
Regional Manifestation of Poverty and Social Exclusion — Urban *Buraku*: Reproductive Destabilization —

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Summary

This thesis aims to indicate local communities, as variables are fundamental to figure out phenomena of poverty and social exclusion and shape the countermeasures through examining the process of reproductive destabilization and the cause, based on the study that we conducted in “A” area, discriminated community called *Buraku* in Osaka.

The situation on “A” area, enormously concentrated poverty and social exclusion, was extremely improved by social inclusion project conducted formally on a long-term basis. However, after the project finished, the job assistance for *Burakumin* (a Japanese minority group) to become a public employee, as affirmative actions, was abolished. At the same time, the employment in a Japanese society was unstable. Those circumstances made the employment for young *Burakumin* unstable. The poverty pump phenomena reinforced such a tendency, that the middle class moved outside the community and the lower class moved into the community.

The accumulation of the poverty groups, itself restricts life chances. In *Buraku*, “the after-effect” of a number of poor people gathering in the community, and “the unintended consequences” of formal project caused by “the *Buraku* Liberation Movement” led to the lifestyle which prevents a settlement of individual strategy for improving the lives and restricted successful models. The function of a “getting by” network in the community becomes weak because of the project end and outflow of young people in the area. The accumulation into the area of the poverty and social exclusion makes the poverty more concentrated and deepened as a specific mechanism which can not be explained in macro social changes and policies, also class culture.

1 Problem location

In the “all middle class society” in which “abundance” was secured by excluding the poor from the view, areas where poverty and social exclusion such as parlors remarkably accumulated as “Hidden Exterior”, but the poor spread between “Normal life of normal population” and “abnormal life of an abnormal population”, or people who are inclined toward poverty and their residential areas did not receive much attention. This trend appears to have been maintained through the following cycle of perceptions, even at a time when social perceptions have changed from “all middle class society” to “differential society” and poverty has become a major political issue. That is to say, the poverty problem in recent years has become “It goes beyond the poverty issues that manifest themselves in the concentration and concentration of the poor, as typified in *Sanya*, *Kotobuki-cho*, and *Kamagasaki*, or in the low-income class.” and there is a recognition that “People who are about to be socially excluded exist everywhere in the community as “Isolated and silent poor” like sand drift.” (*Okubo* 2007: 9 -10).

After the long recession brought about by the collapse of the bubble economy, the Japanese economy came to face the pressure of economic rationalization and cost reduction in which the global economic competition was strong. The influence of neoliberal policies, which were further strengthened by the prolonged recession, became apparent more rapidly (*Honda* 2007). One of the results was the flexible employment seen in the rapid increase of non-regular employment, and the employment insecurity spread in Japanese society. As Japanese society as a whole “conversion to a general place”, empirical research to clarify the macro picture of poverty and social exclusion and empirical research focusing on categories such as homeless people, mother-child households, youth, and children are accumulating. On the other hand, attention to the variables of where the poor are concentrated and where they are produced does not seem to go beyond describing the spatial distribution of poverty and social exclusion. As the next

step of accumulating a social map showing the regional distribution of poverty and social exclusion, it is required to clarify the mechanism by which poverty and social exclusion are linked to each other in order to find a way to solve these problems. W. Wilson (1987 = 1999) was a researcher who clarified this mechanism.

Wilson showed that de-industrialization led to social polarization in large American cities, creating a new class of poor called “underclass” and, contrary to its name, new poverty was concentrated in the existing lower classes, the black ghetto in Inner Cities. Although the ghetto poverty rate was always high throughout the first half of the 20 century, the rates of unemployment rate, teenage pregnancy, female-headed family, welfare dependence, and crime were considerably low compared with the 1970’s and later. However, with the progress of de-industrialization, they reached a catastrophic stage, and the ghetto became “an unpleasant or dangerous place” where only the most disadvantaged black people lived. Wilson’s description of these changes showed that regions are critical variables in discussing poverty and social exclusion. Regions are linked to poverty and social exclusion in two directions.

