Social Networks of Homeless People under the Influence of Homeless Self-Sufficiency Support Centres in Japan

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Abstract

Since the end of the 1990s the Japanese government and local authorities have made a series of efforts to reduce the number of homeless people in Japan, which had dramatically increased in public places. The Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-Sufficiency of Homeless People, enacted in 2002, became the foundation for nationwide countermeasures, and switched the aim of homeless support towards a self-sufficient life. This research focuses on homeless self-sufficiency support centres in Ōsaka city, which help homeless individuals to find a way back into a self-sufficient life through job assistance. It aims to establish if this kind of welfare facility is capable of rebuilding social networks or providing clients with the necessary skills to do so. This question is addressed through a detailed description of the facility, the support it offers and an analysis of the social networks of former clients based on qualitative interviews and a quantitative survey. The results show that in the support offered by the facility, social networks are not considered to be a crucial factor for escaping homelessness and are therefore not targeted. Although some former clients are able to rebuild social networks around the workplace, these networks have only a minor role in mutual support.

Keywords: homelessness in Japan, homeless self-sufficiency support, transitional facility, social networks, job assistance in Japan

Introduction

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, homelessness could be seen very frequently in Japanese cities. The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare counted 25,296 homeless people in 2003, living in railway stations, shopping streets, parks, under bridges, by the riverside or in other public places (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003: 137). Recently their numbers have decreased noticeably: only 8,265 people were counted in 2013 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2013). Behind this change lies a series of efforts the Japanese government and local officials have made to reduce homelessness, culminating in the enactment of the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless People (Hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien tō ni kan suru tokubetsu sochihō ホームレスの自立の支援等に関する特別措置法) on 7 August 2002.

This law provides the financial resources to establish different countermeasures to deal with homelessness, put in hand by the municipal governments in co-operation with not-for-profit organisations (NPOs) and the private sector. Furthermore, it drafts out guidelines for these countermeasures (Kuwahara 2007: 154). The aim of this new policy is summed up in the term 'self-sufficiency' (*jiritsu* 自立), suggesting that homeless people should be enabled to live by their own work (Yamada 2009: 49). The law covers many different kinds of countermeasures, but one of its central strategies became the homeless self-sufficiency support centres (HSSC, hōmuresu jiritsu shien sentā ホームレス自立支援センター). In these facilities the homeless receive job assistance and support to find a new apartment during a short-term stay. While some of these facilities were intended to be temporary, 20 of them were still in existence in 2009 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2010: 11). According to a survey by the NPO National Homeless Support Network (NPO hōjin hōmuresu shien zenkoku nettowāku, NPO 法人ホームレス支援全国ネットワーク), conducted on 41,000 people who used homeless support, the HSSCs were used by approximately 20 percent (8,440 people) of respondents (NPO Hōjin hōmuresu shien zenkoku nettowāku 2011).

The subject of homelessness in Japan has attracted only a handful of mentions in English- and German-language publications since the end of the 1990s. Subjects such as homelessness among day labourers (Aoki 2003; Gill 2001b; Herbert 2004), the sudden increase of homeless people in the 1990s (Ezawa 2002; Kennett and Iwata 2003; Hasegawa 2005), movements for the rights of homeless people (Klinger 2000; Hasegawa 2006) and also countermeasures (Gill 2005; Marr 2012; Obinger 2009; Mizuuchi 2003) were examined. Research about the social networks of homeless people is rare: the work of Shinichiro Iwata and Karato Koji (2011), who conducted research on the impact of social networks on the geographical concentration of homeless people in Ōsaka city, and of Matthew D. Marr (2012), who did research on different strategies of exiting homelessness in Tōkyō and Miami, represents

exceptions. Inazuki Tadashi 稲月正, who published in Japanese, also deals with social networks of homeless people (2006) and the impact of self-sufficiency support on them (2008). Large parts of the content of this paper are based on Kiener 2012b, while the empirical part was previously published in Japanese (Kiener 2012a). In this paper I will examine the topic of social networks in the Japanese homeless support in a broader socio-economic context.

This research was conducted on former clients of three HSSCs in Ōsaka city (Ōsakashi 大阪市). In contrast to other research that focuses mainly on the employment and residence of former clients (Kami 2006, 2012; Mizuuchi and Hanano 2003; Yamada 2009), the focus here is on social networks. The following two questions are addressed: how does the stay in the HSSC, and the support it offers, form the social networks of its former clients? Is the HSSC an institution that is capable of rebuilding social networks or providing the clients with the necessary skills to do so? The hypothesis follows the argument of many homeless people who state that they would make contact with their families and friends once they were able to live a decent life on their own (Inazuki 2006: 171; Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 196): Regular employment enables HSSCs' former clients to contact family members and former friends again and build up new social relations.

Research method

In order to shed light on the social networks of former clients of the HSSCs, between December 2010 and February 2011 I established contact with the four HSSCs and one assessment centre (*asesumento sentā* アセスメントセンター), which co-operates closely with them, in Ōsaka city. For financial reasons the research was limited to Ōsaka city. Interviews with the directors of the five facilities were conducted, and available information collected. In addition, possible forms of further research were discussed.

In May and June 2011 qualitative interviews with four former clients of the above-mentioned facilities and one social worker were conducted. The interview partners were contacted through one HSSC. The staff selected them by the following criteria: one person failed to find employment and lives on social welfare, one person has full-time employment, and one person works part time and lives partially on social welfare. Because it turned out that the former client who worked full time had left the HSSC about one month before the interview, another former client who matched the same criteria and had left the HSSC about eight months ago was interviewed additionally. The interviews with the directors and social worker were used to supplement the information about the HSSCs, and the four interviews with former clients were used to refine the questionnaire and shed light on the social networks of former clients.

Next, a questionnaire for the quantitative survey on the former clients was created. For this purpose the following works were used: the "ISSP 'Citizen Consciousness' Survey" (ISSP "shimin ishiki" chōsa ISSP「市民意識」調査) (Nippon hōsō kyōkai hōsō bunka kenkyūjo 2006: 554-558), the Citizens' Life White Book: The Rich Life of Japanese People Built up through Relations (*Kokumin seikatsu hakusho: Tsunagari ga kizuku yutaka na kokumin seikatsu* 国民生活白書—つながりが築く豊かな国民生活) (Naikakufu 2007), and Inazuki's (2008) article "Homeless Self-Sufficiency Support and Social Relations: From the Results of the Kitakyūshū Survey" ("Hōmuresu jiritsu shien to shakaiteki kizuna: Kitakyūshū de no chōsa kekka kara" ホームレス自立支援と社会的きずな—北九州での調査結果から). The questions were adapted to the purpose of my research. A pilot test was conducted with two former clients at one of the HSSCs. The problems that occurred were discussed in a group with other students, and after a final revision the questionnaire was corrected by a native speaker.

The quantitative survey was conducted with the help of the other three HSSCs in September 2011. In all three facilities the questionnaire was entrusted to the staff, who distributed it to former clients coming frequently to the facility or sent it by mail. The aim was to conduct the survey on twenty former clients in each facility. Not all centres could complete twenty questionnaires, however; eventually, a total of 58 (24, 20, 14) questionnaires were completed. Out of these, five questionnaires could not be used for the analysis, because they were not filled in sufficiently. The results were analysed in Microsoft Excel 2010 and form the core information about the social networks of former clients used in this paper.

