates this in a story of a resident that was suddenly hospitalized. “One resident called me because he forgot the address of his flat and wanted me to pick him up from hospital.” This required the real estate agent to react swiftly, but was not part of her usual scope of business.

Asked about the number of people who need special attention, it was usually under 10%. Even “L6”, who is strongly related to the organized crime and has many residents with a prison history he considered to be troublesome, pointed out that in sum the people who need special attention are not more than 10-20%. Like also illustrated in the discussion on the selection of residents, important for the success of welfare housing is to have a majority of residents who do not need special attention. This is illustrated by “L9” when he says, “I think that more than the size the quality is important. […] This is not only the quality of the building but also of the people who are living inside. Although it is the same public assistance there are very different kinds of people.”

Therefore, the strategies that come into play after the residents have moved in, are from the perspective of real estate business necessary to minimize the heightened risk of deviancy that is associated with public assistance recipients. Considering that for

welfare apartments the return rate is normally around 10-11%, the effective dealing with the 10% of residents who need sdpecail attention becomes crucial and makes all the difference between running a lousy real estate business and making a fortune.

This differs from welfare housing business that aims to provide genuine help, like the supportive houses and some of the free and low budget hostels, discussed in the literature. They provide a wide scope of services that are usually not part of the regular housing business. In the case of the supportive house, this is the manned counter, through which counselling and small services like money or medication management are conducted (Shirahase 2014). Since public assistance does not provide benefits for these services provided by landlords, necessary costs are often added to the rent, which pushed it especially before July 2015 to an unusually high level, regardless of the actual needs of particular residents (Suzuki 2010). The rent was high in relation to the apartment size and the facilities that are provided, most times at Osaka city's upper limit of 42,000 yen.

6.4. Resentments Towards Welfare Housing

A) Public assistance recipients and the primary housing market

Although welfare housing was highly welcomed in the depressed housing market of Nishinari ward, this is not the case in other parts of the city. In areas with more affluent housing markets the welfare housing business faces some considerable opposition from local landlords. First, these are the prejudices landlords have towards public assistance recipients. "R26" a real estate agent that brokers apartments for welfare recipients in the whole city explains that it is very difficult to find an apartment for public assistance recipients in affluent areas.

> "There are sometimes customers that say 'Sakuragawa[20] would be nice', but I tell them, 'there is no way to find a place for 40,000 yen in this area'. And when I tell the landlords, who let the apartments, 'it is a public assistance recipient', they usually reply 'we need nobody', and nearly all of them turn me down."

Second, the financial constraints of public assistance allow only access to a limited housing markets. As "R26" points out most commonly this is the high rent that makes it impossible for public assistance recipients with limited housing benefits to get access to certain housing. This is reinforced by the initial costs the welfare offices are paying to public assistance recipients who move into an apartment, covering the customary key

[20] An affluent area in Naniwa ward.

money and deposit money, but also brokerage fees, guarantor insurance or fire insurance. The financial constraints public assistance recipients are facing regarding the initial costs vary strongly according to Osaka city's policy. While the security deposit was payed commonly in the past, reaching 168,000 yen the usual amount of rent for four months, this praxis was abolished in 2010. As "R25" points out, today security deposits are only paid in emergent cases, when public assistance recipients are dispatched from hospitals and need an own place to stay to protect their health, or they are threatened from eviction by their landlords.

Figure 6.4.1 Advertisment showing rental apartments without deposit and key money

Source: Apartments advertised in front of "R25"'s shop

Today, usually Osaka city keeps the initial costs for single public assistance households under 160,000 yen. From these about 20,000 yen are used for guarantor insurance, 15,000 yen for fire insurance, and 40,000 yen for brokerage fees, leaving only 85,000 yen for deposit and key money. Considering that the usual amount of key money is about the height of a three months' rent make this a tight budget and only apartments with no or a low amount of key money are feasible for public assistance recipients. Like shown in figure 6.4.1 this made apartments for public assistance recipients without deposit and key money customary.

Finally, often the conditions to which apartments are let to public assistance recipients become an obstacle. For public assistance recipients who usually have nobody that can become the in Japan customary rent guarantor, this system becomes frequently an obstacle. Usually relatives or friends step in as guarantors, but in the case non of them is available, professional guarantor companies are hired. "R26" explains: "Often the landlords tell me 'public assistance is OK but they have to sign up to a guarantor company'. But public assistance recipients usual do not pass the screening of the established guarantor companies." They are frequently declined because they have no cell phone or fail to provide a reliable emergency contact address, which is commonly a relative. Further, fees for the guarantor company were only paid by public assistance if the recipient had no contact with its relatives for more than 30 years. Although this praxis was abolished in April 2015, prior to that most of the public assistance recipients had to rely on housing that does not require a guarantor.

