



# Marginality in Japanese Society : Globalisation, Nojukusha, and Homelessness in Contemporary Japan

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## Article Info

### Publication Issue :

July-August-2023

Volume 6, Issue 4

### Page Number : 28-40

### Article History

Received : 01 Aug 2023

Published : 13 Aug 2023

**ABSTRACT** - This paper focuses on the hiyatoi (day labourers) and how they became nojukusha (persons who sleep outside, people with rough sleep). The hiyatoi are people who make a living from informal jobs, such as day jobs, street jobs, or contract jobs at construction sites and in factories. During the 'Archipelago Remodeling', the period of high economic growth in the 1960s, the day workers took part in the construction of highways, bullet trains, etc. When these workers reached retirement age and Japan was severely impacted by the recession, they were unable to find new employment and were forced to spend their nights in flop houses in order to work in the shaky construction industry. If they lost their jobs, they would also lose their homes. Due to their structural weakness, they were more easily identified as homeless people.

**KEYWORDS** : Hiyatoi, Ikizurasa, Nojukusha, Yoseba, Deyosebisation, Globalisation, InternetCafé Refugees.

**Introduction** - Despite being one of the richest nations in the world, Japan still continues to have a sizable share in global economy. However, its wealth is the result of hidden sacrifices. One of them is homelessness. In Japanese, the definition of "homeless" (Hômuresu) is narrow. In fact, it is almost entirely limited to homeless street people. Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG), which has had the most homeless people in Japan after Osaka City, has defined the homeless as "street dwellers" (Rojôseikatsusha), meaning "people who live everyday life in public spaces, such as roads, parks, riversides, stations, etc. The majority of homeless individuals in Japan are men; they are overwhelmingly middle-aged and old; and they have the following characteristics: the majority had previously held blue-collar jobs, and many had spent years working as day laborers or in irregular jobs. This paper will analyse the impact of Globalisation on the hiyatoi (day-labourers and casually employed unskilled workers) in Japan. It will throw light on the phenomenon of deyosebisation and how globalisation has led to deyosebisation in major cities of Japan leading to unemployment which has further exacerbated homelessness.

Background- Young workers from the agricultural, coal, and small trades, rather than migrant labor, were used to fill the needs of large construction projects and the expanding manufacturing industry during the period of economic stability and bubble economy in the 1970s and 1980s when State-controlled public investment first started. Many of these blue collar workers were forced to do the “3K” jobs [kitanai(dirty), kiken(dangerous), kitsui(difficult)]. These workers moved from job to job as day- and contract workers in construction sites and factories. When no jobs were available, the jobless assembled in yoseba districts in large cities (San'ya in Tokyo, Kamagasaki in Osaka, etc.), where day- and contract workers co-habited in flophouses (doya), obtained jobs from brokers, and commuted from yoseba to worksites. There are many reasons behind the increasing homelessness among the hiyatoi turning them into nojukusha (persons who sleep outside, people with rough sleep). The doya, which the hiyatoi were housed in locally and which provided temporary shelter and community utilities, are continuously making way for higher grade buildings, leaving them with limited accommodation options. This is an example of economic transition. The hiyatoi are denied access to communal and welfare programs that once helped them live because they are becoming more and more transient and lack a permanent location. (Fowler 1996)