The following third section gives a short overview of the relationship between homelessness and social networks. A discussion on homelessness in Japan together with a definition of the term and a description of its historical development are provided in the fourth section. Characteristics of homeless peoples' social networks in Japan are described in the section after that, followed by a wider overview on Japan's homeless support. A focused description of the HSSCs is provided in what is the seventh section. In the final section the results of the survey on social networks of HSSCs' former clients are summed up, followed by some concluding remarks.

Homelessness and social networks

The homeless are often considered as the epitome of social exclusion. The fact that they have no roof over their heads leads to the assumption that they are so cut off from society that they cannot enjoy the type of life most people take for granted (Clapham 2007: 79). Yamada Sōshirō 山田壮志郎 refers to three major shortcomings constituting homelessness. These are a lack of proper employment, of a

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home and of social relations (*tsunagari* つながり). In the process of becoming homeless, contact with family, relatives, friends and neighbours is cut off. This is an element of homelessness that has been widely ignored by the countermeasures, which mostly focus on helping the homeless to find a place to live (Yamada 2009: 20-21).

Morita Yōji 森田洋司 goes one step further and perceives a reduced social network not simply as the result of homelessness, but as one of its key reasons (Morita 2009: 11). According to him, social exclusion, of which an extreme form is homelessness, is caused primarily by a lack of social relations:

> Social exclusion is not only the exclusion from other active persons or groups, it is more the problem of a social isolation that has emerged from a state of loosened social bonds, caused by ongoing privatisation, that exacerbates and deepens the dimension of the problem... (Morita 2009: 11).[1]

He perceives social exclusion not primarily as exclusion from the welfare state, as the first concepts developed in the 1970s in France did, but more as the exclusion from one's community, social groups, organisations, unions, the intermediate space built by NPOs, voluntary organisations and other support organisations (Morita 2009: 14). This is a phenomenon occurring in society as a whole and cannot be addressed by homeless support that deals only with single individuals. Nevertheless, relations with single persons who came adrift during the process of becoming homeless, and new relations can be considered a possible target for the HSSCs' support.

For an operational definition of social networks I refer to the work of David Knoke and Song Yang. They define social networks as constituted by two elements: actors and relationships. Actors can be individual persons or collectivities like informal groups or formal organisations (Knoke and Yang 2008: 6). In this paper actors are defined as individual persons, who are either former clients of the HSSCs or all other people they have relations with. A relation is defined as '...a specific kind of contact, connection, or tie between a pair of actors…' (Knoke and Yang 2008: 7). Relations are not the same as attributes, because they are always shared by two actors and exist only as long as both actors maintain their association. Around an actor an enormous variety of relations occurs that can be relevant in representing network structures and explaining their effects (Knoke and Yang 2008: 6-7). Here, social networks significant for escaping homelessness are defined through the benefits they normally create. Inazuki points out the following three benefits: source of information, source of mutual support, source for motivation in life and will to live (Inazuki 2008: 5). Because motivation in life and will to live are difficult to

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1 社会的排除は、積極的な他者や集団からの排除だけでなく、むしろ私事化がもたらす「社会的な つながり（ソーシャル・ボンド）」の分断状況の下で起きる社会的な孤立が問題を引き起こし、 問題の様相を増幅し深刻化させていくこと... Translation by the author.

measure, in this paper a social network is defined by two of these benefits: flow of information and mutual help. I consider those benefits gained from family members, friends and all other kinds of social groups and persons to have the potential of accelerating the process of escaping homelessness.

Homelessness in the Japanese context

Every concept of homelessness is socially constructed and subject to changes. As a social problem homelessness is addressed by politics and policy-making, thus forming the definitions of the term (MacKenzie 2012: 26). In Japan, the basis of the welfare state was already formulated in the 1950s and 1960s, as the demand for welfare and supply capacities increased (Kono 2005: 118-120). A revision of the old Public Assistance Law (Seikatsu hogohō 生活保護法) made it possible to respond to the problems of homeless people, who were very numerous after World War II. This law was in practice until the 1960s (Kuwahara 2007: 141-142). But the development of the welfare state was stopped by the oil crisis, which precipitated Japan into serious stagnation and convinced the authorities that the welfare state was an obstacle to economic competitiveness. Social welfare in Japan is thus now characterised by active informal welfare practices, economic performance substituting for state welfare, a status-segregated social insurance system, occupational welfare for 'core' workers, and low spending on personal social services. This system is designed to support self-help, mutual aid, market welfare activities and enterprise welfare (Kono 2005: 118-121).

These welfare practices are underpinned by traditional values (Kono 2005: 137). The government promotes the family as an institutionalised unit of support, based on a male breadwinner model (Ezawa 2002: 287). 'Core' workers receive enterprise welfare, used as a management tool to reward workers who devote themselves to work. The levels of services are strongly linked to the size of companies and workers' employment status (full time or part time) (Kono 2005: 122). Low-income families and families whose breadwinner has lost his or her income through illness, injury or unemployment qualify for temporary support in the form of public assistance and subsidised public housing units (Ezawa 2002: 287). In the Civil Code (Minpō 民法) there exists a duty of support for direct kins and siblings (*chokkei ketsuzoku oyobi kyōdai shimai no fuyō gimu* 直系血族及び兄弟姉妹の扶養義務; article 877) and in the Public Assistance Law the family support duty (*kazoku fuyō gimu* 家族扶養義務) clause. This produces an ideology of dependence on the family (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 198). People who are not capable of self-support and have no family members who can take care of them are eligible for social welfare payments. The basis for this is provided by article 25 of the Japanese Constitution (Kenpō 憲法), which guarantees a 'minimum standard of civilized

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living for every citizen' (Gill 2001a: 17). But in fact most local authorities refuse welfare applications from the homeless for two principal reasons: (a) a fixed address is missing; (b) the applicant fails to demonstrate that he is too old or ill to work, conditions that have been developed by bureaucrats and are not backed by the law (Gill 2001a: 17).

Until the 1990s people affected by this policy were mostly day labourers (*hiyatoi* 日雇い), who were always exposed to cyclical changes in the demand for labour, and frequently forced to sleep rough (Shima 2009: 110). All actions by the authorities dealing with rough sleepers were confined to certain areas, called *yoseba* 寄せ場 (Mizuuchi 2003: 52-53). These areas usually supported the lives of day labourers through cheap urban hostels, welfare facilities and job centres (Haraguchi 2010: 65-67). Day labourers are especially hired by companies from the construction industry. During the time they are working for a company, accommodation next to the workplace (*hanba* 飯場) is normally provided by the employer. But at the times when they are out of employment and looking for a new job, they have to leave this accommodation (Watanabe 2010b: 111) and use the cheap urban hostels in the *yoseba*.

These day labourers consist of former lower-class and upper-class workers, farmers, and nominally self-employed individuals, who were excluded from normal employment during the period of rapid economic growth when big companies in the construction industry started to hire new employees possessing high-school degrees to respond to the rising complexity of the job's technical structure. For people without a high-school degree it became more and more difficult to find a full-time job (Yamada 2009: 37). Today Kamagasaki 釜ヶ崎 in Ōsaka is the largest *yoseba* in Japan and the social relations of its inhabitants to the rest of Japan are formed by strong prejudices (Haraguchi 2010: 66). While surveys on homelessness conducted during the 1990s showed that about 40-60 percent of the homeless had worked as day labourers (Iwata 2007: 102), in the survey conducted by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in 2007 this percentage dropped to 33 percent (Watanabe 2010a: 135). Among the clients of the HSSC the percentage of former day labourers was 20 percent in 2009 (Mizuuchi 2011: 54).