These obstacles exist especially in the city center, where the housing market is dominated by large condominiums which are managed by established professional real estate companies. Since public assistance recipients can not enter this housing market most of them have to rely on inner city housing, dominated by semi-professional landlords.

Obstacles to enter housing existing in the inner city as well, but they are of different nature. Landlords and real estate agents have in resent years troubles to find new residents for wooden two floored buildings (*bunkajūtaku*, apartment building and *nagaya*), that are very common in North West Nishinari. Since these buildings have no elevator the staircase becomes a serious barrier for aged public assistance residents. Therefore, Nishinari ward's welfare office started to judge rooms in the second floor without elevator as not suitable and declines them usually. "R15" reported that vacancies in the second floor of his buildings reachex 60%. Therefore, when doing renovation he sometimes builds buildings back, removing the second floor.

B) NIMBYism towards welfare housing

Next to the resentments of landlords towards public assistance recipients, also NIMBYism in local communities with many public assistance recipients exist. In order to identify the nature of this NIMBYism, interviews with eight members of the local community, from which four were representatives of community organizations, were conducted.

Regarding the Airin District Inada (2011) pointed already out that the increase and strong concentration of public assistance recipients was perceived as a negative factor,

and faced frequent criticism from the local community. The same criticism came also from members of the local community in North West Nishinari. They had two major concerns regarding public assistance recipients living in their community. The first concern was regarding public peace. With the increase of public assistance recipients also the local community felt that crime in the area increased. Crime did not directly effect the local community and no concrete problem had emerged and reflects rather a perceived insecurity that came with welfare housing. Members of the Tsurumibashi shopping street union, express this as follows:

> "People from the Nishinari Police and the police of other areas, came this year already six to seven times, and said, 'show us the video of the security camera.' This means bad folk is coming from outside to this area."

They related the increase of criminals in North West Nishinari to the Nishinari Special Ward Initiative that was active at the time of the interview. In their opinion the area had become instead of the Airin District a hiding place attracting criminals from different places.

> "This is because on the other side [Airin District] it became cleaner, and places where they can stay disappeared as well, right? But here still some places seem to be left. For example a while back there was a guy who killed a child in Kyoto, and they say he hid in Nishinari. It seemed he was a few days here. […] There was also a body floating in the Kobe harbor, and they say the murderer lived right over there."

Compared to these reasons more concrete concerns were raised regarding the impact of the increase of public assistance recipients on the local business. While some new care providers moved to the Tusurmibashi shopping street that serve the needs of public assistance recipients, the shops that operate already for a longer time suffer from sales decrease. They had built up their business to cater to a local community dominated by young families and were unable to adapt to the new situation. One head of a local shopping street association explains it as follows:

> "We do surveys on the amount of traffic in March. On normal days and at Sundays. […] About 80% are men. And their age is about 60 years or older. The remaining are women and children, but there are really only a few of them. When you watch them, you notice that most of them are riding a bicycle, and there are only a few people who walk and look into the shops."

In this sense the local community does not perceive the increase of public assistance recipients in North West Nishinari as an improvement and has strong reservations. As a result local real estate agents that are known to develop housing for public assistance recipients are watched with suspicion. Asked about the relation to the local community organization, "R23" describes it as follows:

> "When I started with welfare apartments, it was in the beginning really tough. They told me 'bringing such single elderly people to this area is absurd, what should we do if something happens.' But in reality they do not deal with them. We deal with them. Therefore, they do not say much today, but about 10 years ago they complained a lot. At that time I hated to walk the shopping street. I always sneaked by. […] Elderly people who worked seriously all their life [the local residents] tell me 'those people did not make an effort, therefore we don't want them here. They waste the state's money. They waste the tax money.'"

Next to the deep resentments from the local community this example shows, that much of the concerns could be partly mitigated by the management of the real estate agent. This NIMBYism was addressed on a personal level to the real estate agents, who were considered as responsible for the increase of public assistance recipients in the neighborhood. It did not turn into a broader movement able to address this topic on a political level in North West Nishinari.