The increasing homelessness of hiyatoi turning them into nojukusha, presents a compelling portrait of a community in transition, undergoing downward mobility and declassification. Despite the ongoing issues, people in these communities also feel conflicted emotions of "misery and pride." As an example of the latter, the annual Spring Offensive, a ritualized event at New Year's time, is an effort to unite community members who are self governing and collectively try to prevent deaths from freezing due to lack of shelter. There is a summer festival as well in which students and some union members join the homeless during these gatherings. The term 'social movement' applied to the communities of homeless men provides seems apt when considering all of their activities (Gill, 2001, pp. 180-185). From the late 1980s, Japanese employers also began to employ foreign workers to combat the acute shortage of unskilled labor that "threatened to paralyze many small- and medium-sized businesses, especially in the manufacturing sector," which was partly caused by an ageing population and a persistent effort to contain wage costs (Tsuda, 1999, p.687). Brazilians with Japanese ancestry were initially sought for by employers to fill positions, and later their spouses, as they shared Japanese work ethics, cultural traditions, and physiognomy. Because they were thought to work harder and longer hours and were "more willing to do overtime, night shifts, and difficult tasks," they were given preferential treatment over Japanese part- time workers (Tsuda, 1999, p.596). Asian trainees and interns, particularly those from China, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines, have become more and more important to Japanese employers since the 2000s across a variety of industries, but especially tiny, "family-run manufacturers and employers in the farming and fishing industries"(Shipper, 2011, p.506). It is pertinent to talk more about the intern program here. Despite being conducted covertly, the act of importing unskilled foreign labor is illegal in Japan. As a backdoor to importing foreign unskilled labor, the Technical Intern Training Programme was developed in 1993 (updated in 2009 and 2014). Typically, internships last three years. In Japan's "foreign technical intern" program, which is supported by the Japan International Training Cooperation Organization, a foundation funded by the government and member groups. (Harvey and Slodkowski, 2014).

According to the most recent government statistics, Japan has roughly 155,000 technical interns. The majority—nearly 70%—come from China, where some labor recruiters demand that applicants pay bonds totaling thousands of dollars in order to work in Japan (Harvey and Slodkowski, 2014). Interns toil in fields, metal-working shops, food and clothing manufacturers, and garment factories. Workplaces where labor abuse is pervasive include: According to a 2012 assessment by labour inspectors, 79% of the businesses that used interns were in violation of labor rules (Harvey and Slodkowski, 2014). According to Harvey and Slodkowski (2014), the 'trainee system' in Japan might actually be a cover for a sweatshop, as international interns are forced to shoulder the burden of Japan's labor shortage. Some interns are unable to endure the suffering and flee their "employer" before their internship is complete, becoming illegal employees. The emergence of this trainee system has exacerbated the import of cheap labour from China thereby further endangering the employment opportunities of the already beleaguered *hiyatoi*. This has according to Hdie Aoki further propelled the *deyosebisation* of the *hiyotai*, resulting in many of them becoming *nojukusha*.

**Deyosebisation and Homelessness-** A part of the younger population known as the "working poor" has grown over the past several years. The majority of them have intermittently held part-time jobs. Temporary workers put forth just as much effort as regular employees, but they lack benefits and security. A *yoseba* is a segregated district where labour recruiters deliver jobs to day-labourers who are mostly single men. Kamagasaki is the biggest *yoseba* in Japan. The labour recruiters are usually agents of companies who are the actual employers or employers with small-sized enterprises, themselves mostly in the construction industry. The process by which day laborers leave the *yoseba* (the urban day labor market) and end up on the streets is known as *deyosebization*. There are four stages through which the condition of workers in Japan and particularly *yosebas* like Kamagasaki in Osaka can be analysed. In the first stage, there was the high-growth during the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. Two industries—heavy industry and manufacturing industry—led the rapid economic growth and many individuals were drawn into both the thriving businesses and pushed away from the stagnating industries like agriculture. During this period the number of day-labourers increased markedly and it was in this era that Kamagasaki in Osaka became the biggest day-labourers' district in Japan. Many young labourers flowed into these *yosebas*. Day-labourers worked in such industries as construction (33.8 per cent of the whole in 1967), manufacturing (26.9 per cent) and transport (6.1 per cent) (NLWC data; quoted by Shima, 1999, p. 59).