During the 1990s, surveys on homelessness were rarely conducted (Iwata 2007: 102), but it can be stated that the number of homeless people started to increase noticeably in 1992, rose swiftly from 1998 until 2000 and after that dropped continuously. Although according to the Japanese government's survey the number of homeless people reached its peak in 2003 with 25,296 homeless individuals (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2003), the number of homeless people was already declining in the five largest cities (Tōkyō 東京, Yokohama 横浜, Kawasaki 川崎, Nagoya 名古屋 and Ōsaka) (Yamada 2009: 30). On one side, the rise of homeless people was triggered by the downturn of the *yoseba*. Although in the 1990s the number of people employed in the construction sector did not decrease, jobs for day labourers did decrease. Throughout the stagnating construction industry,

higher competition between the construction companies began, which encouraged price dumping and labour price cuts. Construction companies started to restructure and to rely heavily on subcontractors. Through the employment of foreign workers, announcements in newspapers and recruiting next to stations, they could ignore the ageing workers from the *yoseba*. Through these changes which were accelerated by the end of the bubble economy at the beginning of the 1990s, the *yoseba* lost its function as a reservoir for unemployed people (Yamada 2009: 37-40).

On the other side, however, the rising number of homeless people is related to changes in the structure of Japanese industry and a widening gap between the social strata as well. Through deregulation and privatisation, market competition was introduced to administrative areas. The government's responsibility weakened, especially towards the more vulnerable members of society. Furthermore, changes in industrial structure and the rationalisation of management occurred, wherein the industrial sector switched from heavy industry to high tech and the service industry. The necessary specialisation of employees accompanying this change led to higher selection among applicants, and the number of workers with temporary contracts, short-term contracts, subcontracts, or part-time contracts increased (Yamazaki 2006b: 37-38).

The rise of homeless people was accompanied by the introduction of the term *hōmuresu* ホームレス (homeless), that until the middle of the 1990s was used only when relating to (the phenomenon in) foreign countries. In reports about Japan, other terms such as *furōsha* 浮浪者 (vagabond/bum) were adopted (Ezawa 2002: 281). The English term *hōmuresu* was used for the first time in the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-Sufficiency of Homeless People by officials in Japan. The visible homeless (*mieru hōmuresu* 見えるホームレス), who had appeared in public places during the 1990s, became the object of public concern, and the term *hōmuresu* referred only to them. People who live in shelters and other facilities are not perceived as part of the problem (Mizuuchi 2009: 1). Through the use of the English term *hōmuresu*, rough sleepers were openly and legally defined as a new urban problem, although they still were partly day labourers (Mizuuchi 2009: 1; Ezawa 2002: 281). The use of this word has changed in recent years. Through the liberalisation of employment law, the number of people in irregular employment, which often included residence for the duration of the contract, and the number of people in unstable conditions of residence was on the rise. An extreme form are the so-called *nettokafe nanmin* ネットカフェ難民, people who sleep in internet cafes that are open 24 hours a day. They were also described as invisible homeless (*mienai hōmuresu* 見えないホームレス) in media reports. In 2008, the term was used in the revision of the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-Sufficiency of Homeless People (Yamada 2009: 52), and in 2009 in the government white papers as well (Tsutsumi 2010: 2). Those people who became rough sleepers and were counted in the surveys by the government in 2007 were mainly male (96.4

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percent) (Yamada 2009: 32). Furthermore, most of them were middle-aged and older
men in their 50s or 60s (Watanabe 2010a: 122-124), people to whom the public
welfare system does not respond. In Japan a man is normally assumed to work until
the age of 64, and cannot become subject to public assistance under normal condi-
tions. But for people over 50 who lose their employment it is hard to find a new job,
and many are forced into homelessness (Inazuki 2006: 154).

Characteristics of homeless people's social networks in Japan

In Japan, homelessness is often considered to be the responsibility of an individual
(*jiko sekinin* 自己責任). Becoming homeless supposedly is the unavoidable result of
laziness and nothing else than a self-earned punishment (Watanabe 2010a: 88-90).
The material deprivation of homeless people is associated with a free lifestyle that is
not bound to the prevailing ideology of hard work and fosters, therefore, antipathy
(Tamaki 2001: 58-59). As a result of this ideology of self-responsibility, help is not
considered as necessary. This attitude, formed by the labour ethic of modern Japa-
nese society, is justified through the necessity of selecting those people who are
allowed to get social welfare benefits. The same attitude is also shared by many
homeless people (Watanabe 2010a: 88-90) and day labourers. Most of them desire to
work every day and have a stable income. From their point of view it is also one's
own fault when somebody becomes homeless or receives public assistance (Tamaki
2001: 61-62).

   This attitude has a profound effect on the social relations of people who become
homeless. Although there may be friends or relatives they can contact, most indi-
viduals at risk of becoming homeless prefer to sleep rough. They do not intend to
rely on their families or anybody else and want to live instead by their own efforts
(Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 194). Many of them do not contact their families,
because they do not want to bother them, consider themselves as unable to meet
them in their recent situation, or want to see them only after they are able to live on
their own again (Inazuki 2006: 171).

   The welfare system holds the family of the homeless responsible for their mis-
eries and thus releases society from this duty (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 198-
199). But in the case of disadvantaged people, the role of the family is often differ-
ent, because they lack property or family members who can support them (Iwata
2007: 2007), or the family is simply not perceived as an institution that can support
them (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 188). In a survey by Tsumaki Shingo 妻木進吾
and Tsutsumi Keishirō 堤圭史郎, more than 20 percent of the homeless were raised
by only one parent or were not raised by their parents at all (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi
2010: 176). Furthermore, it showed that many homeless had been married (58
percent) or lived together with a woman (12 percent) and about 70 percent of them

had children (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 180). But most of them had divorced before becoming homeless (Iwata 2007: 150). This separation from the family is also accelerated by obligations to pay alimony. A clear break from the family makes it relatively easy to hide and avoid such payments (Gill 2011: 178). In some cases the relationship with family members carries a risk and is liable to increase problems instead of providing protection (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 191). There is a clear tendency for family relations, which are often weak from the beginning, to become weaker over time, until the individual at risk ends up in total isolation from the family shortly before becoming homeless (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 182).

Since the social networks of male Japanese are concentrated around the work-place, a frequent change of workplaces can be considered to have a negative effect on their social network. A high percentage of the homeless, around 40 percent, start their working life with a part-time job or as a day labourer. They change jobs very frequently, mostly in the construction industry or other blue collar occupations (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 176). Research on homeless people has showed that the percentage of people working in unstable employment rises shortly before becoming homeless (Iwata 2007: 124; Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 177-178; Yamada 2009: 33-34). About one-third of the people who become homeless switch to unstable employment in this period (Iwata 2007: 124).