6.5. Summary

This chapter concentrated on welfare housing in North West Nishinari and the Airin District in Nishinari ward. The analysis showed that the housing market in North West Nishinari developed in close relation to the local industry, while the housing market in the Airin District, dominated by flophouses, developed in close relation to the construction industry. At the end of the 1990s, the industrial restructuring under globalization and the rapid decline of public investments in the construction industry pushed both housing markets into serious crisis, that became evident in high vacancy rates and disinvestment in the built environment.

This situation was ideal for the welfare housing, and the rental housing market was strongly geared towards public assistance recipients during the phase of homeless inclusion and consolidation, letting the rents increase to the maximum amount of housing benefits for single households of 42,000 yen. Low land prices guaranteed high

return rates, high vacancy rates allowed a flexible restructuring and the proximity to the Airin Distirict with its many homeless people kept the demand for welfare housing high.

The analysis of 26 landlords and real estate agents that operate in Nishinari ward showed that most of those who started their business with the aim to house public assistance recipients did so in the phase of homeless inclusion. Most of them had already some business to do in Nishinari ward and realized that there was a high demand for welfare housing from homeless people that could be met through utilizing vacancies. Already established business started to adapt their business towards public assistance recipients in order to deal properly with the change of their customers and keep business profitable.

The welfare housing business differed from regular housing business through four major strategies that were developed in order to cater to public assistance recipients. First this was renovation that became a necessary strategy to operate under the special conditions of densely built up North West Nishinari and adapt buildings to the needs of public assistance recipients. In addition strategies like interviews and relations to certain organizations, were developed in order to select residents considered to be easy to handle. Those residents who actually moved in were monitored in order to avoid them to get caught up in accidents and to residents in critical situations livelihood support and home care services were applied to make their lives sustainable. Although, in most cases only a very small group of residents needed additional attention, the effective dealing with them is crucial for running a profitable welfare housing business.

Next to the superior conditions for welfare housing in Nishinari ward, also resentments towards public assistance recipient and the special conditions of the primary real estate market reinforced their geography. This was not only the rent, but also the limited budget for key and deposit payments or the practices of guarantor companies that become major obstacles for public assistance recipients. There was also some NIMBYism towards public assistance recipients from the local communityin North West Nishinari ward, being especially concerned about the increase of crime and the missing ability of public assistance recipients to bring a new fortune to local commerce. While for welfare housing well known real estate agents were criticized by the local community for bringing public assistance recipients to the area, the conflict did not develop into a political movement and could be partly mitigated through the real estate management.

7. Conclusion

7.1. The Rise of the Entrepreneurial Welfare City

The long-term analysis showed that during the observation period the provision of public assistance for homeless people changed crucially, introducing a new spatiality of welfare, dominated by semi-professional entrepreneurs in the private housing market. In accordance with the three questions applied in the introduction, the crucial changes that characterize the entrepreneurial welfare city are summed up and their impact on the welfare geography is explained.

A) Reframing the individual

Public assistance provision changed from a system that framed homeless people as other and in need for protection from various crisis, to a system that strongly concentrates on their shortcomings, framing them as individuals in need of various support to become self-reliant and at best capable of providing fully for their own needs. The Airin System provided a set of direct welfare services like shelter, medical support or job support, that had a short-term character, designed to support individuals facing crisis. While it effectively worked for day laborers as a substitute for public assistance benefits – with the exception of medical benefits – it did not address personal shortcomings. Day laborers were the from the construction industry required flexible workforce (Haraguchi 2017), and there was no need to improve their lives. Although this was only a minimal form of welfare provision, its nature resembled the "safety-net" of welfare benefits and services associated with the Keynesian welfare state (Torfing 1999).

The logic of the Airin System, that framed homeless people as other and in need for support to overcome various crisis in order to fulfill their role as flexible workforce, called for spatial control. This was necessary in order to react to NIMBYism that did not welcome day laborers in other areas, and to provide welfare support that sustains them as flexible labor force. Through the installation of welfare facilities inside of the Airin District these issues were addressed. Designed to support individuals to overcome crisis, these welfare services were of short-term nature and of low threshold, provided in the living space of day laborers to increase their accessibility. At the same time, they contained those people who have to rely on them in the Airin District preventing spatial movement. In its function this spatial arrangement resembles very much Dear, Wolch and Wilton's (1994) service hub concept, although the Airin Distirct's creation followed a very differing logic.