The second phase, which spanned the latter half of the 1970s and the 1980s, was characterized by slower economic growth and the so-called bubble economy. The economic growth rate fell steadily over the first half of this period. Manufacturing and heavy industry both saw declines. The production system was streamlined and manufacturing became even more automated. The service sector, on the other hand, grew. Due to a rise in orders from the service sector, the construction industry also kept expanding. These trends gave way to the bubble economy in the 1980s, when overspeculation in business occurred, led by land speculation and a policy of financial expansion among the banking agencies. Many day labourers from *yosebas* like *Kotobukicho* in Yokohama and Kamagasaki in Osaka, were pushed out from manufacturing

industry and absorbed in construction. More recruiters were sent to Kamagasaki by the construction compaments in the business cycle. The early post- bubble economy in the first half of the 1990s was the third stage. In 1993, the bubble economy crashed. All industries experienced a decline in business activity. Many workers left their jobs, quit their jobs, or retired from their employers. The unemployment rate gradually increased. The construction business at this time period helped with employment adjustments by taking on workers who were turned away from other industries. Public investment by the national and local governments was stepped up in an attempt to spend the economy out of recession. Demand for new buildings from the service industry increased too. Construction orders from private business amounted to 60.6 per cent of all orders, with non-man- ufacturing business accounting for 82.5 per cent of the whole of private business (MCA, 1999, p. 328). The number of construction workers increased as a result. However, day- labourers decreased markedly because technical innovations cut the demand for them (Hippo, 1992, pp. 61-71). The number was 18 836 in 1995 - that is, a 27.1 per cent decrease from 1990 (KRC, 1999). Most day- labourers (96.0 per cent in 1995) continued to engage in construction or civil engineering jobs introduced by the NLWC (NCDLU, 1999).

The second post-bubble phase, which spanned the second half of the 1990s, was the fourth stage. The recession persisted. The state of the economy remained unchanged. However, governmental investment fell dramatically. As a result, many construction firms, including some general contractors, filed for bankruptcy. Over 5000 construction companies went bankrupt in Japan in 1997, a 32 per cent increase from 1996 ( Asahi , 6 June 1998). Day- labourers decreased from 5,50,000 in 1975 to 3,00,000 in 1997 (NLWC, 1998). Day-labour contracts transacted by the NLWC were 3740 per day in 1995, 3225 in 1996, 2351 in 1997 (NLWC, 1998) and 1864 in 1998 (KDLU, 1999). A day-labourer in yosebas like Kamagasaki and Kotobukicho could work only 6.5 days. summarised as deyosebisation of day-labourers. The number of single-day cash-in-hand labour contracts (genkin shig- oto ) transacted yearly by the NLWC at Ka- magasaki changed spectacularly in the last 20 years of the 20th century: 589,982 in 1981, 868,519 in 1985, 1,874,507 in 1989, 889,731 in 1993 and 775,740 in 1997 (data from NLWC; quoted in Nakane, 2002, p. 86). From the late 1980s, Japanese employers also began to employ foreign workers to combat the acute shortage of unskilled labor that "threatened to paralyze many small- and medium-sized businesses, especially in the manufacturing sector," which was partly caused by an ageing population and a persistent effort to contain wage costs (Tsuda, 1999, p.687). Brazilians with Japanese ancestry were initially sought for by employers to fill positions, and later their spouses, as they shared Japanese work ethics, cultural traditions, and physiognomy. Because they were thought to work harder and longer hours and were "more willing to do overtime, night shifts, and difficult tasks," they were given preferential treatment over Japanese part-time workers (Tsuda, 1999, p.596). Asian trainees and interns, particularly those from China, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines, have become more and more important to Japanese employers since the 2000s across a variety of industries, but especially tiny, "family-run manufacturers and employers in the farming and fishing industries"(Shipper, 2011, p.506). It is pertinent to talk more about the intern program here. Despite being conducted covertly, the act of importing unskilled foreign labor is illegal in Japan. As a backdoor to importing foreign unskilled labor, the Technical Intern Training Programme was developed in 1993 (updated in 2009 and 2014). Typically,

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**Table 1.** Basic attributes of street homeless people (Tokyo Special Wards).

