

Postwar Transformation of Space and Urban Politics in the Inner-ring of Osaka

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I. Concentric Circle Structure

Osaka was known as 'Japan's kitchen' during the Edo period and grew to be a major commercial city, the 'Manchester of the Orient,' after the Meiji era. Seen in its spatial structure, it functioned separately as a commercial city in the city center, and an industrial city in the inner-ring. The concentric circle model, seen in the prototype of Chicago as shown on the left in Fig. 1, is often used as a model to show city spatial structure under capitalist development. Osaka is a city where the Chicago model can be easily adapted. As shown on the right in Fig. 1, the 'historical core' of the central part of the city lies adjacent to a midtown district and it is surrounded concentrically by the inner-ring, where many factory workers and minorities are likely to reside, and where various urban problems appear. An outer-ring surrounds the inner-ring, and serves as an area in which a comparatively large percentage of tertiary sector workers live. They commute to the city center where city planning is well developed. Additionally, the concentric areas outside this outer-ring are positioned as the suburbs, satellite cities or new town areas. The inner-ring is concentrically distributed in the area around and outside the Osaka Loop (Railway) Line, and became built up through land readjustment projects during prewar times, and merged into the Osaka City region in the Great Merger of 1925. The peak population of Osaka City was in 1940 when the population reached 3.25 million and this inner-ring area welcomed the inflows of immigrants and was built up. This area already has more than 60 years of history, and has a differentiated social character from place to place.

This inner-ring is characterized by three types of industrial areas. In the Osaka Port area, especially in the north port area of Fukushima and Konohana wards, six famous industrial works sustained the industrial development from prewar times, and in the central and southern bay areas of Taishō ward, small and medium metal and machinery factories were concentrated. In the inland inner-ring, especially in the eastern area of Ikuno, Higashinari, and Jōtō wards, a dense distribution of small subcontractors is mixed with residential districts. On the other hand, also within the Osaka Loop Railway Line, are the heights of the Uemachi plateau, where there are notable residential areas in the higher-class residential districts from prewar times, and the orderly row-housing quarters where the land readjustment project was carried out. Fig. 2 illustrates the distribution of the related vocational indices according to the national census of 2000. The two big concentrations of manual laborers or so-called blue-collar workers are seen in the bay area and eastern and southeastern parts of the city, and members of this vocational group generally live in the surrounding areas, in other words the inner-ring area. When we look at the distribution of career and professional workers, their distribution is limited and concentrated on the Uemachi plateau. On the other hand, the distribution of clerical workers is quite extensive, and rather uniform. Thus white-collar workers are distributed centered around the Uemachi plateau and in the northeast beyond the Yodo River area, and

segregated definitely from blue-collar workers in the inner-ring area.

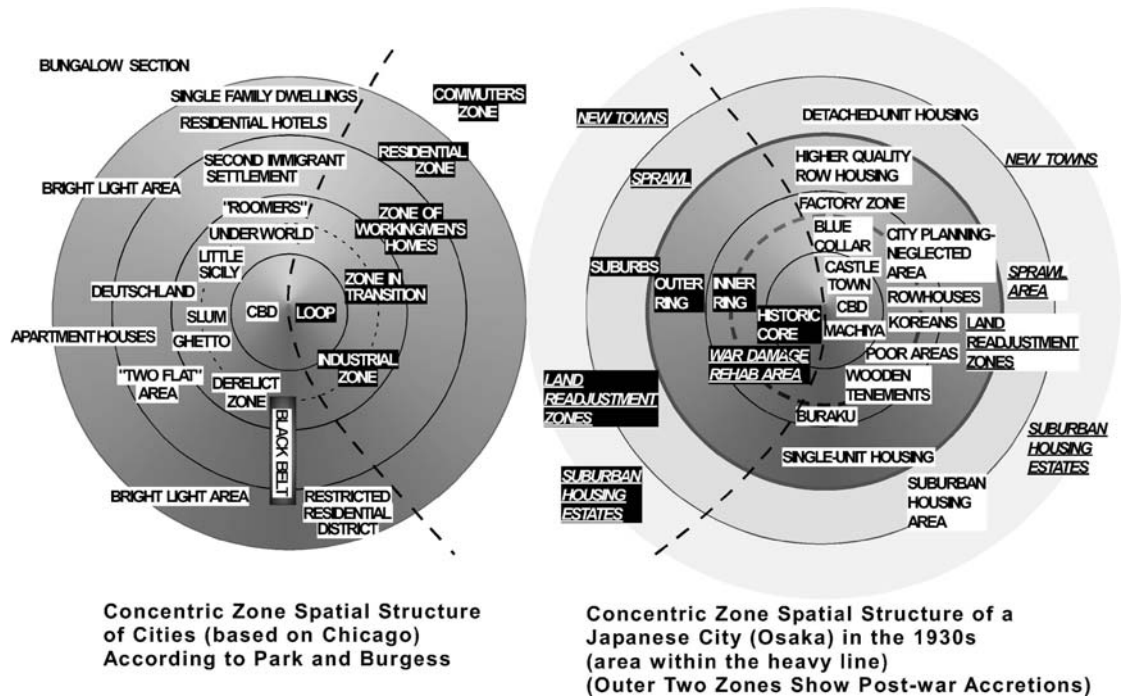


Figure 1. Concentric circle structure of Osaka based on the model of Chicago (after Mizuuchi, 2004)

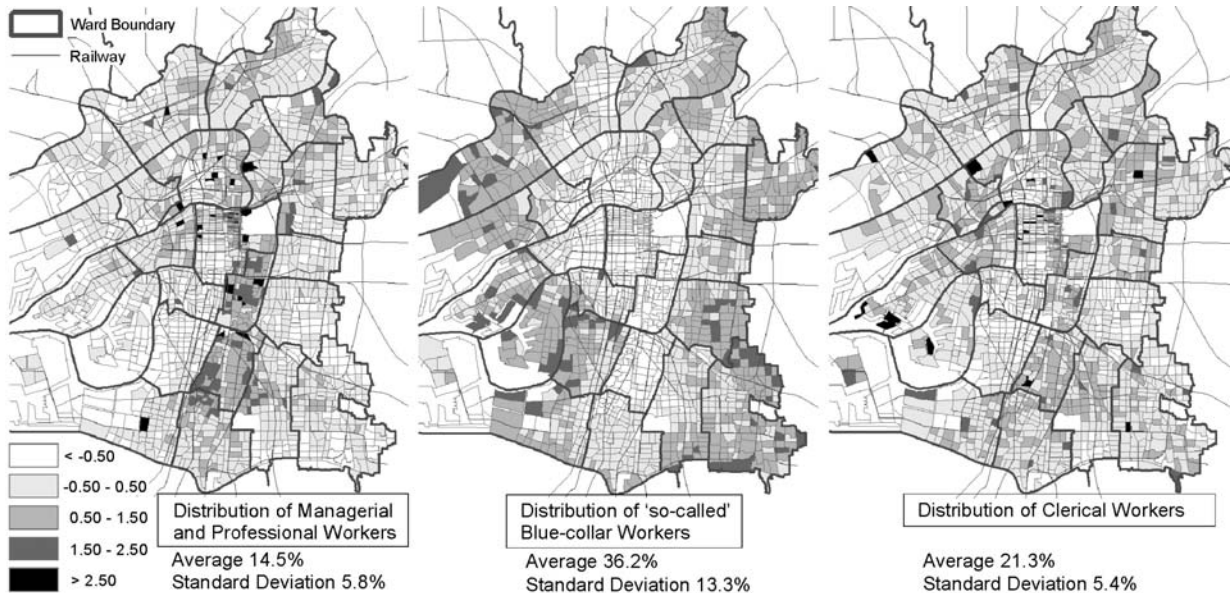


Figure 2. Distribution of three occupation types in Osaka City by neighborhood based on 2000 census

The character of the inner-ring area differs greatly, however, in comparison to Tokyo. As an example, Fig. 3 compares the distribution of career and professional groups between the two cities. The Yamanote Railway Line and Osaka Loop Line are drawn inside as dark thick lines, and the outside light wide lines show the boundaries of Tokyo's 23 wards and the Osaka City region. Tokyo shows a marked contrast in distribution between the south, east, and west. However, the specialty and technological sectors are focused around the Musashino region where they are extensively distributed, but in contrast, they are sparse in the eastern and northern regions. In the case of Osaka, the managerial and professional sectors are distributed only on the Uemachi plateau, as previously mentioned, and the other concentrations have extended far beyond the city to hilly suburban areas. The urbanization of the inner-ring area in Tokyo has been rather strongly affected by the evolution of tertiary industries, while on the other hand Osaka has grown relatively more on the base of industrialization. These differences in character are the difference in the charm, or power of attraction, of Tokyo and Osaka.



Figure 3. Distribution of professional and technical workers in Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan regions based on 1995 census

II. The Transformation of the Bay Area

1. War Damage Rehabilitation Projects and the Bay Area

In the war damage, as shown in Fig. 4, the areas in the city center suffered the full effects of total destruction by fire-bombing except for a few areas. Moreover, some of the inner-ring suffered remarkable damage, while at the same time there were also areas where damage was smaller in scale. The area which was not damaged developed over time as a built-up area with a high density of wooden structures in the postwar period. On the other hand, according to the major war damage rehabilitation project begun in 1946, in the stricken areas the streets and the parks were improved and previously disorderly-built areas changed into areas where orderly land readjustment was enforced. Although the features of the war damage rehabilitation project in Osaka can be observed in Fig. 4, rehabilitation projects were simply not

undertaken in all the war damaged areas. Among the inner-ring areas, a large area in the northeast experienced fire bombing but a war damage rehabilitation project was not necessary since a land readjustment project of suburban development had already been implemented. Likewise, in some districts north of the Yodo River, and in the eastern and southwestern areas, where the damage was dispersed, projects were not undertaken due to the reduction of the war damage rehabilitation project. Although the whole project was reduced to 3,351 ha., entailing a 45% reduction from 6,114 ha. at the outset, rehabilitation projects were rather extensively undertaken among the cities concerned in Japan, and more than half of this rehabilitation project was provided for this inner-ring area.