First, poverty and social exclusion groups accumulated in specific regions through the following processes. While the post-industrialization led to the loss of unskilled labor in the central cities, where the black and low-income population was concentrated, the increased service industry occupations required higher levels of education, and the newly created unskilled occupations were located in the suburbs far from the inner city, making it impossible to make up for the lost work. As a result, the unemployment rate rapidly increased in Inner Cities, and the poverty became serious. In addition, unintended consequences of affirmative action have resulted in the outflow of black middle and working classes, leaving only the disadvantaged in Inner Cities. Along with the social development process of the region, another link that Wilson uncovered is a mechanism by which the concentration of the poor in itself deepens the degree of social disruption by imposing further restrictions on opportunities for the people living there. For example, the decline in economically stable men has led to an increase in the number of unmarried mothers and female-headed families and the rate of welfare dependence. In addition, the outflow of the middle class and working class undermined the functions of the social facilities such as schools, churches, hospitals, and stores that were supported by such classes, and the cohesion of Inner Cities such as the sense of community membership and clear norms and sanctions to prevent deviant behavior were also lost. The lack of access to people and information networks for stable work and the loss of access to models of social dominance (social isolation) made the attitudes and behaviors of people living in Inner Cities unsuitable for long-term continuation of stable work.

Is this connection between the region and poverty and social exclusion only a special case of the Inner Cities of the large US cities? In this paper, the discriminated community is taken up as a region which is positioned as the existing lower layer in the Japanese society, and such question is examined. This is because many of the discriminated communities are typical areas of social exclusion where unstable employment and low educational attainment have been pointed out for some time, and at the same time, they are areas where attempts of social inclusion (Dowa Measures Project) by special measures (targeted policy) for specific groups and regions have been made comprehensively, multilaterally and intensively (Dowa District) (2008 Uchida). This paper examines the process of re-stabilization of the existing lower layer of Japanese society in the face of increasing flexibility of employment, which has come into full swing 20 years later than in Europe and the United States, and the factors behind it, based on the results of a labor survey conducted in 2009 in discriminated *Buraku A* district in Osaka City. It aims to show that regions occupy an important position in the elucidation of poverty and social exclusion phenomena in modern Japanese society and in the planning of countermeasures for them.

2 Development of social exclusion measures

First, the social formation process of A district around 1990 is outlined (*Buraku* Liberation League Osaka Federation Branch A in 1976 and others; A *Buraku* History Study Group 1990; Osaka City A Human Rights Association 2003). According to ‘*Buraku* ledger’ (Osaka Prefecture Relief Division 1918), 764 people from 132 households in district A lived with an average of 5 ~ 6 people in a 4 and a half *tatami* mat room in a rented house crowded on both sides of a complicated alley. The common water supply and common toilet were one in 10 houses, and

since there was no sewerage, sewage overflowed in the road, and 2/3 of the inhabitants suffered from eye disease. The extreme concentration of poverty and social exclusion was observed in A district, such as such inferior living environment as well as regular occupation of *geta* mending, *aomono* peddlers, construction laborers, and rickshaw men exceeding 90%, and 70% of children who did not attend school or dropped out of elementary school. This actual condition which continued to be seen even in 1950's was completely changed by the rise of *Buraku* liberation movement which pursues the administrative responsibility by the logic that inferior actual condition itself was discrimination, and the Dowa countermeasure project which became serious in response to it. Discriminated *Buraku* (urban *Buraku*) in urban areas in Kansai, especially 12 districts in Osaka City, was reborn as a completely different area, where public housing and improved housing for the Dowa people occupy the majority, by the redevelopment of the clearance type of decrepit, densely built wooden houses "Focused investment in a set of various facilities including housing, road and sewage improvement, public facilities improvement, public welfare, improvement of economic life, and enhancement of school education and social education" (Mizunouchi et al.: 302-6 2008). In District A, the *Buraku* Liberation League A branch was formed in 1959, and since the 1960s, various resident organizations, such as housing and work requesters' associations, business fund users' associations, welfare recipients' associations, physically disabled people's associations, and senior citizens' associations, have been working on various projects, and as a result, the insecurity and low standard of living and employment have gradually improved. The problem of low educational attainment was improved by an increase in the number of opportunities to advance to higher schools due to an increase in the number of high school students in the entire Japanese society, and by the institutionalization of the so-called "liberation scholarship" (Later, the scope was expanded to include universities, junior colleges, and vocational schools.) for high school students in Dowa districts. The percentage of students advancing to high schools rose from less than 10% in 1975 to 87% in 1960. With regard to employment, after the chaotic period after the war, a part of them returned to *geta* (wooden clogs), shoe-fixing and peddling around 1950, and the others became employed workers at shipyards, but most of them were temporary workers and outside workers, and the instability of employment continued. This situation has changed greatly since the late 1960s, particularly since 1968, when employment assistance was provided through the *Rinpokan* as a practical employment guarantee, and the ratio of public employees in the workplace reached 41% for men and 33% for women in 1990. Stabilization of employment brought about stabilization of the economic situation, and the proportion of households on welfare fell from 33% in 1981 to 15% in 1990. These changes were particularly marked in the young. Around 1990, it was pointed out that "Middle-aged and elderly people in *Buraku* are left behind from the stabilization of employment, but only young people are moving to higher levels of the labor market. (Omitted) It is only now that the upward movement as a 'layer' has begun" as common nationwide phenomena (Noguchi 128: 2000).