This shift to unstable employment is also related to the housing situation. A shift to accommodation provided by the employer (*sumikomi* 住み込み) shortly before becoming homeless can be observed as well. About 75 percent of the people who become homeless and had worked in insecure employment lived also in such a place (Iwata 2007: 125-128). People who live in accommodation provided by the employer are often single and very few participate in community life. Their connection to society is often reduced to relations within the company. Most company accommodation does not support family life or community life. It does not support the sense of belonging to a community or provide the basis to build up relations to local communities (Iwata 2007: 131-133). Under these circumstances it is difficult to develop or maintain one's own family (Tsumaki and Tsutsumi 2010: 177-178). Therefore for these people, losing work is always accompanied by losing nearly all social relations (Iwata 2007: 133).

Support for the homeless in Japan

The enactment of the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-Sufficiency of Homeless People in 2002 was the starting point for a nationwide strategy to tackle the homeless issue. Together with the law, guidelines for its basic policy (Hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien tō ni kan suru kihon hōshin ホームレスの自立の支援等に関する基本方針) were published (Kuwahara 2007: 143). The law

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was originally limited to ten years, but was extended for another five years in July 2012. The law takes the form of instructions and is designed to ensure employment and the development of professional skills among homeless people (Kuwahara 2007: 154). Although the protection of human rights as well as a widening in the understanding and support of local communities are mentioned in the first article of the law (Ministry of International Affairs 2002: #dai1jō), it did not enact any new rights for the homeless. Instead, it grants financial help for public and private enterprises and provides planning outlines (Kuwahara 2007: 154).

Article three of this law points out its aims. Homeless individuals who want to become self-sufficient were to be provided with jobs and job training, support in finding a place to live, medical support, health insurance and personal guidance. Especially in areas where many people are at risk of becoming homeless, jobs would be created and life guidance provided. Finally, short-term shelters and goods necessary for daily life would be supplied (Ministry of International Affairs 2002: #dai3jō). Through this support homeless people should be encouraged to become self-sufficient. Although the term self-sufficiency is not further defined in the law, the suggestion is that it is strongly connected to work. This hypothesis is bolstered by the share of the budget that was funnelled towards work support. In the second year after the law was put into effect, 1.24 billion yen of the 2.7 billion yen budget were used for job assistance (Yamada 2009: 49). After five years, in 2007, the law and the policy guidelines were revised, but the content of the version published in July 2008 did not change much (Yamada 2009: 52). The law, the policy guidelines and their revision presuppose that there are already homeless people, and focus on helping them to find an appropriate home and employment. This is an approach designed to reduce the number of homeless people visible in the streets, but fails to approach the topic of social relations (Yamada 2009: 55).

In order to tackle the homeless problem in the past, mainly welfare facilities were built, which served as shelters. These facilities did not provide an exit strategy for their clients and they often became the last stage in the life of a day labourer. In contrast, the two present keywords of homeless support are self-sufficiency and community (chiiki 地域). The term self-sufficiency was used for the first time in 2000 by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (Kōseishō 厚生省) (Watanabe 2010a: 47) and stands for a change in the homeless support policy (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 125). The word self-sufficiency is often used in the context of self-sufficiency through work (shūrō jiritsu 就労自立), and self-sufficiency through a combination of welfare and work (hanfukushi hanshūrō jiritsu 半福祉半就労自立), suggesting that the aim of the support is a life in one's own home and not in a welfare facility. Furthermore the law points out that support for the homeless should be based in the community in which homelessness occurs (Watanabe 2010a: 47-48). A lot of municipalities have applied this idea of self-sufficiency. The HSSCs are also one part of this new strategy. Other welfare facilities that existed before the law

and were used by homeless people started to provide self-sufficiency support as well (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 125-127).

These new facilities are often termed transitional facility (*chūkan shisetsu* 中間施設)[2] and used by 68 percent of all homeless people in Japan who are looking for support. The facilities existing today are based on the above-mentioned Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-sufficiency of Homeless People, the Public Assistance Law or the Social Welfare Law (Shakai fukushihō 社会福祉法) (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 111-112). There are also facilities run and funded by local authorities who are not under a legal obligation to provide them (*hōgai shisetsu* 法外施設) (Gill 2001a: 17). In addition, facilities run by NPOs or the private sector exist too (Niji no rengō 2007: 16). Some of the prominent types of transitional facilities are the HSSC; the *sherutā* シェルター (shelter), a facility providing short-term accommodation for a maximum of six months and the necessities of daily life; the *kōsei shisetsu* 更生施設 (rehabilitation facility), which provides livelihood assistance for people who are in need of protection and physical or mental care or guidance; the *kyūgo shisetsu* 救護施設 (relief facility), designed for people who are not able to conduct their daily life on their own because of physical or mental disabilities, which provides a wide range of healthcare and rehabilitation guidance, work training and work (Niji no rengō 2007: 13-14); and the *muryō teikaku shukuhakujo* 無料低格宿泊所 (free or low budget hostel), which helps its clients to apply for public assistance and offers support for daily life as well as job assistance (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 126).

There are no general guidelines for transitional facilities regarding the size or type of the building, and many different types of houses are in use. The guidelines for the rooms vary from municipality to municipality. For instance, in the Shizuoka and Chiba prefectures more than 3.3 sq m must be available for each person, but in the Saitama prefecture it must be over 4.5 sq m. Most of the transitional facilities maintained by the public sector are designed for over 50 people, while about 80 percent of the private facilities are designed for ten or less. In the facilities run under the Special Law on Temporary Measures to Support the Self-Sufficiency of Homeless People a high percentage of rooms contain more than five people, but in facilities run under the Public Assistance Law rooms for three to four persons are very common, and in private facilities the rooms are usually for one or two persons. Unfortunately, on many occasions transitional facilities are not the desired hub between homelessness and life in the community. According to a survey conducted by Mizuuchi Toshio 水内俊雄 and Nakayama Tōru 中山徹 in the years 2006 and 2007, about 52 percent of the people who moved from a transitional facility into an

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2   Because this term lacks an official definition, *ichiji shisetsu* 一時施設 (short-term facility), *tsūka shisetsu* 通過施設 (pass-through facility), *tsūka kyojū shisetsu* 通過居住施設 (transitional living facility), or just *sherutā* シェルター (shelter) are frequently used synonymously.

apartment had already lived in the same type of facility in the past. This means that in many cases these people had moved from one transitional facility to another before being able to move into an apartment (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 111-112).

Next to people who use transitional facilities, there are also a considerable number of homeless people who move directly into apartments. According to the Niji no rengō 虹の連合 (Rainbow Coaltion) survey, 32 percent of the homeless applied for this kind of support and were taken directly into apartments nationwide (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 111). Organisations offering this kind of support are mostly NPOs (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 108), which help the homeless to find an apartment and apply for public assistance. The extent of the public assistance payment varies according to individual circumstances and region, but usually a single person can receive between 80,000-90,000 yen a month plus up to 40,000 yen of rent support (Gill 2005: 195). Court decisions have provided a kind of guideline for the conditions under which welfare benefits are granted (Kuwahara 2007: 142-148), and the conditions for allocation have therefore changed over time.