Figure 4. War damage rehabilitation projects

Diagonal cross-hatching indicates war damage areas; the darker shade shows regular war damage rehabilitation zones, the lighter shade indicates project areas for ports and harbors reconstruction, etc. Base map is from 1947 1:25,000 topographic map

Regarding the bay area, there was still the residue of a bitter experience of high tide damage from the Muroto Typhoon of 1934, and the Osaka harbor construction plan was swiftly drawn up in January, 1946. Promptly in 1946, the Osaka Ports and Harbors Bureau began landfill construction of the central wharf, which includes Tempōzan, and it was completed three years later. After that, in the inner harbor, the Aji River was extended and dredged, and a so-called 'Hamburg system' was implemented as seen in Fig. 5. Moreover, the dredging was efficient, digging deep and in a pattern like the teeth of a comb, forming the Taishō inner harbor, also implementing land readjustment with a simultaneous land reclamation project using the dredged earth fill, thereby killing three birds with one stone. In spite of a nationwide reduction of the war damage rehabilitation project in 1949, it was carried out as a port region development project, since it was combined with a special project to raise the elevation of the land in the bay area (filling from -1m. to +2 or 3m. above sea level).

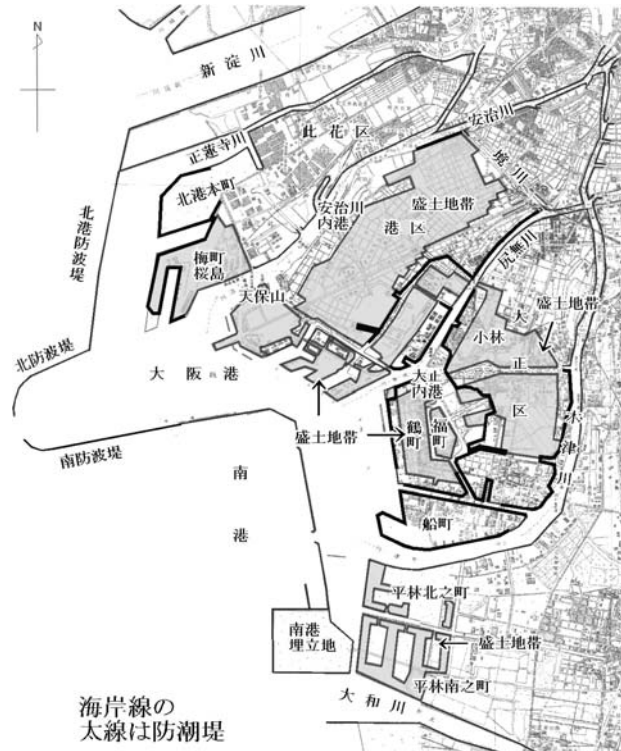


Figure 5. Post-war transformation of Osaka Bay area, circa 1960

Distribution of harbor facilities construction, dyke and levee construction, and land reclamation

Base map is from 1947 1:25,000 topographic map

Source: Osaka City Harbor Bureau, *Osaka chikō hyakunen- umi kara no machizukuri (100 years of Osaka harbor construction- building a city from the sea)*, vol. 2, 1999, p. 222, fig.6-4, based on the Osaka Harbor Disaster Prevention Plan of 1958

Although the 40-50% reduction of privately owned property through this land readjustment project was very severe to the residents, the large development of Hirabayashi's lumberyard was also planned. In addition, Typhoon Jane of 1950 caused high tide damage, and permanent disaster countermeasures such as higher land reclamation and a tide embankment were sorely needed. The disaster relief work from 1950 to 1958 and comprehensive measures against high tides were established. Thus, the bay area was institutionally separated from the war damage rehabilitation project, and the area was transformed greatly. At the end of the war in 1945, the incoming and outgoing shipment values for Osaka harbor were only 1/30 of those in 1939. It was really a great blow, and ridding the bay of mines required time before there could be a resumption of trade. However, as a special nationally-designated port, from the very next year, Osaka City formed a plan for a ten-year construction scheme, as shown in Fig. 5, and near the Aji River the inner harbor was improved rapidly. The loop rail was constructed on an elevated double track structure running through this bay area, and a subway line also appeared in 1961 as an elevated railway. The International Trade Fair Hall also appeared in front of the new subway station, and the passenger liner terminal of the Benten wharf was completed in 1965. The Osaka street car line was abolished in the bay area first, and afterward mass transportation's leading role was the step by step construction of a subway.

In Minato ward, the center of a bay area, public transportation was improved immensely by the completion of the loop rail and subway lines. Previously, bridge construction was prohibited over the Aji and Shirinashi rivers since they were fluvial ports, therefore Minato ward was long called an isolated island of land. In Taishō ward in the southwestern bay area, the large-scale lumber town created prior to the war was relocated to Hirabayashi in southern Suminoe ward, and large-scale reconstruction works, which forced

construction of the Taishō inner harbor (See Fig. 5), raising the land 2 meters through landfill, and land readjustment projects, were performed. In 1970, surplus soil from the construction of the subway was used to create the highest mountain in Osaka, Shōwa Mountain, with an elevation of 33 meters. Also, a large-scale park and a 2200+-unit public corporation housing complex appeared on the former lumberyard site. Taishō Boulevard, with a width of 50 meters, pierced through the side of the ward, and the loop line appeared in Taishō ward for the first time as a rapid transit railway in 1961. The large-scale Hirabayashi lumberyard was completed in the bay area of southern Suminoe ward, and by the second half of the 1960s, the greatest lumber industry base in postwar Osaka was born (refer to Fig. 5). Thus, large-scale engineering-works projects that took place over 30 years transformed the city structure of the bay area from prewar times.

This became a major task of the Osaka Ports and Harbors Bureau and the Construction Bureau, which took charge of these projects, and was a big undertaking for which they should be proud. However, dissatisfaction had arisen and a deep-seated grudge among residents in the severely-readjusted land project, and many 'barracks' and illegal residential quarters emerged during the prolonged construction process. This brought about the housing problem to be discussed later.

2. Nankō (South Port) Development and the Yodo River Mouth Area

On the other hand, Nankō (South Port), located on the outer borders of the port area, had received a license to reclaim land in 1933 but was interrupted by the war. It restarted land reclamation beginning in 1947. The purpose of the Osaka Harbor Development Revised Plan of 1957 (from 1957 to 1967) was to develop a coastal industrial area and create space for heavy and chemical industries. The plan was also coupled to the reclamation and industrial development works of adjacent Sakai City and the Semboku coastal area of Osaka Prefecture. Through this revised plan, Nankō land reclamation and dredging of the port were continued. As a guideline of the long-term national economic plan under the Kishi Cabinet of 1958, harbor improvement was regarded as important development, and construction of outer-harbor and a coastal industrial development began to be set forth as a principal city policy.

Financing for the plan was arranged through a special account with allocations from the tide embankment works and the issuance of bonds whereby 30-40% was received as a subsidy for public works projects. Additionally, in 1960 the Arabian Oil Company issued a private placement bond, and due to difficulty in acquiring funds, the Nankō construction works were carried out through German Mark bonds. However, after 33 ha. of land were transferred to Arabian Oil for factory construction, it officially canceled the project in 1964.

In order to change from the heavy and chemical industrialization Osaka City had planned to a substantial urban function, a new plan was adopted which incorporated a combination of the reclaimed interior land utilized for housing and the shoreline as a harbor lot. The harbor lot was utilized in the construction of a container wharf, and the interior land later was utilized as the Nankō Port Town.

The creation of this container wharf and large distribution point for land- and sea-bound goods resulted from the second revision of the Osaka harbor plan from 1967 to 1975. A huge physical distribution space of 937 ha. was created by the reclamation works in the extension of the Nankō breakwater (see Fig. 5), and this also resulted in the coastline being fairly far from the built-up area of Osaka City, as shown in Fig. 6. On the other hand, the design for a Nankō Port Town appeared around 1969, with the initial design including residential areas for those employed at the port facilities. However, it was afterward expanded to 43 ha., and housed 10,000 households containing a population of 40,000. The Harbor Bridge and Nankō (South Port) Bridge were completed in 1974, and they linked the land directly with the city. Housing construction started in 1975 and the port town opened in 1977.