In contrast to the Airin District in the entrepreneurial welfare city homeless people are framed as individuals with various shortcomings that are addressed through behavioral modifying support in order to reach the desired state of self-reliance. This praxis started on a large scale with the introduction of homeless self-reliance support centers through the homeless support system, aiming to create job ready individuals able to live independently without the state's support at best. With the same aim of creating self-reliant individuals, behavioral modification was also introduced to already existing public assistance facilities and to the support scheme of benefit recipients, most times taking on the shape of job training and support. With the start of the support system for impoverished people a wide set of supports that address individual shortcomings was introduced, operating in the forefront of public assistance.

Further, the expansion of housing protection resembles the introduction of market principles to homeless support, reframing individuals as consumers that can choose between different housing providers. Partly the same accounts to the support system for impoverished people through which clients can choose between different types of support and support providers. Nevertheless, as in Pavolini and Ranci's (2008) case support for consumption and restrictions came with this freedom, in order to avoid choices considered as poor.

This reframing of homeless people through their shortcomings, addressed by various supports with the aim to reach the desired stage of self-reliance in the entrepreneurial welfare city had a deep effect on welfare geographies. Since the support aims to improve the individual it is no longer necessary to provide it close to the living space of homeless people. Instead welfare support reaches actively out to homeless people, providing the entrance to a support system, often channeling them through several transitional facilities, and positioning them finally into a housed life. In this sense, the reframing of homeless people as individuals that should be improved, implies spatial mobility and has the potential of transcending the space of the day laborer ghetto.

Through the access to housing benefits public assistance recipients can act as quasi consumers on the housing market, which increases their choice of residential areas. Care and medical services, that are required by many public assistance recipients as well can be selected from various providers on the market and are therefore independent from a certain space. On the other side, the number of younger public assistance recipients is reduced through "self-reliance" support, bringing either public assistance recipients into employment or giving welfare offices the possibility to shift them towards other support or cut welfare payments. The spatial analysis showed that these programs were especially applied in wards with many public housing inhabited by younger public

assistance recipients, slowing down their increase in these areas. This tendentially strengthened the segregation of public assistance recipients in inner city wards dominated by private tenements.

B) The role of the state

The role of state agencies for the provision of welfare services to homeless people decreased over time, giving more space to private actors and partly to NPOs. Under the Airin System welfare services were directly provided through agents of the state, or social welfare legal entities and other organization that were entrusted with the provision of welfare. Osaka city and to a lesser extent also Osaka prefecture and the central state provided these specialized welfare services for day laborers, effectively building up a welfare system that reduces the use of public assistance.

For the construction of the Airin District the state and its agent played a crucial role. The strong role the central state played in the provision of welfare enabled a direct intervention on the local scale being crucial for the installation of welfare services in the Airin District. This was reinforced by the administrational unity of Osaka city that enabled a city wide controlled spatial approach. Through from state agents controlled welfare services day laborers were contained in the Airin District, allowing the city to react to NIMBYism that had heightened after the day laborer riots and released all other areas from the burden of dealing with this issue. Therefore, the concentration of welfare services in the Airin District was not the result of urban fragmentation like in American cities (Wolch & Dear 1993), but rather a coordinated containment of service dependent populations.

In contrast, in the entrepreneurial welfare city the provision of welfare services through state agents or organizations cooperating close with them, on which the Airin System was based, is increasingly residualized. Despite the gradual dismantling of these welfare services, the public assistance benefit system was expanded, empowering previously excluded homeless people and other impoverished groups to get necessary welfare services through the market. Hence the dismantling of direct welfare services is not a result of decreasing public investments. On the contrary, through the increase of public assistance benefits recipients' welfare costs rose dramatically. This development was only countered in the phase of retreat by austerity measures, that effectively reduced the number of public assistance recipients. Before this background especially in regard to housing private welfare providers emerged as major constitutor of welfare geographies. Because the expansion of welfare rights and the weakening of them through self-reliance support occurred nearly at the same time, it is difficult to understand this

change through simplifying concepts, like the "Keynesian welfare state" (Torfing 1999), or the "Schumpetarian workfare state" (Jessop 1993). The provision of welfare services through the market had also the effect to shift the responsibility of welfare provision away from the state to market actors or the welfare recipients themselves. Inferior housing providers were dubbed as "poverty business", and public assistance recipients accused to take advantage of the state's beneficence. This provided an environment justifying austerity measures.

The change of the role of state agents from a provider of direct welfare services to a provider of benefits that empower homeless people on the market had a crucial effect on the spatiality of public assistance. The geography of welfare is no longer the result of a coordinated containment policy realized through the position of welfare services in space, but rather of market forces that were unleashed by the economic empowerment through housing benefits. In accordance to this logic public assistance clustered either in areas with a high percentage of public housing, home to many impoverished people, or in areas where the real estate market was most deteriorated and dominated by wooden tenements.