	2000	2007	2012
Sex			
Male	(97.9)	(98.2)	(90.5)
Female	(2.1)	(1.8)	(4.9)
N.A.			(4.6)
Total	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
<i>n</i>	709	500	348
Age			
Under 40	(6.7)	(1.6)	(1.4)
Forties	(19.6)	(10.0)	(10.6)
Fifties	(47.9)	(41.2)	(29.0)
Sixties	(22.9)	(39.0)	(40.8)
Seventies & older	(2.8)	(7.8)	(17.5)
N.A.		(.1)	(.6)
Total	(100.0)	(99.7)	(100.0)
<i>N</i>	703	500	348
Average age	54.0	58.9	60.9

Source: Summarized from Toshiseikatsukenkyūkai (2000), Tokyotofukusihokenkyoku (2007), and Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2012).





**Figure 2.** Number of job offers (monthly average) (left axis) and consultations (right axis) at San'ya Labor Center (1965–2013).

Source: summarized from Johoku Labor-Welfare Center (<http://homepage3.nifty.com/johoku/>, 16 October 2014). Numbers of job offers don't include number of direct offers.

### Impact of Globalization

Globalization has brought a shift from manufacturing industry to services as reflected in the steady decline in percentage of workers in manufacturing industry was 98.5, 27.8 per cent in 1990 and 23.8 per cent in 1995 (OPCILD, 2000, p. 112) and the percentage of workers in service industries was 20.2 per cent of the whole in 1985, 22.1 per cent in 1990 and 25.1 per cent (OPCILD, 2000, p. 112). The modernization of the manufacturing process and the optimization of labour management brought about by the escalating intra-corporate

competition were further factors contributing to the decline in the manufacturing sector. This led to a decrease in the self-employed and increase in company employees. Labour has been casualized by companies in an attempt to reduce employment costs. Employment received scant attention because the government saw homelessness as a matter of relief and public order rather than an issue of employment (Yoshida 1993, 1994). The private sector did not offer much employment opportunity, either, especially in the formal sector in which even large firms were busy trying to fire, rather than hire, employees. According to the Japanese Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 35.2% of all employees in 2012 were non-regular workers. 54.5 percent of women versus 19.7 percent of men reported working in precarious jobs, over twice as frequently as men. 5 percent of precarious employment consists of temp agency workers, 19.5 percent is contract or trusted work, 7 percent is other, and 68.5 percent is part-time work.

In Osaka, full-timers made up 80.4% of all employees in 1992 and 74.3% in 1997 (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). 19.6% of the total workforce in 1992 and 25.7% in 1997 were casual employees, which included day laborers and part-timers (OPCILD, 2001, p. 91). In 1997, casual workers made up one in four employees. Globalization accompanied the chronic recession of Japan's economy. Cities like Osaka, with the large number of small

sized companies and casually employed unskilled workers, was hit seriously by globalization and recession. Many senior yoseba men experienced long-term homelessness as a result of structural changes. These adjustments include the restructuring of welfare systems, the emergence of a gentrification-like phenomenon in yoseba districts, and modifications to subcontracting systems.

Globalisation has further intensified intercorporate competition leading to an increase in business failure and bankruptcy of many companies. Low-income employees do not only experience homelessness after living in flophouses; in fact, many do so after leaving relatively stable housing arrangements, particularly private rental apartments. And just like their employment status, the overall housing status of the homeless declined over time. Urban redevelopment is a phenomenon that has something to do with this. Urban redevelopment takes place as centralized administration is required by economic globalization, which also increases demand for office space for businesses and homes for high-income workers.