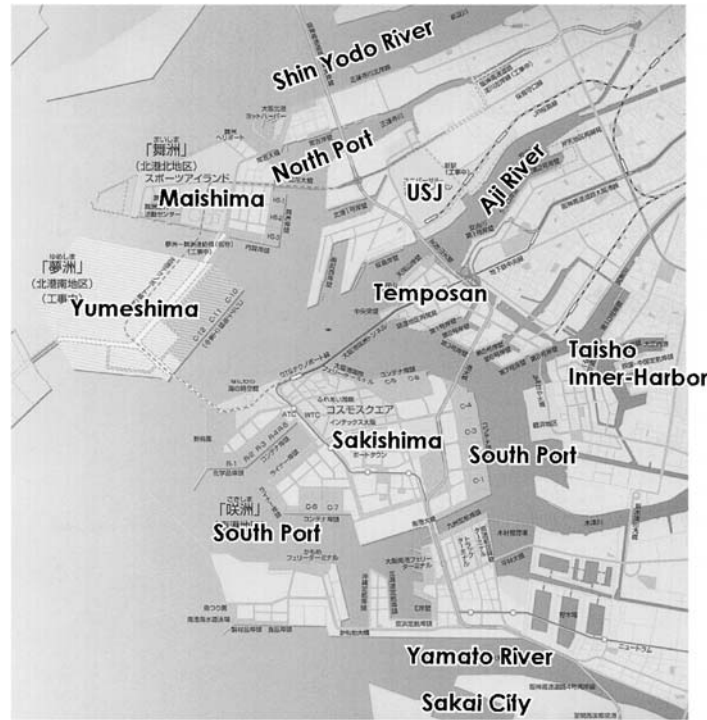


Figure 6. (right) Osaka Techno Port Plan, 1983

Source: Osaka City Harbor Bureau, *Osaka chikkō hyakunen— umi kara no machizukuri (100 years of Osaka harbor construction— building a city from the sea)*, vol. 3, 1999, p. 481

Compared with the Nankō development which began smoothly, it was only from the Osaka Techno Port Plan and the Maishima Reclamation Plan of the 1980s, that development of Hokkō (North Port) was fully put into operation. Additionally, in Nishi-Yodogawa ward on the northern Yodo River bank, several districts actually sank through land subsidence, and a reduction in elevation of 2.8 meters or more was seen in the 60 years after 1935 in the most damaged area. It also suffered extensive damage from the high tides of the 2nd Muroto Typhoon in 1961, and a residents' movement which prohibited groundwater pumping came into being. Moreover, in the interior of Nishi-Yodogawa ward, riverside areas along the river banks housed many small subcontracting factories, with several heavy industry factories at the mouth of Yodo River. This became an environmental problem and together with Yokkaichi was labeled a 'town of pollution' in the 1960s. Diseases from pollution were officially recognized in 1969 and this was classified as a birthplace of respiratory diseases and one of the four major areas of diseases resulting from pollution. Also, in 1970 National Highway 43, serving as the main artery between Osaka and Kobe, traversed the ward and the exhaust gases from it were also included as a cause of disease from pollution beginning in the second half of the 1970s. The Nishi-Yodogawa pollution suit, which claimed the city's legal liability for the compounds in air pollution caused by the exhaust gases from factories and cars, started in 1978.

III. Improvement and Redevelopment of Old Built-up Areas

Thus, while the bay area experienced a dramatic change, there were extensive unchanged old built-up areas which were not the target of the war damage rehabilitation project. These especially included the area along the loop rail, excepting the bay area and the outer non-war damaged areas, or the areas of confused

land ownership such as in front of stations. These phenomena became formulated with a policy targeted at such problems of redevelopment of station fronts, or the improvement of decrepit high-density residential areas constructed of wood, and the problem of postwar temporary dwellings known as ‘barracks’ or slums. The first group was typically formulated from the first half of the 1960s and included in operations such as the redevelopment of the Umeda Station front, and redevelopment of the Abeno and Ueroku districts. Regarding the latter group, initially, housing improvement of *Dōwa* districts was begun, and at the same time, removal and clearance of ‘barracks’ and slums repeatedly occurred. In the inner-ring area, it is the former group, the redevelopments of Abeno and Ueroku, which attract attention.

1. Abeno and Ueroku Redevelopment Projects

Redevelopment in front of Osaka Station was to include a large (6 ha.) commercial block of 1000 or more houses with wholesalers of textiles and miscellaneous goods. Since there was no precedent suitable for the program, the city once again employed the Urban Renewal Law in 1961. In the Abeno redevelopment project, which was on a larger scale of 31.5 ha., thus far exceeding the Osaka Station front redevelopment, local organizations rose to push for redevelopment in the beginning of 1960s. While three-fourths of the area’s buildings were wooden, most had escaped from the firebombing and accounted for 2800 households with 7000 residents (among them 44% were single-resident dwellings). The district had a high density of population and was very close also to the terminal and amusement quarters. While employment of the Urban Redevelopment Law was proclaimed in 1969, the design materialized as a model project and a schematic plan was announced by Osaka City in the same year. However, as shown in Fig. 7, after this announcement, the city planning for A block, nearest to a terminal, was not made, and no legal proceedings were taken while several years passed.



Figure 7. Abeno ward redevelopment project, 2004 Background from aerial photo, 1974

Then, in 1975, The Urban Redevelopment Law was largely revised. This made it easier to enforce the powerful right of eminent domain when the scale of a project was large, because otherwise the project

would become virtually impossible, and aimed at smoothing progress for the completion of projects. This revision added a second type of project to the law and was endorsed through strong appeals by Osaka City. It is said that the addition of this second type of project in this law was done in order to proceed with the Abeno redevelopment. Thus, the Abeno project restarted as the first of this second type of project, and, in 1976, a city planning decision was made for promptly advancing the project in some of the blocks through tough negotiations with each neighborhood association in all blocks other than A block. In subsequent progress, as shown in Fig. 7, residential blocks appeared as high-rise condominium complexes. However, with the degradation of the commercial environment after the collapse of the 'bubble' economy, 'A' block has remained unfinished until 2003, and while the new holders of the rights have not yet been decided, as an Urgent Urban Renewal and Revitalized District, it will spread to the eastern part of the district from the Kintetsu Department Store, and the redevelopment and renewal project will be advanced. Thirty years have passed since the start of construction work, and this project has reached the final stage. This large-scale redevelopment, which gives priority to economic efficiency and activation, without doubt needs higher rates of floorspace ratios and skyscrapers, and will undoubtedly have an absence of old residential districts in the determination process. Neither previously nor since has such statutory redevelopment, with such large financial burdens, been seen on a scale such as the Abeno case.

On the other hand, unlike Abeno, the redevelopment of Ueroku in Tennoji ward is often seen as an example of success completed in a short period of time. While property rights were complicated by things such as illegal occupation and unapproved uses with origins in the postwar black market, a strong sense of community ties clearly redefined and adjusted the complicated property relations. This later allowed use of the redevelopment site by winning the cancelling of a city park planned by the war damage rehabilitation project. Involving the Japan Housing Corporation as a housing provider, this project was hastened because of a sense of crisis about Ueroku's commercial decline due to the Kintetsu Railway's extension to Namba. A city planning decision was made in 1976, and although the area is very small with only 1.2 ha., construction was completed in four years with the consent of all 172 members through the members' committee of the redevelopment association, which was instituted in 1977.

2. Housing and Environment Improvement of *Dōwa* Districts (*Buraku*)

On the other hand, another big subject in the inner-ring during the second half of the 1950s was tackling the increase of 'barracks' as sub-standard housing, and the expansion of what are called slums. As shown in the 1954 survey in Fig. 8, the distribution of sub-standard deteriorated houses in the war damage rehabilitation districts included the temporary public dwelling quarter districts or 'barracks' built through the unapproved use of planned parks or road lots until rehabilitation works got underway in the center of the bay area. In the case of non-war-damaged areas, the distribution was equivalent to the districts where there was overcrowding of high densities of sub-standard wooden housing. Although more than ten *Dōwa* districts existed in Osaka City, it was demanded that large numbers of sub-standard housing units, and the buildings that had emerged as 'barracks' in the war damage rehabilitation process, be improved and removed from the second half of the 1950s. At that time, although non-*buraku* areas with such poor housing conditions suffered removals individually through receiving some compensation or through forceful evictions, in the case of a *Dōwa* district, housing demand struggles started with the inhabitants noting that living in such 'barracks' alone was proof of discrimination. The Naniwa and Nishinari Housing Demand Realization League was formed by about 200 people in 1957. They opposed the forced evictions and demanded compensation and the construction of low-rent public housing. For the improvement of a slum's 'barracks,' it was an epoch-making demand. The Appendix shows the "Petition for Housing Installation" submitted in December 1957 by this league for the realization of public rehousing. Following

the theory of this movement fighting for housing demands in order to improve the ‘barracks’ situation, they actually also treated the *buraku* discrimination problem in a splendid way. They criticized the administrative responsibility which did nothing to improve these discriminatory conditions. From this theory, we can understand the theory of Asada, who formulated the tactics and theory of opposition struggles against the discriminatory administrations of the local and central government, and who emphasized the uniqueness of the *buraku* life protection struggles.

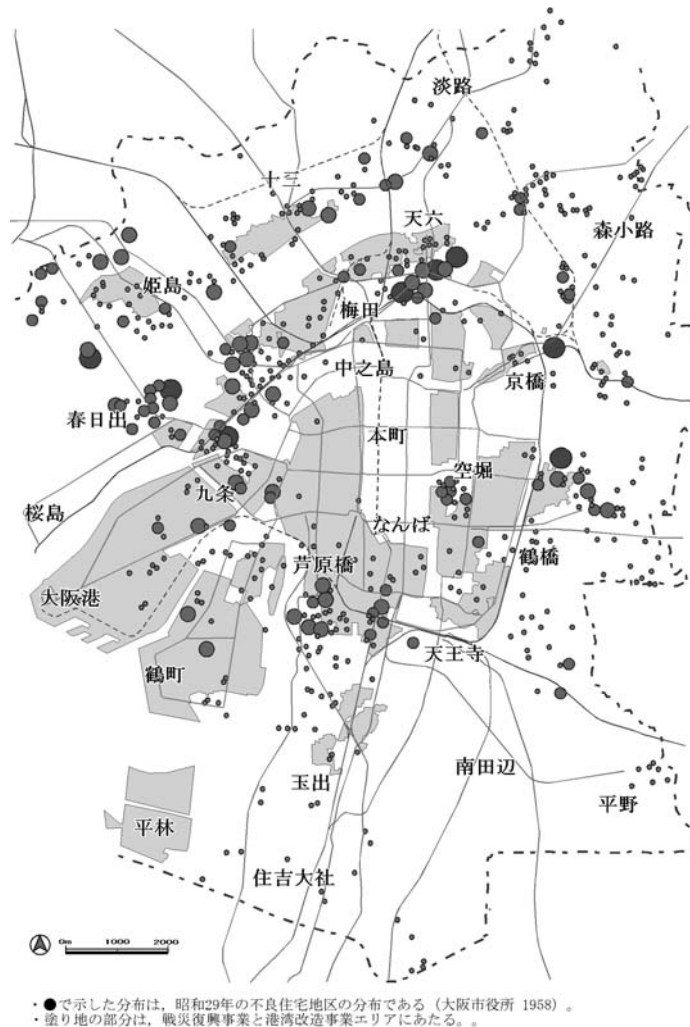


図 戦災復興事業と戦後の不良住宅地区との関係
**Figure 8. War damage rehabilitation projects
 and the distribution of sub-standard housing (from 1954 survey)**

The dark circles show sub-standard housing according to the 1954 survey (published by the city office in 1958); grey shading shows areas of war damage rehabilitation and harbor reconstruction projects.