The concentration of public assistance recipients was especially high in Nishinari ward where not only land prices were deteriorating, but also vacancies and a high demand for welfare housing, stemming from homeless people and day laborers, existed. This was reinforced by the need of housing providers to adapt to the changed situation and reach out to the gains from welfare housing in order to stay profitably. While this mechanism worked especially in the three wards, Nishinari, Ikuno and Higashisumiyoshi, the lack of public housing and the high demand for private housing in most of the central city wards made it difficult for welfare housing to develop there. This produced a public assistance geography dominated by a ring pattern, having especially a high concentration in the south of the city and a low concentration in the city center.

C) The challenge of governance

With this changing role of the state, also the governance of welfare services had to be altered in order to deal with the new situation. Under the Airin System a part of the welfare services was directly provided by Osaka city. In cases where it relied on other organizations for the provision of welfare services, the relations to these organizations were long term and the support programs were developed in close cooperation resembling the "organized welfare mix" observed by Bole (2006). This allowed to create temporary and spatially stable institutions with a clear field of activities. But in the long run they proved to be not flexible enough to deal with upcoming changes of the day labor

market. Especially the increase of homelessness in the second half of the 1990s necessitated new approaches to this issue.

In the entrepreneurial welfare city, these long-term relations were together with the direct provision of welfare services residualized, and new methods of indirect governance applied. On the one side, this was done through the amount of welfare benefits that excluded certain welfare housing providers or forced them to alter their business. On the other side this was done through direct management of public assistance recipients. By separating applicants for housing benefits from potential inferior welfare housing providers and channeling them to more trustworthy ones Osaka city attempted to govern the emerging welfare housing market. Also the monitoring program that was introduced in 2015, aiming to mitigate the issues concerning single elderly public assistance recipients, follows the same logic.

The new methods of governance had no clear spatial agenda, leaving the created spaces primarily to market forces. A brief comparison with Tokyo metropolis (Inada & Mizuuchi 2009) and Yokohama city (Yamamoto 2010), which established some spatial strategies towards public assistance, shows, that this is not the norm, but should be rather considered as a particular feature of public assistance governance in Osaka city.

But some methods of governance that were applied to control the emerging welfare housing market, had an impact on Osaka city's welfare geography. These are the housing standards introduced by the welfare offices and the financial means for the rent that determine the type of housing market that can be accessed. Moreover, the cut of deposit and key money in 2010 reduced the chance of public assistance recipients to find an apartment on the primary real estate market. This was reflected in the decrease of public assistance receiving households total number in the central city wards during the phase of retreat.

Next to the financial means the direct management of public assistance recipients can be considered as well of having some spatial aspects. Since inferior housing, that was attempted to be excluded by this praxis, mainly existed in inner city areas like the Airin District or North West Nishinari, public assistance recipients were shifted towards better housing outside of these areas. As consequents the absolute number of public assistance receiving housholds in Nishinari ward decreased during the phase of retreat.

7.2. Problems on the Ground

While the entrepreneurial welfare city was capable to reduce the number of homeless people considerably by providing housing to them, several problems emerged that call

for the attention of policy makers. Below two major problems, the exclusive character of welfare housing and the strong spatial polarization that had emerged, are discussed in detail, and finally the limitations of this research are outlined.

A) Spaces of care's price

The spaces created by the entrepreneurial welfare city have at the first glimpse a strong caring character. Driven by the expectation of profit, landlords and real estate agents take action to make the lives of their residents sustainable. They provide small services and assistance, sometimes even venturing into the home care business, helping their residents to overcome crisis and do not become homeless again. Like in the case of supportive houses this can become a sophisticated support scheme that applies a humanistic approached, involving not only necessities for daily survival but also social and community activities. In this sense the entrepreneurial welfare city creates spaces of care (Johnson, Cloke & May 2005).

But the analysis showed also that these spaces are not accessible for everyone. The success of welfare housing is based on the insight that most of the public assistance recipients are not in need for support that cannot be provided through the public assistance benefit framework. This situation was created by the nature of homelessness in Japan. Most of them had lived their whole lives as day laborers, fully capable of providing for their own needs. They became homeless because of job loss due to the deterioration of the day labor market and their increasing age. This makes homelessness in Japan mainly a poverty issue, differing strongly from homelessness in America in the 1980s observed by Dear and Wolch (1987). They observed homelessness that had been triggered by deinstitutionalization and was therefore strongly intertwined with issues of mental and physical health, making housing a very complex issue.