The caseworkers from the welfare office, who are responsible for the people receiving public assistance, are basically occupied with co-ordinating welfare resources. Because one caseworker is responsible for approximately 80 households (Mizuuchi and Inada 2009: 155-156), support for those who have become self-sufficient is very often conducted by the staff of transitional facilities. In 2007, about 64 percent of the people who left transitional facilities stayed in contact with the staff (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 109). The latter try to help clients to find their way into the community through neighborhood associations, voluntary activities or other action. In other words, they try to extend the activities of the facilities to the community (Mizuuchi and Inada 2009: 156).

The organisations in Japan supporting the homeless are joint ventures of the public sector with private companies or NPOs, a form of co-operation that started at the end of the 1990s (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 124), along with advocacy for small government (Yamazaki 2006a: 275). The availability of transitional facilities differs very much, therefore, by region. Regional officials apply differing strategies in order to deal with homeless people according to the regional structure of the private sector and NPOs that co-operate with them (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 125). In Ōsaka, which is home to the day labourer district Kamagasaki and therefore has a long history of homeless support, a wide range of different homeless facilities were able to develop. According to Mizuuchi and Nakayama, in 2007 about 50 percent of the homeless in Ōsaka used healthcare facilities as a way out of homelessness; 30 percent used different transitional facilities like the HSSCs; a further 16 percent were taken directly into apartments, 2 percent used other kinds of support, and 1 percent used free or low budget hostels (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 122-123).

The Self-sufficiency Support Centre

The support of the HSSCs basically follows the idea that the desire among the homeless to participate in society and to be able to live through their own efforts can find a response through work (Mizuuchi and Hanano 2003: 89). The aim of the facility is, according to an information sheet of the Nishinari HSSC, as follows:

> The aim is to support people who have lost their home because of unemployment or other issues and who live in parks and on streets inside Ōsaka city. For people who have the will and the ability to work, self-sufficiency through work is promoted not only by providing shelter and food but also by conducting physical checkups, life consultation, guidance, employment consultation, mediation etc. (Jiritsu shien sentā Nishinari 2011: 1).[3]

The clientele of the HSSC is defined as people who are willing to work and who can be expected to become self-sufficient very soon (Jiritsu shien sentā Nishinari 2011: 1). This means that they have no illness hindering them from working, that they are of an age that allows them to respond to job offers, that they have no obstacles preventing community life in the facility, and that they must be able to register as residents and to apply for jobs from the Harōwāku public job centre (*Kōkyō shoku-gyō anteijo harōwāku* 公共職業安定所ハローワーク). In Ōsaka city only male clients are accepted. Although the official policy is that generally everybody who wants to enter a HSSC can do so, in Ōsaka three institutions, the consultation patrol (*Junkai sōdan* 巡回相談), the welfare office (*Fukushi jimusho* 福祉事務所) and the assessment centre, have an impact on the selection of clients. The consultation patrol is an organisation created by the city administration but run by a private organisation, the Ōsaka jikyōkan 大阪自彊館. It builds up direct contact with the homeless who live in public places or through other organisations such as the OSAKA charenji netto OSAKAチャレンジネット, an organisation designed to address the *nettokafe nanmin*, the Kamagasaki shien kikō 釜ヶ崎支援機構, a NPO dealing with the local problems of the day labourer district Kamagasaki, or the public parks and roads administration. Those who want to use a HSSC are assessed according to their abilities and their willingness to work (Morimatsu 2006: 244-245) and recommended to the assessment centre. The welfare offices of the 24 wards of Ōsaka city recommend the HSSC to homeless people who consult them. The information it passes on to people who go there to seek help can be considered as very influential in their decision to go to a HSSC (Yamada 2009: 150-151). The assessment centre opened in 2006 and assesses all those who want to enter a HSSC for a period of up to one month. Next to the evaluation of their state of health and capability for work the stay in the assessment centre is also important for physical and mental recovery.

3　失業等により住居をなくし、大阪市内の公園、道路等で起居する野宿生活者の内、就労意欲、能力があるもの等に対して、宿所及び食事を提供すると共に、健康診断、生活相談、指導及び職業相談、斡旋等を行うことにより、入所者の就労による自立促進を支援することを目的とする。

mental recovery. According to its business status report, between 1 January 2006 and 1 January 2011 about 79 percent of the clients moved on to a HSSC (Jiritsu shien sentā maishima 1 2011).

While in the government survey of 2007 the average age of the homeless was 58 years (Yamada 2009: 32), according to the operational status of the assessment centre the average age of the clients was 47 years in 2011. The proportion of clients who need medical treatment is high: 61 percent of the clients get outpatient treatment while they are in the assessment centre and 5 percent have to stay as an inpatient at a hospital. Clients tend further to have a short record of rough sleeping compared to other homeless (Yamada 2009: 151). The number of clients who slept rough for only one week or less doubled in the period of six years up to 2009 (Iwata 2010: 33-34). Among the assessment centre's clients, 23 percent are considered as having only a short record of rough sleeping, but this number reached 42 percent in January 2011. Seventy-five percent of the clients were from the five central wards of Ōsaka city, Kita 北, Chūō 中央, Naniwa 浪速, Nishinari 西成 and Tennōji 天王寺. This pattern is similar to the distribution of rough sleepers in Ōsaka. Already in 1998 Mizuuchi had pointed out that 78 percent of the rough sleepers live in these five wards (Mizuuchi 2003: 37).

In the HSSC the clients do not get public assistance. They get only public health insurance and their basic needs, like shelter, food, clothes, money for transport and so on, are provided for. In Ōsaka as a general rule, clients can stay up to three months in the facility and can extend to a maximum of six months. Because extensions are very frequent, six months is the normal period for one stay (Yamada 2009: 115). Two of the HSSCs in Ōsaka are equipped for a maximum of 100 people, and the other two can host up to 65 people each. One room is designed for 10-12 people. Three of the HSSCs were opened in 2000, the assessment centre and one additional HSSC were opened in 2006. Furthermore, in 2011 two of them had satellites (*sateraito* サテライト) for ten people, consisting of separate flats in the vicinity of the facility. In Ōsaka, two social welfare organisations run the HSSCs, the Miotsukushi fukushikai みおつくし福祉会 and the Ōsaka jigyōkan. Both of them also run other facilities for homeless or socially disadvantaged people. While Ōsaka jigyōkan is an independent body, the Miotsukushi fukushikai can be regarded as having strong links with the city government. Several of its staff consist of serving or retired members of the city government (Gill 2005: 200).

The life in the facilities is characterised by strictly regulated routines and rules. For instance, the time at which the clients have to get up in the morning, have breakfast or look for jobs is regulated. Because many homeless suffer from alcoholism and compulsive gambling, such activities are restricted in the facility. A curfew prevents clients from leaving the facility during the night, and they have to state what they intend to do when they go out during the day. Although these restrictions are mainly designed to help the clients, some can be considered as a concession to

the frequent objections from the neighbourhood to the facility. This kind of opposition gives some clients the feeling that their attempts to become involved are in vain, and that they just bother others. As a consequence they start to avoid the local community (Watanabe 2010a: 216).