In reaction to this demand, 80 houses in Nishinari ward were newly built under this project at the beginning of 1959, and public housing was built in succession in the *Dōwa* districts of the city. Since then, big housing improvement projects in *Dōwa* districts have been undertaken. In 1963, fourteen *Dōwa* districts, with a population of 67,000 people, were all located outside the loop rail. It was these districts in which there was a high density of sub-standard wooden housing in areas of non-war-damage, and the typical housing problems of the inner-ring area were detected most intensively in *Dōwa* districts.

Table 1. Budget and Housing Construction Trends Related to Dōwa Projects in Osaka City

Fiscal Year	Dōwa Projects Budget (Million Yen)	Housing Units Constructed	Public Housing Units (new construction for <i>burakumin</i>)	Public Housing Units (new construction after clearance)
1952	0.8			
1953	8			
1954	14			
1955	11			
1956	12			
1957	16			
1958	131	172	172	
1959	163	216	216	
1960	102	50	0	50
1961	205	116	0	116
1962	356	202	48	154
1963	364	161	0	161
1964	617	254	52	202
1965	923	201	54	147
1966	1,852	1,270	990	280
1967	2,810	1,058	954	104
1968	3,510	255	247	8
1969	5,040	643	343	300
1970	6,828	782	519	263
1971	9,324	331	151	180
1972	15,378	471	113	358
1973	23,622	135	0	135
1974	33,814	214	56	158
1975	37,547	615	528	87
1976	30,030	333	301	32
1977	30,883	378	282	96
1978		178	28	150
Total		8,035	5,054	2,981

Source: Buraku kaihō kenkyūjo, ed. *Osakashi dōwa jigyōshi (History of Osaka City dōwa projects)*, vol.2, Osaka City Dōwa Policy Office, 1979

Unlike non-*buraku* districts, residential improvement action rooted in the *Buraku* Liberation Movement came about earliest. As seen in Table 1, after adding up the budget for *Dōwa* projects for the first time in 1952, the *Dōwa* budget was rapidly expanded after the 1958 fiscal year when *Dōwa* public housing construction started. In 1965, in response to the verdict of the National Council for *Dōwa* Projects, housing construction progressed, and various projects were developed extensively by the city's *Dōwa* project according to the long-term *Dōwa* Plan of 1970. After the submission of the official opinion by the Municipal *Dōwa* Projects Promotion Committee in 1975, the *Dōwa* projects had evolved fully. In this way, the huge budget started to be used for various facilities and services such as the environmental improvement of roads and sewers, public facility development, public welfare, and economic activities and enriching of school education and social education. As shown in Fig. 9, the area was reborn as a completely different town after the clearance-type redevelopment of formerly decrepit high-density wooden-house districts. On the other hand, concerning clearance-type projects of non-*buraku* districts, as shown in Table 2, *Dōwa* districts in all aspects of timing and quantity of housing, and the clearance-type improvement projects of these non-*buraku* districts consisted, except for the following two examples, of the rebuilding of temporary public dwellings built in the bay area immediately after the postwar period.



Figure 9. *Dōwa* assimilation project transformation of a discriminated -against *buraku* area in Asaka, 2004

Background from 1974 aerial photo; new public facilities and housing, shown in white, as of 2004

Table 2. Slum Clearance and Resettlement Projects in Osaka City

Housing Estate Name	Type	Date of Designation	Estate Area (m ²)	Sub-standard Housing Units	Ratio of Sub-standard Housing	Planned Units of Housing Construction
YT	Dowa	1960.11	41,300	297	87	322
SM	Dowa	1960.11	9,100	100	83	178
NH	Dowa	1960.11	6,177	86	89	97
KS	Dowa	1960.11	10,106	65	80	159
IK	Dowa	1960.11	4,135	63	81	103
KH	Dowa	1960.11	3,002	50	100	50
Tsurumachi	Non-Dowa	1965.1	25,960	80	100	100
IK-2	Dowa	1965.11	1,451	120	82	289
Yahataya	Non-Dowa	1965.11	3,242	50	100	80
KS	Dowa	1965.3	9,524	88	100	120
KS-2	Dowa	1966.3	10,477	126	80	160
Airin	Non-Dowa	1967.12	15,544	385	96	342
AS	Dowa	1967.12	8,032	126	80	266
Fuku	Non-Dowa	1967.12	6,813	92	87	139
MS	Dowa	1967.3	17,916	144	93	211
Ikeshima	Non-Dowa	1968.12	101,000	687	98	510
AK	Dowa	1968.3	5,924	51	82	81
HN	Dowa	1969.2	17,200	150	81	188
Kobayashi	Non-Dowa	1970.1	75,600	967	97	1,000
AS-2	Dowa	1971.2	32,107	284	81	459
IK-3	Dowa	1971.2	15,478	229	90	409
HR	Dowa	1973.3	20,117	238	80	240
AH	Dowa	1975.3	24,327	192	100	242
SM	Dowa	1975.11	16,100	179	83	249
Minami-Okajima	Non-Dowa	1976.1	6,300	80	100	49

Note: *Dōwa* resettlement districts are abbreviated with capital letters

Regarding two cases of clearance and rebuilding of non-*buraku* ‘barracks’ districts, the Airin Project (flopouse quarters mentioned below) in 1970, with the construction of the Airin Comprehensive Social Center in Nishinari-ku, and the Kobayashi Project of 1975 in the Okinawan community of Taishō ward should be noted with attention. Especially in the latter case, the Kobayashi project was accomplished through the struggle of the city office with the powerful Kansai Okinawa Liberation League, who implemented many techniques borrowed from the *Buraku* Liberation Movement. Thus, it can be said that the clearance-type improvement projects of ‘barracks’ and slums, as well as the sub-standard wooden housing areas, was undertaken by focusing on *Dōwa* projects and the rebuilding of temporary public dwellings. Then, what were the trends in other areas where such housing problems existed?

3. Kamagasaki/Airin District

Considering the viewpoint of the housing problems in the Airin/Kamagasaki district (Kamagasaki is an old place name and still prevalent among laborers and their supporters, and Airin is an artificially determined name and literary means ‘beloved neighborhood’), this district and its adjacent areas in Naniwa ward had the highest number of ‘barracks’ slums which suffered war damage. At the same time, the flopouse quarter, Kamagasaki, with origins at the beginning of the 1900s, grew through its existence as a day laborers’ town after the war. On the other hand, Kamagasaki began to be known as a Japanese ‘Kasbah’ and had a reputation as a vicious neighborhood in the mass media from the second half of the 1950s due to the *Yakuza*- (Japanese mafia)-related labor sharks, prostitution (there is a red-light quarter nearby), drug problems, etc. (See Fig.10).

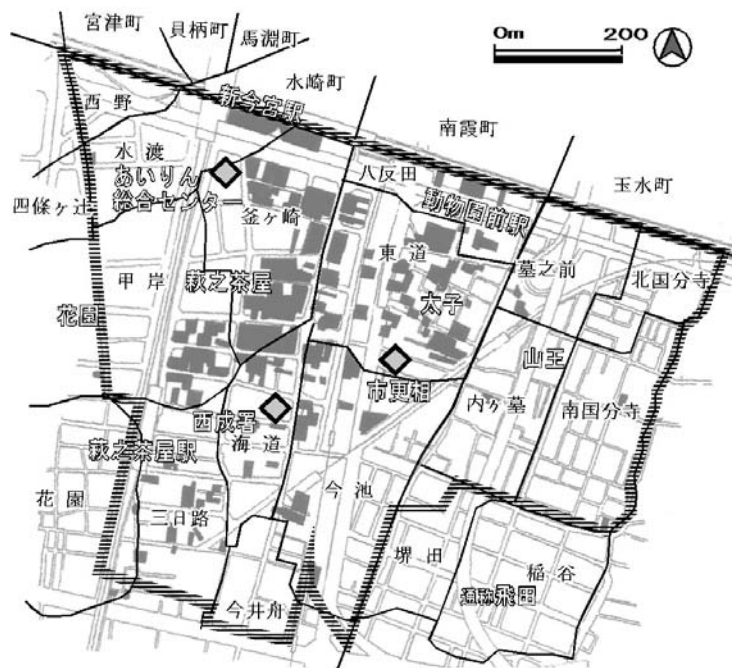


Figure 10. Kamagasaki/ Airin district (a skid row area of Osaka)

The heavy outer line demarcates the Airin district as designated in 1971. The dark grey areas show the extent of cheap lodging houses (flopouses or doss houses) in 1998. (drawn from housing map)