Increase in homeless people predominantly single and middle-aged men in places like Kamagasaki in Osaka and Kotobukicho in Yokohama is reflected in the number of single-day cash-in-hand labour contracts (genkin shigoto) transacted yearly by the NLWC at Kamagasaki which has changed spectacularly in the last 20 years of the 20th century: 5,89,982 in 1981, 868 519 in 1985, 1 874 507 in 1989, 889 731 in 1993 and 775 740 in 1997 (data from NLWC; quoted in Nakane, 2002, p. 86). This phenomenon has been termed as de-yosebisation of day laborers by Hideo Aoki. The sharp increase at the end of the 1980s and the sharp decrease in the 1990s bear eloquent testimony to the historical transformation that has been termed as de-yosebisation. Changes in the method of management of day-labourers in Kamagasaki in four ways. First, as the demand for day work in the construction industry decreased, the labour recruiters retreat. Secondly, the method of labour delivery has diversified. Day laborers used to find employment primarily in Kamagasaki. However, many laborers now find employment through "help wanted" advertisements in newspapers and magazines, as well as in locations outside of Kamagasaki such as railway and subway stations, parks, and riverbank regions where many homeless people congregate. Recruiters visit these locations to hunt for day laborers. Thirdly, due to the difficulty in getting construction jobs, many day laborers and homeless persons find employment in the service industry as security guards, luggage handlers, and packers.

Given the decreasing demand for day work, many day-labourers cannot get jobs at all now. Because a day worker cannot register as an active worker, his unemployment insurance is useless. Even if he can register, he cannot get the benefit if he cannot work for 26 days over a period of 2 months. Additionally, the employer sometimes refuses or is unable to pay the day-labourer's wage. Labour disputes in Kamagasaki have increased markedly. But in order to earn money for daily food and accommodation, the day laborer must report to work every day, regardless of the conditions. As a result, the status of the homeless person and the active day laborer cannot be changed. Only a very few skilled, healthy and young labourers can get jobs regularly. Most unskilled, disabled and elderly labourers cannot get jobs. Now the labourers are not homeless temporarily, but permanently. Thus, they can be called the 'stagnant overpopulation' in the labour market, using Marx's terminology.

### **Internet Café Refugees**

There were 25,296 homeless people nationally, according to the first national assessment on homelessness in 2003. Despite the fact that the majority of homeless persons lived in large cities (6603 of them were in Osaka and 5927 in Tokyo), every municipality had been classified as having some level of homelessness. The most popular places for homeless persons to sleep were parks (48.9%), riverbanks (17.5%), and streets (12.6%). Males made up the majority of those who were homeless. People who had been homeless for more than five years made up 24% of the population, with an average age of 55.9 years. This indicates that nearly a quarter had been without a home for an extended period of time. Sixty-four percent (64.7%) of those who were homeless worked, such as collecting trash for recycling. Nearly half of respondents (47.4%) reported having bodily problems, yet more than two-thirds (68.4%) of these complaints went untreated.

One reason for more homelessness in cities is that big cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya have day worker towns such as Sanya in Tokyo, Kamagasaki in Osaka and Sasha Jima in Nagoya, and many people are used to staying in these day worker towns for work at different construction sites. When these workers reached retirement age and Japan was severely impacted by the recession, they were unable to find new employment and were forced to spend their nights in flop houses in order to work in the shaky construction industry. If they lost their jobs, they would also lose their homes. Due to their structural weakness, they were more easily identified as homeless people. They are a part of the new underclass that has resulted from the economic and social reforms that were started six years ago by Junichiro Koizumi, who was the then Prime Minister. Young people are the biggest losers as a result of his zeal for the free market and cuts to public spending, which have increased the income gap. When Japan abandoned its egalitarian pay policy, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development was impelled to express its concern. According to the tax agency, the number of persons making less than a million yen (£4,300) a year increased by 16% to 3.6 million between 2001, when Koizumi took office, and 2005. In the last ten years, the number of households using welfare has increased by 66%, reaching one million, and the youth unemployment rate of 8.8% is double the national average.