Most of the welfare housing providers build on this fact and house only a small number of residents that need additional support. But in order to keep the number of residents perceived as deviant low the landlords and real estate agents apply several strategies to sort out people who are considered to be troublesome. Further, people who had already moved in and cause troubles, because of for instance mental health issues are frequently evicted, in order to protect business interests. This mechanism makes the entrepreneurial welfare city's spaces of care difficult to access for marginal groups like ex-convicts, mentally handicapped people or substance abusers.

Since only some of the welfare housing that was run by the organized crime took in virtually everybody or actively recruited their residents under ex-convicts, it is very likely that marginal groups are drawn to them. Although this seems to be a successful

way of providing housing to them, one must take into account that this comes with the loss of the space's care character. Housing provided by organized crime is frequently dominated by drugs and crime, and provides only an inferior living environment. This makes its supportive character highly questionable.

B) Polarization of the city

Next to the exclusionary tendencies also the extreme spatial polarization that emerged through welfare housing in the inner city is a considerable problem of the entrepreneurial welfare city. On one side the strong concentration of public assistance recipients in Nishinari ward, but also in other areas becomes an obstacle for further development. Through the inmove of public assistance recipients the stigma of the area was reinforced. Since public assistance recipients in Nishinari ward are dominated by older single men one cannot expect that their situation improves and they are likely to stay the rest of their lives in the area. Although this situation worked to secure the space for public assistance recipients by keeping the land prices down, it becomes an obstacle for the integration into the wider society and reinforces differences while challenges social cohesion (Dear, Wolch & Wilton 1994).

Further, it causes enormous stress on the local non-welfare receiving communities. This is caused by a feeling of insecurity and by problems of local businessmen who developed their business around family households to adapt to the new situation. The strong stigma of the area makes it also difficult to change this situation. Younger Japanese people avoid this area giving not much hope for an improvement. The only group of younger people that is considered to be willed to live in this area are foreign students, working holiday makers or tourists. But because of the temporary character of their stay, they have only a minor effect on the development of the community. Their consumption pattern differs strongly, giving local commerce not much perspective of improvement (Kiener & Kornatowski 2015).

Although, by advocates of the service hub the necessity of a certain concentration of welfare services was stressed (Dear, Wolch & Wilton 1994), in the entrepreneurial welfare city it is from the logic of service provision unnecessary. This derives out of the nature of the Airin District's service hub. The welfare services provided through the Airin System were created for day laborers who have been excluded from most of the public assistance benefits. In this sense the welfare services were surrogates for public assistance, being inferior to the benefit system provided usually. This means that people who get access to the public assistance benefit framework, have no need to rely any longer on the welfare services of the Airin System. Further, the welfare services in the

Airin District were designed for active day laborers, which's needs differ from services for mostly aged public assistance recipients, that are more likely addressed sufficiently by care and medical benefits. Therefore, for public assistance recipients the service hub of the Airin District differs strongly from spaces of social inclusion, where people are bound by spatially restricted specialized services (Yamamoto 2014).

C) Limitations of this research

Despite the insights listed above, the research has three major limitations that have to be taken into account for the interpretation of the results. First, this research examined Osaka city's public assistance welfare regime from the perspective of homeless support. In Kamagasaki used to live 15,000 to 25,000 day laborers (Shirahase 2017), and many more were coming and going there from temporary accomodations provided by employers, constituting a large group of people prone to homelessness. Without any doubt, this group is very important to understand public assistance geographies in Osaka city, but to the impact of other groups, like *burakumin,* the Korean minority, or single parents, no attention could be payed in this research.

Second, the empirical part explains the geography of public assistance out of the perspective of housing providers, who can give account on the economic logic behind the real estate business that formed it. Nevertheless, research that focuses on the residents themselves and their housing preferences, on home care services, or case workers of welfare offices may bring light to other factors that are crucial constitutes of public assistance geographies.

Finally, the empirical research focused on Nishinari ward, which is through the presence of the Airin District and the *burakumin* area of North West Nishinari very exceptional. Although in 2015 Nishinari ward accounted for 21.3% of all public assistance receiving households in Osaka city, and is therefore a crucial factor, insights gained in this area cannot be generalized without reservation. The concentration of public assistance receiving households in other wards is likely to have different backgrounds and follows different logics, that call for further investigation.

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