Social welfare administration, labor administration, and anti-crime measures were launched simultaneously, and in addition, the urban planning administration also began to be involved in flopouse

and slum improvement. With the increase of attention toward the slums, the Kamagasaki riots broke out in August 1961. Just before and after these riots, the policies for Kamagasaki were realized with the construction of the Nishinari Community Hall and the Airin Hall as a social settlement project exclusively for the Airin district as an area-specific project like that for the *Dōwa* districts. The Airin policy was completed by the establishment of the Airin Comprehensive Social Center in 1970, (established in improved apartment housing on the upper floors), and the Municipal Rehabilitation and Consulting Center in 1971, and thus the Airin District was authorized and demarcated by the city government, prefectural government, and police department. For single day-laborers employed in construction sites, job placement, welfare consultation, free medical treatment, and a jobless-insurance system were introduced only in the Airin district (69 ha.) as a special quarter. Many laborers without a certificate of residence stayed in the flophouses (cheap urban hostels) built by private entrepreneurs. On the basis of this system, many laborers were attracted from the western part of Japan at the prosperous moment of Osaka EXPO 1970, and the Airin district grew to contain about 30,000 people who lived in these conditions in the highest population density of the city. In the Airin district, twenty-one riots occurred from 1961 until 1968. The riots were the so-called 'driving force' which changed Kamagasaki, and confrontations and resistance between *Yakuza* gangs and the police were also repeated. Due to the deepening of this kind of locale-specific policy, Airin/Kamagasaki became specialized and excluded, as a town of single male day-laborers. During the bubble economy, the simple flophouses were also equipped with medium-rise hotel-like views and accommodations.

When the economy began to decline in the 1990s, laborers who were becoming older easily lost their jobs and were likely to be excluded from labor market. From the late 1990s, people who didn't have a certificate of residence, or were staying in flophouses as a home, eventually fell from the base lifestyle entitled through public assistance, to sleep rough on the streets, and these kinds of cases have been increasing dramatically. Although this is discussed later, this locally specific policy borne by the socially excluded district stratified with discrimination adjacent to the *Dōwa* district produces an overall discrimination against Nishinari ward, and politically these districts were separated from ordinary built-up areas.

4. Features and Trends of the Ordinary Built-up Area

In the late 1970s the Osaka Comprehensive Plan of 1990, which was launched in 1978, as shown in Fig. 11, laid out an urban development and redevelopment scheme and showed the city periphery, inner-ring, and city center and sub centers as three geographical divisions of major anticipated projects in the city. This scheme later led to the development of subsequent big projects. This Comprehensive Plan of 1990 paid much attention to the housing problem of the inner-ring and the future of the residential improvement districts. As also observed in Fig. 11, this distribution involves the northwest, northeast, east, and southeast areas along the Loop Railway, and is also found across the Yodo River. The actual conditions can be grasped in more detail in Fig. 12. This figure illustrates the area of high density of wooden housing and it naturally coincides with residential improvement areas. In such areas, as shown in Table 3, a rapid decrease in population was also seen in the 1970s and 1980s, and the wooden row-houses built in the prewar days, as well as the sub-standard wooden apartment houses constructed in the 1960s, have become vacant and their existence is problematic. The inner-city problem discussed later is also related to this phenomenon.

It was under these circumstances that in 1974 the housing council in Osaka City submitted findings titled "The Policy for Improving the Residential Environment in Osaka City," addressing the issues that should be solved most promptly- the improvement of small-scale and low-quality rented housing. The first redevelopment as a model project in the inner-ring at Kema-Daito in Miyakojima ward, whose location is

shown in Fig.11, proceeded in 1980 with construction of good medium- and high-rise public housing in three public housing sectors with an elementary school and children’s parks at a former factory site through the subsidy system called the Renewal Project System of an Overcrowded Residential Area, or the so-called ‘conversion system from industrial to residential.’ However, this inner-ring project could not be the decisive factor in breaking the population decline, and the Osaka City government determined to proceed with these kinds of housing developments further by using this conversion system in other sites on a larger scale. Fig.11 also plots the locations of the major types of conversion to residential redevelopment through public or private initiative, and through these projects, former factory sites or freight yards were completely changed to housing condominiums and estates which are located in the northern inner-ring. Three other housing renewal projects guided by the Comprehensive Plan of 1990 were overseen in the form of renewal or rehabilitation of ordinary overcrowded residential districts in the southern inner-ring as shown in Fig.11. Among them, the Nipponbashi improvement project is rebuilding the oldest decrepit public housing which was constructed in the prewar slum clearance project. As a model improvement project for decrepit housing in a high density built-up area, the Southern Ikuno Ward Project was started in 1994, and it has taken a long time in improving or rebuilding one-by-one old housing in addition to introducing public facilities such as a streets and parks. In Nishinari ward, although the improvement project covers the *Dōma* district, application of existing clearance-type improvements (*Dōma* projects) was very difficult since the area was large and basic infrastructure was relatively poor, so a project similar to that of Ikuno ward was adopted utilizing the existing stock of the old built-up area efficiently. Moreover, outside of the inner-ring during the high-growth era, where the non-built-up area of Osaka City still remained, land readjustment projects were given precedence in areas such as northeastern, eastern and southeastern Osaka City.

From the second half of the 1970s in these developmental areas of Osaka’s postwar period, city regional land readjustment projects started to prevent urban sprawl. Thus, through land readjustment, except for the inner-ring area along the Loop Railway, Osaka City enjoyed the planned built-up areas from the center of the city to the outer inner-ring that were completed both before and after World War II.

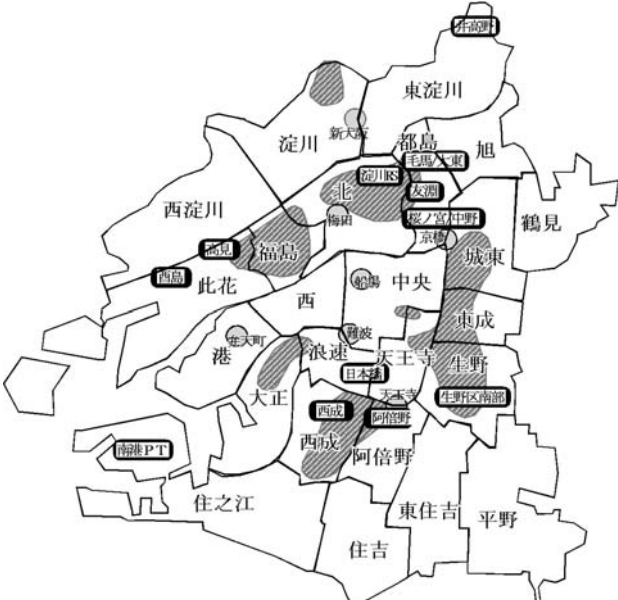


Figure 11. Osaka City Comprehensive Plan of 1990 outline map, as first visualized in 1978.

The cross-hatching shows areas needing housing rehabilitation programs. Place names circled in black are redevelopment areas, and grey circles show civic centers and sub-centers for planned infrastructure improvement.

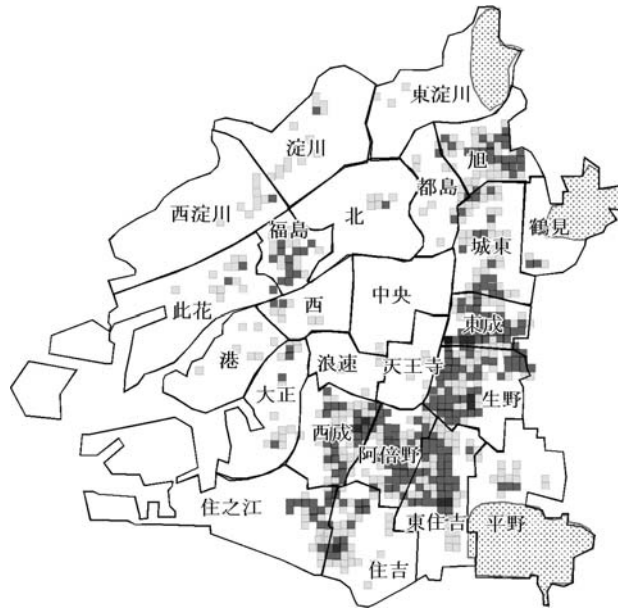


Figure 12. Areas of dense sub-standard wooden housing in the mid 1970s
 From *Osaka City Housing Policy*, it is thought to reflect conditions in the mid 1970s.

Table 3. List of Land Readjustment Projects in Osaka City

Type		Area (ha)	Actors in charge	Starting year	Year of Completion
Readjustment of Arable Land, 27cases	Pre-war	2,280	Association	1910	1968
Land Readjustment, 75cases		4,085	Association	1924	1978
Osaka Station Front		5	City of Osaka	1935	1940
War-Damage Rehabilitation, Land Readjustment, 46cases	Immediate Post-war Period	2,202	City of Osaka	1947	1996
Harbor Area Reconstruction, Land Readjustment		1,327	City of Osaka	1947	1994
Land Readjustment; 4cases	Later Post-war Period	38	Individual	1976	2004
Land Readjustment; 5cases		62	Association	1974	2003
Land Readjustment; 18cases		1,093	City of Osaka	1959	-
		11,092			

5. Inner City Problems

Inner-ring area renewal and redevelopment of the built-up area in connection with the housing problem had become a big subject of policy from the 1970s to the 1980s. From the 1970s on, in the advanced capitalist metropolises of Europe and America, low-income people and immigrants from developing countries occupied large parts of the inner-rings of each metropolis, where slum-like environments prevailed, and led citizens to recognize the severe social problems of urban decline, the so-called 'inner-city problem.' Inner-ring areas that were formed by the build-up to World War II apparently became problematic due to aspects of economic decline, obsolescence of the built environment, and social disadvantages.