Three basic institutions are compulsory for every client. Every client has to attend a seminar (*saicharenji seminā* 再チャレンジセミナー), which should prepare and motivate them for work. Once a month they have to attend a group meeting (*gurūpu mītingu* グループミーティング) together with the staff, where problems are discussed, and meetings with the personal trainer (*teirei mensetsu* 定例面接) are conducted on a regular basis. In these meetings, plans are made for the goals the clients want to achieve during their stay in the facility. The maximum stay of six months turns out to be in reality quite a short period for finding a job and saving enough money for their own apartment. The money they need to save in this period is considered to be at least 300,000 yen, to cover the costs of a new apartment, furniture and other necessary things for the new home, and make a living until they get their next salary. The average salary of a client is between 130,000 yen and 140,000 yen, of which around 100,000 yen can be saved in one month. Because the salary for a month is always paid at the beginning of the next month, normally four months' work is required to save enough money. To get just one invitation for a job interview about three to four applications are necessary, and the clients have to write six to eight applications a week to find a job in two months. Because of illness, the frustration caused by difficulties during job-hunting, or skills training it is difficult to work enough to save the required money in six months (Morimatsu 2006: 254-256).

The public job centre sends career consultants to the HSSC who are specialised in supporting former homeless people. These career consultants teach how to write a job application, give advice on job-hunting and help those who have problems establishing themselves in the workplace. They publish job offers in the HSSC that can be chosen freely by the clients and are meant to fit their needs. The work offered by the career consultants is most of the time for unskilled workers, and jobs like delivery boys or trash collectors are frequent (Morimatsu 2006: 258). Among these job offers very few are really appropriate for clients seeking to become self-sufficient, and the competition with other applicants who have better qualifications is fierce. This makes it often difficult to find appropriate work (Kohara 2002: 85). Support organisations that introduce clients directly to employers exist too. Clients who use the service of such organisations can be easily supported after they leave the facility, because the employer knows about the client's problems and co-operates with the HSSC (Morimatsu 2006: 258-259). Furthermore there are also companies that offer temporary internships (*shinkō koyō jigyō* 進行雇用事業), normally lasting three months, and give the clients the chance to adapt to a working life (Yamada 2009: 123). Some clients also try to find a job through job-hunting magazines or

other job announcements. In the case where a client gets a job without consulting his
or her personal trainer, the staff check the conditions of employment and send the
results to the client (Morimatsu 2006: 260).

Clients can also undergo some skills training conducted by NPOs during their
stay. The NPO offering this kind of service in Ōsaka is the Miotsukushi fukushikai
koyō kaihatsushitsu みおつくし福祉会雇用開発室. Basically they provide train-
ing for forklift trucks (*fōkurifuto* フォークリフト), cleaning (*seisō* 清掃), building
maintenance (*tatemono kanri* 建物管理), computers (*pasokon* パソコン), home
care support *(hōmuherupā* ホームヘルパー) and different kinds of driving licences
(Morimatsu 2006: 268-269). Research on the HSSCs showed that about 40 percent
of the clients leave or are dismissed from their first job because of health problems,
troubles with colleagues or superiors, or other handicaps. The social workers at the
HSSCs therefore try to build up a family-like atmosphere, to make it easier for
clients to consult about their problems, in order to prevent them from quitting their
work (Morimatsu 2006: 260-262).

Two peculiarities of the Japanese housing market—a rental deposit (*shikikin* 敷
金), that is usually as high as the rent for three months and is paid when a new
contract is signed, and the guarantor (*hoshōnin* 保証人) system, requiring someone
to guarantee that the rent will be paid—become a hindrance when clients want to
move into an apartment. About 50 percent of clients are able to pay the deposit. For
those who cannot save enough money, in many cases the deposit is paid by the
welfare office (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009: 115), a policy adopted in the year
2003 (Iwata 2010: 32). It is especially difficult in large cities to find an apartment
that does not require a guarantor. Thus companies that act as a guarantor (*hoshōnin
daikō gaisha* 保証人代行会社) are frequently used (Mizuuchi and Nakayama 2009:
15-16).

Next to job assistance and support in finding an apartment, medical support to
help in curing addictions and healing those who have fallen ill is also offered. To
solve the legal problems of clients, nearly all of whom are heavily indebted, legal
support is provided by bar associations co-operating with the HSSC. The HSSCs in
Ōsaka provide support to restore social relations only in order to foster relations
between clients or between clients and staff. For instance, two of the facilities once a
week run a cafe that enables former clients to keep in contact with the facility and
wards off isolation.

Clients are encouraged to stay in contact with the HSSC after they leave. Mem-
bers of this so-called Old Boys Club (*OB-kai,* OB会) will be contacted for a period
of three years on a regular basis. During this time, those who have left are contacted
once a month by telephone and twice a year get a greeting card (*shochū mimai* 暑中
見舞い, *nengajō* 年賀状). In addition, it also happens that former clients who face
problems may contact the HSSC. According to the data of one of the HSSCs, issues
regarding life in general and money dominate. Next to simple advice, concrete help

such as administration of one's salary or support in applying for social services is also offered.

In the three HSSCs analysed here, 37 percent of all clients became self-sufficient through work. Around a further 7 percent applied for public assistance, moved on to other facilities or into hospital. An average of 29 percent left of their own accord, in most instances without finding any work, and about 27 percent left without any results or had some other reasons for going. In recent years it became easier for homeless people to apply for public assistance. While in 2009 only 8 percent of the leavers from all four facilities in Ōsaka received public assistance, in 2010 they were 28 percent (Mizuuchi 2011: 54). The number of clients who find work is not only related to the different characteristics of the HSSCs and the clients they accept, but is considered to be also related to the economic situation (Iwata 2010: 33-34).

Leavers' social networks

In order to find out how the support of the HSSC changed the social networks of their former clients, their relations with other people were analysed. Respondents were classified into three categories according to their work status: the category of unemployed contained respondents who stated that they were unemployed or were looking for a job at that moment; the category of insecure employment contained respondents who stated that they are working on a temporary or a subcontract basis, as part-timers or day labourers; and the category of secure employment contained respondents who stated that they had regular employment. Nineteen percent of respondents belonged to the unemployed category, 55 percent belonged to the category of insecure employment, and 26 percent to the category of secure employment.

Table 1 Respondents' attributes

	unemployed	insecure employment	secure employment	total
respondents (absolute numbers, percent)	10	29	14	53
	19%	55%	26%	100%
people who considered themselves as mentally or physically handicapped (absolute numbers, percent)	4	11	3	18
	40%	38%	21%	34%
people with only a junior high school degree (absolute numbers, percent)	6	9	6	21
	60%	31%	43%	40%

	unemployed	insecure employment	secure employment	average
age (years)	47	49	56	51
time slept rough (months)	18	11	8	12
time spent in the centre (months)	8	8	7	8
time since leaving the centre (months)	19	22	27	23

The respondents' average age was 51 years, and people in secure employment turned out to be slightly older than the rest. A further 34 percent of the respondents considered themselves as mentally or physically handicapped. This percentage was higher especially among the unemployed and insecure employment categories. In addition, the percentage of people with only a junior high school degree was higher among the unemployed respondents than among the rest. This group also had a longer record of rough sleeping. While the time spent in the HSSC was nearly equal, people in secure employment had been away from the centre for a longer period than the rest (see Table 1).