Following the development of more reliable communication networks in Japan following the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake (also known as the Kobe Earthquake) in 1995, the Internet has become widely used. There are now locations all across the country where clients can access the Internet in a private room day and night. These Internet cafes are becoming increasingly popular as places to not only look for jobs but also spend nights on the town for approximately 2000 (£13 or \$21) each night. Since the second half of the 1990s, Internet cafes have been a common form of accommodation for young individuals who were unable to find regular employment and middle-aged temporary employees who had lost their regular jobs. Due to their poor income and the requirement for a guarantor to rent a property in Japan, they are forced into this situation. The formal assistance provided under the Homelessness Act does not apply to these homeless people who frequent Net cafes. Their daily routines are erratic and unpredictable; they may spend some nights at Internet cafes, other nights in libraries or pachinko (Japanese slot machine game parlors), some



nights on trains, and other nights in 24-hour bookstores. Japanese cafes have transformed into makeshift homes for those who cannot afford to rent a home, including the unemployed and others, like Tanaka, who rely on daily contracts in the construction industry. 5,400 individuals who have been nicknamed "net cafe refugees" by the media live in cafes at least half of the time, according to a recent government poll.

Regarding those who live in temporary or insecure housing but are not considered to be formally homeless, a survey conducted in 2007 found that 60 000 people used internet cafes in Japan on any given night. Of these, 21,000 people had stayed there for at least three days in a row. These locations served as a permanent form of housing for an additional 5400 people. Males make up more than 90% of those staying at Net cafes, and the age distribution reveals two peaks: those in their 50s (26.3%) and those in their 20s (26.5%). Two-fifths (40%) of the 5400 people who regularly used Internet cafes had lived on the streets and led chaotic lives, bouncing between sleeping on the streets and staying in Internet cafes, fast-food restaurants, saunas, or other places with 24-hour access. In comparison to the estimated national average monthly income per Japanese household of Homeless People: Single Men in Japan 125 443 429 (£2808 or \$4617), the average monthly income for these 5400 people is extremely low at 107 000 in Tokyo (£678 or \$1114) and 83 000 in Osaka (£526 or \$864).

The difficulties people have paying for rental housing is obvious if we compare this to the average monthly rents in these two cities, which are 54 161 in Osaka and 78 706 in Tokyo (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2003).

Welfarism and Homelessness- Homelessness induced by globalisation has led to the emergence of new forms of political protest, expressive rather than collective reflect, scholars contend, the individualizing effects of neoliberal political technologies of governance which have emerged as a result of globalisation. These include the discourse of jiko sekinin (self-responsibility) in welfare and security policy (Hook and Hiroko 2007; Arai 2005), the offshoring of risk from the social state to the individual subject, and the creation of a "volunteering subjectivity" through the development of associational life or civil society.

The structure of the Japanese welfare system is based on the Fukushi Roppô (Six Laws of Welfare):

- 1) Seikatsu hogohô (Livelihood Protection Law)
- (2) Jidô fukushihô (Children's Welfare Law)
- (3) Boshi fukushihô (Mothers' and Children's Welfare Law)
- (4) Shintaishôgaisha fukushihô (Physically Handicapped Welfare Law)
- (5) Seishinhakujakusha fukushihô (Mentally Handicapped Welfare Law)
- (6) Rôjin fukushihô (Elderly Welfare Law).