In Osaka, decreases in population due to the exodus of young families desiring a better living environment, progressive aging, decline of the purchasing power of residents, and the weakening of community power became problems first. Moreover, due to the obsolescence of housing and urban

facilities, aggravation of the living environment with the mixture of land uses, and the reduction in the number of the workers caused by the outflow of secondary industry, the deteriorating crisis of the built-up area deepened. It is these Japanese inner-city problems which defined the problem generically, and a sense of crisis prevailed from the second half of the 1970s. As shown in Fig. 13, the withdrawal of factories from the Osaka Bay area has progressed strikingly since the 1970s, and it is this phenomenon which has become visible among citizens. What is called the ‘hollowing out’ of industries was first predominantly seen in the bay area.

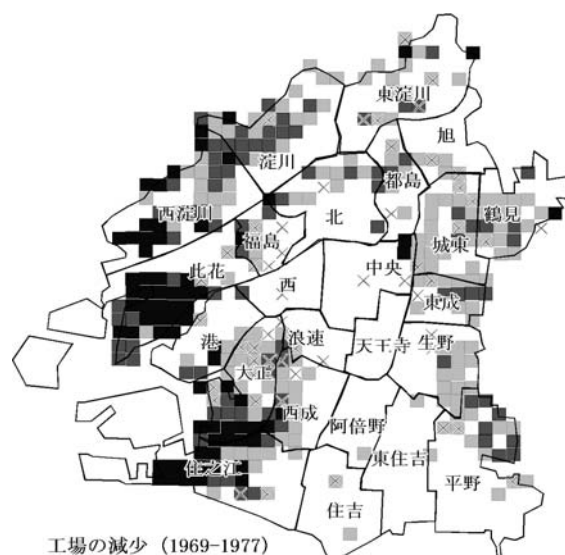


Figure 13. Areas which lost manufacturing establishments from 1969 to 1977
Drawn by the author based on Narita, 1987

Large factory groups, such as the ‘Six Companies of West Osaka’ including: Hitachi Shipbuilding, the locomotive firm Kawasaki Heavy Industries, Osaka Gas, Sumitomo Metals, Sumitomo Chemicals, and Sumitomo Electric Wire in the bay area of Konohana-ku were the major bases of employment in western Osaka for many years, but after the 1970s they withdrew or reduced production. Moreover, in the southern bay area along the Kizu River, there was a concentration of shipbuilding companies, which had all already withdrawn from this zone. Regarding population decrease, Table 4 shows the massive decrease of population of the bay area wards, and there was also a decrease in the inland wards, especially in the east inner-ring where small factories and workshops were also declining. However, in the rush of the bubble economy of the second half of the 1980s, the aspect of decline disappeared from the urban landscape due to condominiums and office development by developers even in the inner-ring. Although surely there was a problem in the inadequately built environment, the conditions which might get worse due to economic decline were not observed. Moreover, it was not a situation in which the inner-city area needed to be especially mindful of the deteriorating social conditions and the aggravation of public peace and order which seriously concerned the cities of Europe and Anglo-America.

In the inner-ring in the late 1980s, as already noted before, improvement of the living environment, which included the completion of *Dōma* projects as a housing policy and promotion of smaller factories in the inland wards, became stable. It was also the moment when, at last, some open measures advancing the rights and interests of foreign residents in Japan were officially put into practice, responding to the demands of Korean residents.

Table 4. Changes in Population in Osaka City by Wards (in thousands)

Name of Ward (Ku)	Sub-Division	1965	1975	1985	1995	2000	2005	2005 /1965*	Ratio of Lowest to Peak Year (1965)	Ratio of Recovery
Kita	Central	130.0	86.4	91.3	85.5	92.0	98.4	0.76	0.66	1.15
Chuo		114.1	70.9	62.4	52.9	55.3	65.0	0.57	0.46	1.23
Nishi		67.5	50.1	58.2	58.7	63.4	71.0	1.05	0.87	1.21
Fukushima	Central Periphery	86.0	61.1	57.5	55.1	55.7	59.6	0.69	0.64	1.08
Tennoji		75.0	59.6	55.9	55.6	58.8	63.3	0.84	0.74	1.14
Naniwa		77.9	55.7	49.1	49.1	50.2	53.0	0.68	0.62	1.09
Konohana	Bay Area Inner-Ring	88.8	82.0	69.0	68.5	65.0	64.5	0.73	0.73	-
Minato		116.5	105.8	92.0	89.5	87.3	83.9	0.72	0.72	-
Taisho		95.5	88.5	82.3	78.4	75.0	74.3	0.78	0.78	-
Suminoe		116.5	106.5	135.9	138.9	135.4	132.8	1.14	-	*
Nishi-Yodogawa	North Inner-Ring	121.2	96.6	92.4	91.1	92.5	96.3	0.79	0.75	1.06
Yodogawa		172.8	150.8	160.0	162.0	163.4	168.9	0.98	0.87	1.12
Higashi-Yodogawa		141.3	162.2	170.8	185.9	183.9	181.1	1.28	-	*
Miyakojima	East Inner-Ring	110.2	86.6	91.9	98.0	97.3	100.3	0.91	0.79	1.16
Higashinari		128.4	95.6	83.9	78.7	78.6	80.1	0.62	0.61	1.02
Ikuno		235.2	194.6	162.1	149.3	142.7	137.3	0.58	0.58	-
ASahi		141.2	123.9	110.1	102.5	99.2	96.2	0.68	0.68	-
Joto		171.5	154.4	157.5	155.6	157.9	161.6	0.94	0.90	1.04
Tsurumi		80.3	90.5	89.3	97.8	102.0	107.1	1.33	-	*
Abeno		157.9	129.0	112.4	102.8	104.0	106.3	0.67	0.65	1.03
Sumiyoshi	South Inner-Ring	177.1	182.1	162.4	162.5	161.0	159.1	0.90	0.90	-
Higashi-Sumiyoshi		191.2	173.8	149.3	141.4	139.6	136.4	0.71	0.71	-
Hirano		147.2	202.6	196.2	200.6	201.7	202.3	1.37	-	*
Nishinari		212.8	169.8	144.3	141.8	136.8	134.8	0.63	0.63	-
Osaka City Total		3,156	2,779	2,636	2,602	2,598	2,633	0.83	0.82	1.01

6. Dense Residential Areas of Japanese-Koreans

As shown in Fig. 14, Japanese-Koreans, who are registered as ‘aliens’, constitute about 80 percent of the total foreign population of 122,000 in Osaka City in 2005, and they are concentrated in the eastern inner-ring, in Ikuno and Higashinari wards, with another concentration in the southwest inner-ring in Nishinari ward. Especially in Ikuno ward, the number of residents with Korean registration accounts for 32,000 people and is one fourth of the total ward population. Seen from the urban history of the inner-ring in postwar days, especially from the viewpoint of implementation of municipal policies, Japanese-Koreans did not hold any position with the municipal government, and were not able to hold such positions. Since they demanded the right of protection as overseas citizens of North Korea, and there were homecoming programs to North Korea beginning in 1959, as well as a serious ideological confrontation between North and South Koreans, they usually could not overcome this inferiority except through self-help businesses or in self-sufficient ways without any support from the government. Japanese-Koreans mostly managed small and self-employed businesses or worked inside the ethnic community, since they could not receive any types of public service because they did not hold Japanese nationality. Through the foundation of ethnic banking facilities and supplying finance themselves, they led a life of day-to-day survival. The clause requiring Japanese nationality was removed from the public housing requirements in 1975. However, there was and still is almost no public housing in Ikuno ward. Regarding actual participation in urban rejuvenation, since people with foreign citizenship and without residence registration do not possess qualifications to participate in community associations, they cannot enjoy any official community support. However, self-employed Japanese-Korean families have acquired comparatively stable living environments through self-help in detached housing or wooden row-houses, though they are not large. While the decreases in the Japanese population continue, that of

Japanese-Koreans shows a stable transition. Moreover, because of the reality of discrimination toward foreigners, condominiums are rarely built in the devalued Korean quarter, and there is no supply of public housing. Thus, disregarded from the private housing property market as well as the *Dōwa* districts, only tile-roofed rows of small wooden houses dominated the monotonous urban scene around these areas. However, in the ethnic culture boom of recent years, ‘Chōsen’ (the old Japanese name for Korea) has been replaced by the term ‘Korean’ and with some ethnic flavor, the international market at Tsuruhashi under the Loop Railway elevated station attracted renewed attention from the mass media, as did the Miyuki Shopping Avenue in Ikuno ward, which was just a local neighborhood shopping center until it suddenly began to attract many visitors after it installed decorations like the Kudara Gate of Korea Town. In addition, the number of foreign newcomers is also increasing and especially Korean newcomers are steadily starting to live in areas adjacent to the city center aside from living in the old ethnic communities such as Ikuno ward.