Relations to other people were recorded according to the benefits they created: a flow of information and mutual help (Inazuki 2008: 5). For both benefits an indicator for a weak relationship and an indicator for a strong relationship were applied, resulting in the following four indicators: as a measurement for the flow of information, (1) 'repeated contact' (a weak relationship), defined as repeated interaction between the same two people, that could be a simple greeting, a conversation and also an indirect communication like an e-mail, a letter, a telephone conversation or others, and (2) 'consulting and exchange of opinions' (strong relationship), were used. As a measurement for mutual help, (3) 'exchange of things and mutual help' (weak relationship) and (4) 'exchange of money' (strong relationship), considered to require more trust, were employed. The respondents were asked to name how many people they had contact with according to the four indicators. In addition they had to assign each person to one of the following six categories: 'family'; 'work', containing all the people they met at the workplace; 'former clients' of the HSSC; 'staff' of the HSSC; 'community activities' such as neighbourhood associations, organisations formed around a hobby, voluntary organisations and citizen movements; and 'others', covering all those who did not match the other categories.

The results show that respondents who were unemployed had in particular repeated contact to other former clients of the HSSC, its staff and people in the category of 'others'. The staff of the facility and other former clients were an especially important source for consulting and exchange of opinions. Exchange of things and mutual help, as well as exchange of money, was hardly ever conducted. The contact

to family members and relations established through community activities played a minor role (see Table 2).

Table 2 Contacts of unemployed people (n=10)

	repeated contact		consulting and exchange of opinions		exchange of things and mutual help		exchange of money	
	%	partner	%	partner	%	partner	%	partner
family	20%	3.0	20%	3.5	0%	0.0	0%	0.0
former clients	50%	2.0	30%	1.0	10%	1.0	10%	1.0
staff	80%	3.4	70%	2.9	10%	5.0	0%	0.0
community activities	10%	30.0	10%	10.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0
others	50%	1.6	30%	2.0	10%	2.0	10%	1.0

Respondents in insecure employment had repeated contact with people at work, the staff of the HSSC and to a lesser extent other former clients. Through work they had repeated contact with an average of 7.3 people. But on the other side these data show that work does not always create new social relations. Among clients in insecure employment, 28 percent stated that they had no repeated contact with other people at the workplace. One of the four interviewees, working part time, stated that his workplace did not give him any opportunity to get in touch with other people. His work as he described it involved arranging bicycles at parking lots, a job he does alone and which does not demand any social interaction. Furthermore his employer did not provide any kind of getting-together with colleagues. According to the survey, for consulting and exchange of opinions the staff of the HSSC plays an important role. To a lesser extent former clients consulted and exchanged opinions with colleagues at work and other former clients. Exchange of things and mutual help as well as exchange of money was mainly conducted with colleagues at work. For respondents in insecure employments as well, contact with family members and relations established through community activities played a minor role (see Table 3).

Table 3 Contacts of people in insecure employment (n=29)

	repeated contact		consulting and exchange of opinions		exchange of things and mutual help		exchange of money	
	%	partner	%	partner	%	partner	%	partner
family	3%	1.0	10%	1.0	7%	1.0	3%	1.0
work	72%	7.3	38%	3.6	24%	3.1	10%	3.7
former clients	31%	2.7	28%	2.1	10%	2.7	3%	2.0
staff	72%	2.5	76%	2.5	17%	2.8	3%	1.0
community activities	14%	4.3	3%	1.0	3%	1.0	0%	0.0
others	24%	2.4	14%	1.8	0%	0.0	3%	1.0

Respondents in secure employment had repeated contact with other people, espe-
cially at the workplace. On average they met repeatedly with 10.2 other people
there. Furthermore they had repeated contact with the staff of the facility and to a
lesser extent with other former clients. What is striking here is the absence of re-
peated contact through community activities and with other people. It can be as-
sumed that this is a consequence of the working conditions many former clients
face. Two of the four interviewed, who were truck drivers, worked in shifts and
overtime was frequent. Asked about what they want to see changed in their lives,
one of them answered: 'I don't have many needs. If you have a life like this, you
only go home, eat and sleep. Therefore, I cannot do something like going out and
having fun after 4:00 in the morning [the time he usually came back from work].'[4]

The fact that 57 percent of former clients used the relationship with the staff of the
HSSC for consulting and exchange of opinions shows that among the people in
secure employment a need to consult with somebody about their troubles exists as
well. But the relations built up through work perform this function only to a very
low degree. In particular, the relations to former clients are used for exchange of
things and mutual help. Exchange of money is conducted to a low degree with
colleagues at work and other former clients (see Table 4).

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4   あまり意欲がないんでね。もうこんな生活してたら、家に帰ってご飯食べて寝るだけだから、朝
    4時から遊びに行くとかはないしね。

Table 4 Contacts of people in secure employment (n=14)

	repeated contact		consulting and exchange of opinions		exchange of things and mutual help		exchange of money	
	%	partner	%	partner	%	partner	%	partner
family	14%	1.0	7%	1.0	0%	0.0	7%	1.0
work	93%	10.2	14%	3.0	7%	2.0	14%	1.5
former clients	29%	1.8	21%	1.7	21%	1.7	14%	2.0
staff	71%	2.2	57%	1.5	7%	1.0	7%	1.0
community activities	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0
others	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0

Relations with the family did not develop significantly after the clients left the HSSC and had only a minor role for mutual help regardless of employment status. In reality many homeless people come from dysfunctional families. For instance, two of the four interviewees were raised in children's homes, and the other two were partly raised by just one parent. About 60 percent of the homeless people had children of their own (Kawagami 2005: 13-14). Among the four interviewees three had their own children. Two had no contact with the children and explained that they wanted to wait until things had settled down, or supposed that too much time had passed and the children did not want to meet their fathers again.

Work is a chance to get into contact with many people, but in the case of irregular employment in particular it is not a guarantor of it. In the case of people in secure employment, relations with people at the workplace are not used for consulting or mutual help. In many cases, respondents stayed in contact with other former clients. This relationship is also often used for consulting and mutual help. In this survey, the relationship with the staff of the HSSC was important for getting in touch with former clients, and therefore many respondents stated that they had repeated contact with the HSSC staff. Regardless of employment status, the staff at the centre was also often used for consultation and exchange of opinions. Furthermore, only a very small number of respondents participated in community activities. Although they met repeatedly with a large number of people through these activities, these relations did not become a resource for mutual help. Relations with other people can involve different kinds of welfare workers as well and are therefore hard to interpret. But what is striking is the absence, among the respondents in secure employment, of relationships with people belonging to the categories of community activities and others.

Conclusion

The concept behind the HSSC is to enable the homeless to become self-sufficient through their own work. The homeless get as much help as is necessary to allow them to live again on their own and therefore not on public assistance. Initially, this seems to be the ideal solution. By following the ideology of self-responsibility, the self-pride of the supported can be protected and the involvement of the state can be reduced to a minimum at the same time. But instead of perceiving homelessness as a systemic failure, the support of the HSSC places—in Buchardt et al.'s terms—'the individual's behavior and moral values at center stage' (Burchardt et al. 2002: 3), by trying to change the attitude and abilities of its clients. Its main approach of social inclusion through work is out of reach for most clients, and, as the high numbers of people who leave without finding work or a home indicate, the facility often fails to provide an alternative strategy.