In 2002, the government unveiled a comprehensive plan to address homelessness. They started a housing project to house the homeless who were camped out in parks and shelters and assisted them in finding employment after passing the first homeless law, the Law on Special Measures concerning Assistance in Self-

Support of Homeless. However, because of aging, this regulation was unable to solve the actual issue of the homeless. As a result, the government started a program to house the homeless in low-rent flophouses and apartments while also paying welfare to them. This effort involved a large number of NGOs. As a result, there were significantly fewer homeless people living on the streets in 2021—3,824—6.6 times fewer than in 2003—with 990 in Osaka Prefecture and 889 in Tokyo. The homeless problem completely vanished from the streets of Japan's cities, returning to being invisible. The government's welfare program aimed to reduce poverty, stop social isolation, and reintegrate people into formal spaces through preventing social exclusion. However, in Japanese welfare system, formality and informality intersect, and people are assigned to and move back and forth between these spaces. Thus, as the number of homeless who became unable to work increased with age, homelessness became a serious welfare issue. Currently, there is a gray spatialization of formal space occurring, in which some homeless people reject the requirements of the shelter and their obligation to labour. They are prohibited from entering shelters, and even if they are, they are expelled when they break the regulations.

Some homeless people struggle to adjust to group living. Others reject receiving aid because they do not want to be taken care of by the state. They do not fit in there, even if they receive aid and move into boarding houses or flats. Because there is no one to talk to, it is a lonely life. Low-rent dwellings have become suburban as a result of gentrification (process whereby the character of a poor urban area is changed by wealthier people moving in, improving housing, and attracting new businesses, often displacing current inhabitants in the process). There are no jobs, single-person housing options, or social networks in the suburbs. As a result, tenants are moving back into the city's core and becoming homeless. In the end, they return to shelters, flophouses, and flats where they deteriorate physically and mentally before passing away alone. Or they pass away by themselves in hospital beds. Or they abandon the flophouses, apartments, and shelters and perish alone on the streets. In this way, homeless people who are cast aside by society end up living in shelters, flophouses, apartments, and on the streets. The homeless who are not allowed to work or live in housing and are just nominally included in the welfare system reach this stage. For the homeless in Japan, developing personal connections, providing for one another, and passing away under the care of friends and peers is merely a dream. Foreign workers and young people who are temporarily homeless compete for even entry-level positions. The role of the yoseba is further constrained as work camps increasingly regulate the supply and flow of the low-skilled labor force.

#### Deyosebisation and Mental Health

Deyosebisation which has been exacerbated by globalisation resulting in homelessness of the hiyatoi has also had serious ramifications on their mental health. There are many people who have mental disorders and disabilities. One psychiatrist, who works at an organization to help homeless people in Ikebukuro, Tokyo, conducted research on the mental health of the homeless in Ikebukuro. He estimates that 30% of the homeless have modest disability and 60% have mental illnesses. They frequently find it too challenging to express their demands and properly complete a form when the welfare system necessitates that applicants

register on their own. Even when individuals appear to want aid, they are unable to obtain it until they self-apply for public assistance. Additionally, they are more exposed. Some companies specifically target the homeless. These are what are referred to as "poverty businesses". They provide a house to them with sugarcoated words and take away their welfare checks from the government as long as possible. People who use such outrageous services are deprived of public assistance and placed under their control until they run away from such companies.

After such experiences, the homeless become more distrustful of others. They may think they should manage to live without any help. *Ikizurasa*—the pains or difficulties of life—is the word activist Amamiya Karin uses to capture the sensory nature of precarious lives of the *hiyatoi* in contemporary Japan. She activates particularly for the workers who are unemployed and underemployed in irregular jobs (*hiseikikoyō*), for whom it is not only the material insecurities of uncertain work but the existential nature of social living that is every bit as, if not more, painful. *Ikizurasa* (the pain of life) refers to a condition that has spread in recessionary Japan over the past two decades and is evidently due to unemployment and underemployment and the associated social malaise. But *ikizurasa* also indexes a particular relationship, and alienation, between “human time and capitalist value. The *nojukusha*'s sense of self is crippled by the ambiguity of work and life rhythms (never sure whether they could find work or keep it even if they did) and the estrangement from ongoing human relations and recognition (*shonin*) (not called by name at work and treated as disposable labor).