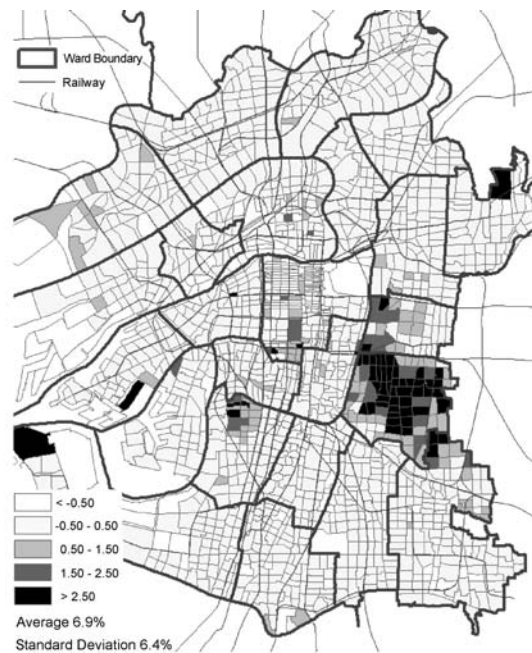


Figure 14. Distribution of foreign residents According to the 2000 census

IV. The Light and the Shadow of Development

1. Big Projects

Conspicuous redevelopment of the inner-ring accelerated with the International Garden and Greenery Exposition held at Tsurumi Green Park in Tsurumi-ku in 1990. (Although it was small, the Tennoji Exposition was held in Tennoji Park in 1987 and caused controversy by reopening as a paid-admission park, which linked it with the homelessness issue). Afterward, the city enjoyed the prosperity of the bubble economy as a couple of big projects were successively begun. According to the Osaka 21st Century Plan launched in 1983 (shown in Fig.15) the Techno-Port plan in the bay area was set as the pivotal center along the bay axis, raising the accumulated effect of the vast area of reclaimed land, the bay axis developed from Kobe to the Kansai International Airport along the Osaka Bay littoral. The east-west axis extended from the bay area through Tsurumi Green Park (The Flower Expo site), toward Kansai Science City in Kyoto Prefecture, and along this axis, the Osaka Business Park (OBP) adjacent to Osaka Castle made a connection of symbolic zones of the Okawa (the Yodo River changes its name where it flows into the Osaka City center), Osaka Castle, and Nakanoshima (like Paris’ Ile de la Cité),

facilitating internationalization, computerization, and the promotion of culture. Also, a north-south axis was identified along the New Midosuji and Midosuji Boulevards directly linking the Osaka Expo held at Senri Hill in 1970, and assumed two trigger areas of the deployment of the sub-civic centers of the Shin-Osaka Bullet Train Station in the north and Abeno terminal in the south. Although only the north-south axis of the center of the city from Shin-Osaka, Umeda to Namba was conspicuous within the city structure.

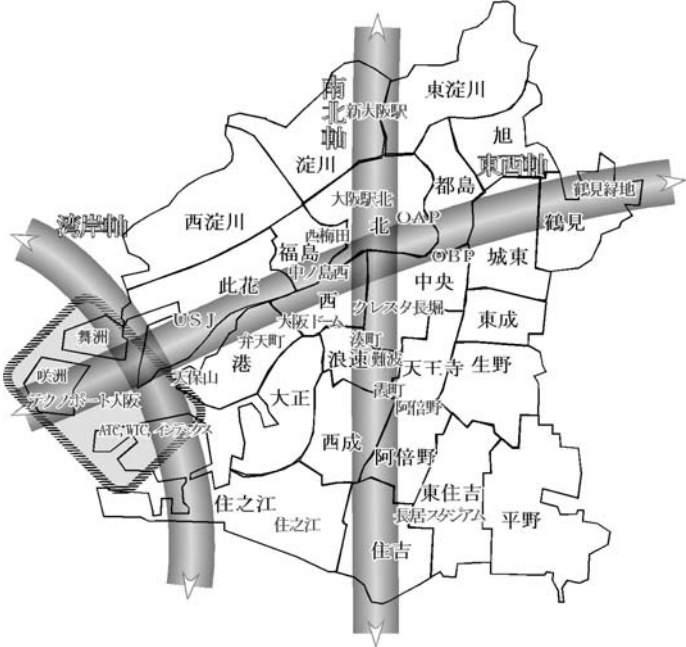


Figure 15. Outline of the 'Osaka 21st Century Plan - A New Grand Design' launched in 1992.

It shows major axes of development and target foci for redevelopment (in smaller characters)

The big projects in the second half of the 1980s aimed at creating city activity on the east-west axis and in the bay area, which originally specialized in production and distribution functions exclusively, and a big transformation of urban structure was experienced. Among them, the first project of the OBP plan, whose area was a long-neglected vacant ruin at the former site of the army's Osaka arsenal, started at last in 1971. Through the private sector's initiative, completion of the land readjustment project of the super block system was postponed till 1987, which meant it took a long time for this plan to mature. Fortunately, riding on the peak of the bubble economy, construction of huge skyscrapers progressed, and was praised as a successful project employing a work force 38,000 people and housing a daytime population of 150,000.

In this way, the newly emerging sub-civic center in the east grew from the outset, while the development of Benten-chō, specified as the newly emerging sub-civic center in the west, did not make progress at the beginning. But during the period of the bubble economy, development incentives rose to the nodal point with an east-west axis and the bay area axis. Utilizing a land trust financed for 30 years beginning in 1988, Osaka City constructed the main ORC200, which means an initial phase of the 'Osaka Resort City,' with a 200-meter high skyscraper as a symbol of the western sub-civic center completed in 1993. While this east-west axis makes OBP and Benten-chō the bases of the east and west in an inner-ring, the Western Nakanoshima redevelopment, whose main construction was the international conference hall opened in 2000 at the westernmost end of the city island of Osaka, included the

construction of the Osaka Dome Baseball Stadium in 1997 at the former site of the Traffic Bureau and Osaka Gas worksite, and the big theme park USJ, which opened at the former Sumitomo factory site in Konohana ward in 2001. Moreover, along the north-south axis, there were appearances one after another of redevelopment projects, especially in Naniwa ward, such as the amusement center at Festival Gate and SPA World (large spa leisure complexes) in 1996; OCAT (Osaka Cargo and Air Terminal) in 1996; and the Minatomachi River Place along the Dotonbori Canal in 2002. Thus, in the inner-ring area, third sector-type redevelopments were completed successively. Huge development was also performed strikingly in the bay area along the bay axis.

Development of a Nankō (South Port) Port Town had already carried out the town opening in 1977, and with the new transportation system, although a branch route, it linked directly with the subway, so that the first habitable space facing the sea appeared in Osaka. Until the 1990s, the inner harbor and factories in the bay area divided the seafront from the people of Osaka, and the image of the bay area was something like a back entrance to the city isolated from the built-up area. However, with decline in production in the bay area and increases in unused land, the project which left a great impact on the bay area was the series of redevelopments by the Osaka Waterfront Development Co. Ltd. established in 1988. These included attractions such as the newly-named Tempōzan Harbor Village, Osaka Aquarium Marketplace, and the Saint Mary Sea Cruise which first appeared in 1990, later continuing with the Suntory Museum in 1994, and a big ferris wheel in 1997.

The Tempōzan district, which had been only a wharf in the warehouse quarter, immediately became highlighted as a space of recreation and amenity following the completion of the Bay Area Intercity Expressway from Kobe to Kansai International Airport in 1994, and a new subway link directly into the bay area from the city center which extended through an undersea tunnel in 1997. Development of the bay area was announced in parallel with the Technoport Osaka Plan as one of the municipal centennial commemorations in 1983, which assumed a population of 60,000, a work force of 92,000, and the scale of a daytime population of 200,000. Its scale was three times as large as OBP. As shown in Fig. 6, three newly reclaimed islands' nicknames were determined in 1991 as Maishima ('dance'), Yumeshima ('dream'), and Sakishima ('blossom') Islands.

City planning for Sakishima began initially with Cosmo Square in 1989, though before that an international trade fair hall was already open in 1985. Sakishima development proceeded with the completion of ATC (Asia Trade Center) in 1994, and the WTC (World Trade Center) followed in 1995. Maishima in the Osaka North Port area started as a waste disposal reclamation ground, and was completed in 1987. On this island, several sports recreation facilities for the National Athletic Meet were built in 1997, and it was assumed it would be a main venue in case of candidacy for the Olympic Games in 2008. Thus a lot of developments were planned and some were realized in part, but in fact much land was left unused, and owners of skyscrapers also have many office vacancies. That the development is burdened with a large amount of debt through third sector development is a severe reality. For Osaka City, through a series of development projects, the bay area provided the precious opportunity through which people could share the beach, and, without doubt, the east-west axis and bay axis added to the city structure of Osaka's one simple north-south axis.

Original ideas on how to utilize this precious urban space within the framework of the shaky fiscal structure are being keenly sought. In 2001, Osaka Prefecture, joining with Osaka City and the economic associations, arranged the "Revitalization Strategy of the Osaka Metropolitan Region," and proposed it to the national government. Concerning Osaka City, in 2003 the "Osaka Urban Revitalization Program" aimed at planning urban regeneration through revitalization of the economy, and is now promoting several efforts to revitalize target areas. In the bay area, the Cosmo Square in Sakishima is designated as one of

the urgent development areas for urban revitalization, and in the inner-ring, facilitation of the on-going Abeno redevelopment project was furthered. This Abeno 'urgent program' designation was applied to the last project area and it was restarted with the inclusion of an adjacent non-redeveloping area.

2. Rough Sleepers/Homeless People

When the bubble economy burst in the second half of the 1990s and it became impossible to aim for the total fulfillment of big projects, the number of rough sleepers increased rapidly in the city parks, under the elevated roads and on the riverbanks throughout the city. Citizens believed this was a completely new urban problem. Fig. 16 shows the results of a complete survey of rough sleepers in 1998, which for the first time officially revealed a rough sleepers' population of 8660. The blue tents of rough sleepers were seen in big parks and in civic centers, especially Osaka Castle Park, Nakanoshima (Cité) Park, and Okawa River Bank Park. They were also seen sleeping covered with cardboard boxes or newspapers in Osaka Station, along Midosuji Boulevard, or the Shinsaibashi Arcade shopping street. Citizens could not help recognizing not only just the simple issue of rough sleeping, but that the lack of a social safety net and the failure of the social welfare system was an urban and social problem. At the same time, the rough sleeping issue was also strongly connected with the Airin/Kamagasaki district, where there continued to be a long-established center of rough sleepers.