The results of the survey prove only to a certain point the hypothesis that regular employment enables HSSCs' former clients to contact family members and former friends again and build up new social relations. Through secure employment, those formerly homeless make easy contact with many people, but the social networks they are able to build up seem to stay very weak and are unbalanced. To a large part they consist only of colleagues and sometimes of other former clients. What is most striking is the minor role of the former clients' relations to family members, which are generally considered as an important source of mutual support and of lending and borrowing money (Iwata 2007: 153). Although the workplace is the place where many new relations can be built up, these relations do not fulfill the usual role. While the national average for people using colleagues at the workplace to consult and exchange opinion is about six out of seven (Naikakufu 2007: 132-133), this number is much lower for former clients in insecure and secure employment. Furthermore, because only about one-third of the HSSC's clients find work, this kind of relationships can be built up only by a minority. Community activities, which about one-third of the Japanese participate in (Naikakufu 2007: 139-140), also have a minor role for the respondents of this survey and the relations they can build up there do not become a source for consulting or any kind of mutual help. The HSSC does not actively support the rebuilding of social relations. But the time spent in the HSSC together with other people leads often to relationships that are also sustained after their departure and can become important for consultation and mutual help. These results suggest that work is not the ultimate tool to rebuild the social networks of formerly homeless people.

As Mathew Marr has shown, only in a few cases do social relations play a crucial role in the pathway out of homelessness, and the HSSC therefore does not actively support their rebuilding (Marr 2012: 20). The HSSC's strategy of strengthening abilities required in the job market can be considered as a result of the Japanese

socio-economic context. Although it may be the most effective tool in terms of overcoming homelessness, it is not able to change damaged social networks, and leaves those formerly homeless alone with this problem.

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GLOSSARY

asesumento sentā	アセスメントセンター	assessment centre
chiiki	地域	community
chokkei ketsuzoku oyobi kyōdai shimai no fuyō gimu	直系血族及び兄弟姉妹の扶養義務	support duty for direct kinship and siblings
chūkan shisetsu	中間施設	transitional facility
Chūō	中央	Chūō (one of Ōsaka city's 24 wards)
fōkurifuto	フォークリフト	forklift truck
fukushi jimusho	福祉事務所	welfare office
furōsha	浮浪者	vagabond, bum
gurūpu mītingu	グループミーティング	group meeting
hanba	飯場	accommodation next to the work-place
hanfukushi hanshūrō jiritsu	半福祉半就労自立	self-sufficiency through a combina-tion of welfare and work
hiyatoi	日雇い	day labourer
hōgai shisetsu	法外施設	welfare facilities which are provided by local governments although they have no legal obligation to do so
hōmuherupā	ホームヘルパー	home care aid
hōmuresu	ホームレス	homeless
hōmuresu jiritsu shien sentā	ホームレス自立支援センター	homeless self-sufficiency support centre
Hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien tō ni kan suru kihon hōshin	ホームレスの自立の支援等に関する基本方針	Basic Policy for the Self-Sufficiency Support of Homeless People
Hōmuresu no jiritsu no shien tō ni kan suru tokubetsu sochihō	ホームレスの自立の支援等に関する特別措置法	Special Law on Temporary Meas-ures to Support the Self-Sufficiency of Homeless People
hoshōnin	保証人	guarantor
hoshōnin daikō gaisha	保証人代行会社	a company that acts as a guarantor
ichiji shisetsu	一時施設	short-term facility
Inazuki Tadashi	稲月正	Japanese scholar
jiko sekinin	自己責任	self-responsibility
jiritsu	自立	self-sufficiency
junkai sōdan	巡回相談	consultation patrol
Kamagasaki	釜ヶ崎	Kamagasaki (the day labourer district of Ōsaka)
Kamagasaki shien kikō	釜ヶ崎支援機構	Organisation to Support the Home-less in Kamagasaki
Kawasaki	川崎	Kawasaki (city in the Kantō region)
kazoku fuyō gimu	家族扶養義務	family support duty
Kenpō	憲法	Constitution
Kita	北	Kita (one of Ōsaka city's 24 wards)
kōkyō shokugyō anteijo harōwāku	公共職業安定所ハローワーク	public job centre 'Hello Work'

kōsei shisetsu	更生施設	rehabilitation facility
Kōseishō	厚生省	Ministry of Health and Welfare
kyūgo shisetsu	救護施設	relief facility
mienai hōmuresu	見えないホームレス	invisible homeless
mieru hōmuresu	見えるホームレス	visible homeless
Minpō	民法	Civil Code
Miotsukushi fukushikai	みおつくし福祉会	Miotsukushi Fukushikai Social Welfare Corporation
Miotsukushi fukushikai koyō kaihatsushitsu	みおつくし福祉会雇用開発室	Employment Activation Department of the Miotsukushi Fukushikai Social Welfare Corporation
Mizuuchi Toshio	水内俊雄	Japanese scholar
Morita Yōji	森田洋司	Japanese scholar
muryō teikaku shukuha-kujho	無料低格宿泊所	free or low budget hostel
Nagoya	名古屋	Nagoya (city in the Chūbu region)
Nakayama Tōru	中山徹	Japanese scholar
Naniwa	浪速	Naniwa (one of Ōsaka city's 24 wards)
nengajō	年賀状	New Year's greeting card
nettokafe nanmin	ネットカフェ難民	internet cafe refugees
Niji no rengō	虹の連合	The Rainbow Coalition (a coalition of several private organisations supporting the homeless)
Nishinari	西成	Nishinari (one of Ōsaka city's 24 wards)
NPO hōjin hōmuresu shien zenkoku nettowāku	NPO法人ホームレス支援全国ネットワーク	NPO National Homeless Support Network
OBkai	OB会	old boys club
OSAKA charenji netto	OSAKAチャレンジネット	Ōsaka Challenge Net (a welfare organisation that specialises in *nettokafe nanmin*)
Ōsaka jikyōkan	大阪自彊館	Ōsaka jikyōkan (welfare organisation dealing with the problems of the day labourer district of Kamagasaki in Ōsaka)
Ōsakashi	大阪市	Ōsaka city
pasokon	パソコン	personal computers
saicharenji seminā	再チャレンジセミナー	a seminar to prepare for a self-sufficient life
sateraito	サテライト	satellite (apartment rented by a welfare facility)
Seikatsu hogohō	生活保護法	Public Assistance Law
seisō	清掃	cleaning
Shakai fukushihō	社会福祉法	Social Welfare Law
sherutā	シェルター	shelter
shikikin	敷金	deposit
shinkō koyō jigyō	進行雇用事業	temporary internships

shochū mimai	暑中見舞い	summer greeting card
shūrō jiritsu	就労自立	self-sufficiency through work
sumikomi	住み込み	accommodation provided by the employer, live-in
tatemono kanri	建物管理	building maintenance
teirei mensetsu	定例面接	a regular meeting
Tennōji	天王寺	Tennōji (one of Ōsaka city's 24 wards)
Tōkyō	東京	Tōkyō (capital of Japan)
tsūka kyojū shisetsu	通過居住施設	transitional living facility
tsūka shisetsu	通過施設	pass-through facility
Tsumaki Shingo	妻木進吾	Japanese scholar
tsunagari	つながり	social relations
Tsutsumi Keishirō	堤圭史郎	Japanese scholar
Yamada Sōshirō	山田壮志郎	Japanese scholar
Yokohama	横浜	Yokohama (city in the Kantō area)
yoseba	寄せ場	place where day labourers gather together to look for work