A lot of money is also spent on alcohol in the *yoseba*, though there are sturdy minorities who neither drink nor gamble. Drinking practices also express solidarity and present orientation. The copious American sociological literature on skid row includes numerous references to “bottle gangs,” semi-formal groups of drinkers who contribute to the costs of buying a bottle and among whom some kind of record is kept to ensure that participants get a fair deal.

Role of Buddhism and Social Activism- Buddhist priests conduct burial rites for those who have died while living on the streets and are homeless. When a particular NPO asked some priests to sing and pray for them one summer, that is how the group got its start. *Obon* is the name for this time of year, when it's thought that those who have passed away return to see their loved ones in this world. Priests have to confront the issue that homeless people have nowhere to go after they pass away through these memorial services. Because usually they are already cut off from their family relationships, even when the families are alive, they cannot be buried in their family graves. The priests felt these people need a grave site where everyone who has a relationship with them can pray and recall them. Now there is a grave site for those who have been abandoned by relatives or society in the temple. It is called *yui-no-haka*. *Haka* means “grave”, and *yui* means “tie” or “connection”. This priest set up such as grave site in the hope that homeless people would be able to maintain ties and connections to their friends. A Buddhist group called *Hitosaji* (spoonful) has been feeding the homeless for many years.

NGOs are taking action to assist homeless populations in many parts of Japan in reaction to such a dire housing situation. Good examples include Hot Pot (in Saitama), which aims to promote the independence of homeless people by using vacant private houses in the local area, acting as both guarantor and intermediary between the private landlord and formerly homeless tenant. Supported House, a cheap lodging house with an independent living support service in Kamagasaki, Osaka. Another excellent example is the Kita-Kyushu Homeless Support Organization, which works closely with the local government to care for the community's homeless residents over the course of their life. Each of these organizations seeks to establish a comprehensive multiagency system to assist the homeless while including the larger community. If the issue of homelessness in Japan is to be successfully addressed, even though these interventions are seen as desired models, such programs must be more widely available from both NGOs and the government.

**Theoretical Approach-** This paper has used the theoretical framework of deyoisebisation (Aoki,2003), to analyse how the increasing unemployment of the hiyatoi (day-labourers and casually employed unskilled workers), has forced a vast majority of them to become nojukusha (persons who sleep outside, people with rough sleep), making their lives further precarious. Using this theoretical framework, this paper has also made a cogent effort to analyse the impact of globalisation and how it has further exacerbated the process of deyoisebisation of the hiyatoi in contemporary Japan. The failure of the state's welfare measures in ameliorating the impact of increasing unemployment and resultant homelessness of the hiyotai has led to the emergence of the phenomenon of "internet café refugees", which has also been analysed in this paper.

**Conclusion-** It is obvious that the Japanese socioeconomic system, in which most people get housing through their employment, is largely to blame for the country's current homelessness situation. Many people, particularly older male workers, have lost their employment as a result of the economic uncertainty brought on by globalization, and with it their homes. In order to secure a permanent residence in Japan, one needs a guarantor, a steady source of income, and a sizeable initial payment for a deposit and rent. Furthermore, because of the decline in informal social support, it is increasingly difficult for homeless persons to acquire guarantors because many of them no longer have close relationships with others. In Osaka, the number of homeless individuals has increased due to deyoisebization and unemployment. Second, governments' social policies regarding employment, housing, and social welfare have not yet been sufficient to help the homeless or to reduce the number of people who are homeless. Thirdly, although their power to do so is gradually eroding as a result of globalization, associate organizations like businesses and families/relatives have kept people from being homeless.

Public (social) housing must be added to Japan's extremely pricey private housing market to accommodate individuals who cannot afford to live in the private sector. However, the number of new public housing units being built has been steadily declining in Japan for a while, and those applying for what is presently available must fall within the 25% of households with the lowest incomes. Furthermore, only families with elderly or disabled members are permitted to apply for public tenancies; all other single households are ineligible.

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