Politically, in 1999 Osaka City set up the "Municipal Headquarters of Counter-Measures for the Rough Sleepers Issue," and for the first time launched the following programs: starting an outreach service to rough sleepers; offering public works using an urgent special subsidy for improving local employment; and providing shelters through consigning NPO or social welfare corporations for their management. In this process, the Organization to Support the Homeless in Kamagasaki (NPO Kamagasaki) established in the Airin district in June 1999 shouldered a large role from that time on, and some shelters were revived exclusively for rough sleepers after a long suspension of services. In the Airin district, an emergency shelter for one-night stays was established, and a care center for short stays of two weeks enhanced its capacity. Temporary shelters housing people for as long as three years were also opened in the three big parks of Nagai, Nishinari, and Osaka Castle exclusively for the tent residents of each park. Moreover, in 2000, three Self-Sufficiency Support Centers were opened which aimed at helping people gain independence after becoming ex-rough sleepers.

Although the number of rough sleepers had decreased to 6603 by the time of the National Survey of 2002, not only the living sites of rough sleepers but the support facilities and activities for ex-rough sleepers tended to be located in the inner-ring area. Several opposition movements were also concentrated in this inner-ring, such as those opposing the shelter construction in Nagai Park and the clinic for rough sleepers, and thus the support facilities themselves became targets, and friction arose between local communities and support organizations.

On the other hand, the counter-measures for rough sleepers began to work; the numbers of ex-rough sleepers who successfully returned to regular employment were also increasing considerably. The most crucial factor which contributed to the reduction of the number of rough sleepers was the improvement in the operation of providing public assistance and enlarging the window for the receipt of assistance to the ex-rough sleepers. The situation of public assistance in Nishinari ward, which contains the Airin district, is increasing rapidly to a monthly average of 14.1% in 2003, up from an average of 8.1% in 1998, and the Osaka City average is also rising to 3.3% from 2.1%. This is 3.3 times as high as the national rate of public assistance. Nishinari-ku constitutes the shocking number of 14 times the national rate.

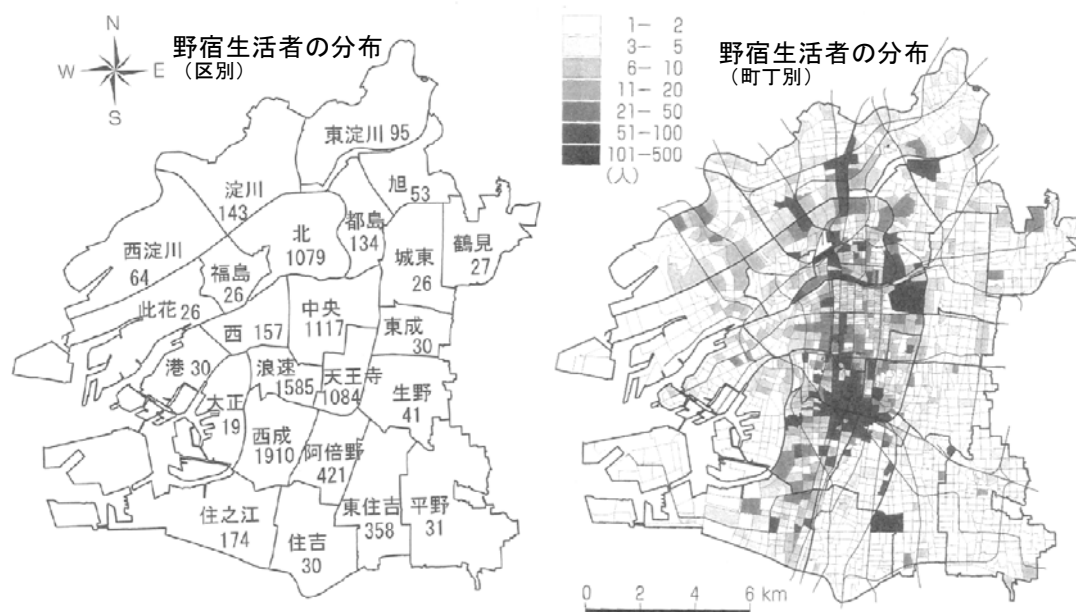


Figure 16. Distribution of rough sleepers according to 1998 survey

Based on Morita 2001, (left) numbers of rough sleepers by ward, (right) distribution by neighborhood

As shown in Fig. 17, the unemployment rates of Nishinari ward and adjacent Naniwa ward are as high as 14% and 7% respectively. The worsening of the unemployment rate of Osaka City as a whole also coincides with the increase in the recent years of the poverty phenomenon in these inner-ring areas, and Osaka's rate is definitely the highest, at 3%, among the metropolitan governments in Japan. The inner-ring area is seriously exposed to the merits and demerits of big projects, and the phenomena of poverty, which are seen through the rough sleeping life, the high rate of public assistance, and high unemployment.

Living in the inner-ring of Osaka City, Japanese-Koreans account for 90,000 people, the *Burakumin* 60,000 people, day laborers in Airin District 20,000 people, and Okinawans 20,000 people; therefore, the so-called 'social minority' populations might total over 200,000 people. Although the Urban Revitalization Committee of Osaka City has addressed economic revitalization and activation of the city and the people as a big subject, it can be said that the revival of Osaka is also greatly concerned with regeneration of the inner-ring. Present-day Osaka is figuratively expressed as light and shadow, and while excessive attention is directed to the three showy promotion axes of urban development, at the same time they coexist with the thick inner-ring area, which cannot be easily exposed to such attention. The current catchphrase of an "International City of Gathering Visitors" should be turned into the pivot of a design for ordinary people who use and live in Osaka City, and make itself into a place where citizen's expectations can be fulfilled. The established reputation of "The International City of Gathering Visitors" might be also derived from the design's orientation.

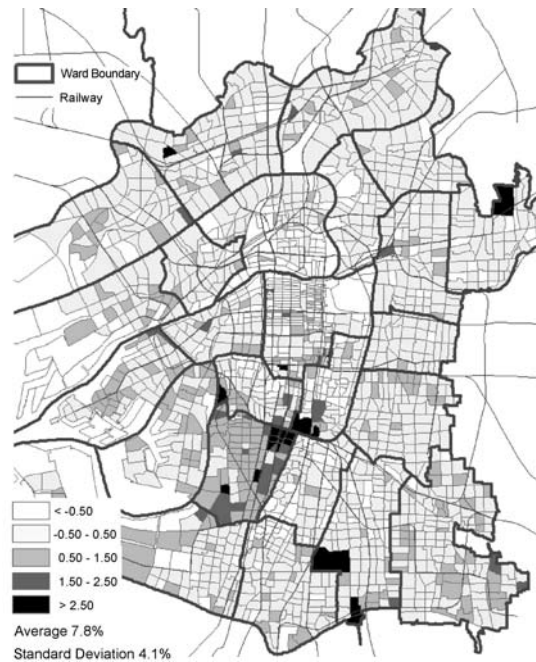


Figure 17. Percentage of unemployed persons 2000 census

Appendix

'A Petition for Housing Installation' released in December 1957 by the Naniwa and Nishinari Housing Demand Realization League.

"We, the residents of Nishihama, have been branded with the label 'illegal occupiers' by landowners and the city authorities, and are being forcefully evicted from our homes. But should we really be dismissed with this oversimplified characterization? We, whose prewar homes were built with sweat and tears, and who lost everything in the destruction of the war, have been left only with cold discrimination. The power of Nishihama within Daikoku-chō has been stolen, and it has become a derelict neighborhood. In the confusion at the end of the war, without knowing who or where the landowners were, we built barracks, dug wells and drainage, widened the streets, and cleared away the burned rubble of wartime. Now our current homes, the result of our heart and soul efforts, have been mercilessly labeled as illegal occupancy. Since the war's total devastation, as many as 3,000 homes have been rebuilt in Nishihama and another 3,000 in Hiraki, Dejiro, but half of these now fall into the category of illegal occupancy. What is clearest in the midst of this discrimination against our neighborhood is the heavy hand of Osaka City, which built only one hundred homes to replace the 10,000 that were destroyed in the war. And Nishihama residents are not even allowed to move into this newly constructed housing. Even though the residents of Nishihama have revived the neighborhood over the last twelve years, the city planning administration has now rejected them as illegal occupiers and is treating them as outlaws. Although Nishihama residents pay citizen head taxes and fixed asset taxes, cooperate with community fund drives, participate in crime prevention committees, and have formed block associations, nevertheless Osaka City does not provide water service or garbage collection, and will not let them qualify for loans or resettlement in public housing. 500 households that were forced to relocate out of Nishihama, because they had nowhere to go, simply repeated illegal occupancy elsewhere, and some have been reduced to destitution and begging. We ardently wish we could live in ferroconcrete or concrete block housing. In Kyoto City and in Hyogo Prefecture, public housing designated specially for buraku people has already been built. Although we

hear reports that the Public Welfare Bureau of Osaka City is adopting measures concerning burakumin, we can only say that the Construction Bureau, housed under the same roof, continues its hostile intransigence toward us. The illegal occupancy is not being carried out recklessly by a bunch of undesirable miscreants. Nishihama is a buraku, and discrimination against burakumin remains deeply rooted. Osaka City, which in spite of these facts continues to push forward construction in Nishihama and its own urban plan without an adequate policy of buraku liberation, bears a heavy responsibility.” (From: Committee on Osaka Buraku History, 2000, pp. 283-288)

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