3 Re-destabilizing youth employment

The inferior situation observed in living environment, education, employment, etc. in Dowa district was greatly improved. However, what followed was the destabilization of employment that involved the entire Japanese society. Does Dowa district also face such a change? Hitoshi Okuda (2002) has found "signs of re-destabilization" in the employment situation of Dowa district, by examining the field study data carried out by Osaka Prefecture in 2000. Since then, however, few studies have examined these findings. The 2009 Survey on the Situation of Labor in Area A was conducted under such circumstances. The survey results show that there are low levels and instability in various aspects such as the economic situation and educational composition.

The average household income (Table 1) is not so different among households headed by persons younger than 30, but among households headed by persons aged 30 or older, the average household income is significantly below the average for Osaka City, ranging from 60 to 70% of the average (The following figures for Osaka City and Osaka Prefecture are from the 2007 Employment Status Survey, unless otherwise specified.). The rate of public assistance (Table 2) exceeds 10% for all persons other than those in their 20s, far exceeding that of Osaka City, which has a very high rate of public assistance nationwide.

Table 1 Average household income by age group (Millions of yen)

	Area A	N	Osaka City
Less than 30 years old	269	(16)	273
30s	345	(24)	501
40s	339	(24)	585
50s	438	(61)	600

Table 2 Welfare rate by age group (%)

	Area A	N	Osaka City
Less than 20 years old	13.0	(110)	3.9
20s	3.3	(90)	0.7
30s	10.1	(69)	1.7
40s	10.0	(60)	2.6
50s	14.7	(95)	4.5

Source: The rate of Osaka City was calculated from the numbers of households receiving public assistance in Osaka City (As of July 1, 2009) and estimated population in Osaka City (As of October 1, 2009) in "Osaka City Statistics Report 2009".

Looking at the final educational attainment (Figure 1.2), the higher the educational attainment level of young people, the higher the educational attainment level, but the difference from that of Osaka City still remains. Even in their 30s, the ratio of junior high school graduates or less is 3 times that of Osaka City, and the ratio of senior high school graduates is about 60% that of Osaka City, showing a marked tendency toward lower educational attainment. Such low order, which still exists in area A, cannot be treated as a residue in their dissolution process. About 20 years have passed since the employment stabilization tendency of the discriminated *Buraku* young people was indicated, and at present when the young people at that time became the middle-aged and elderly people, the situation different from around 1990 has become tangible.

Figure 1. Percentage of junior high school graduates and below

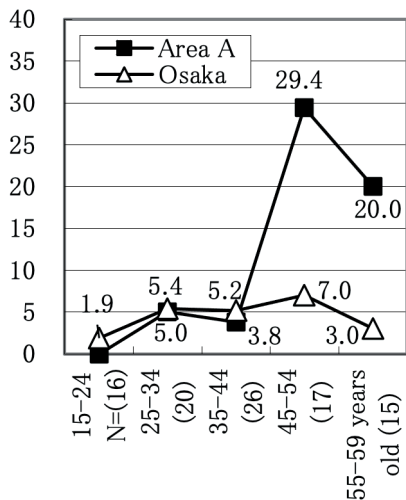
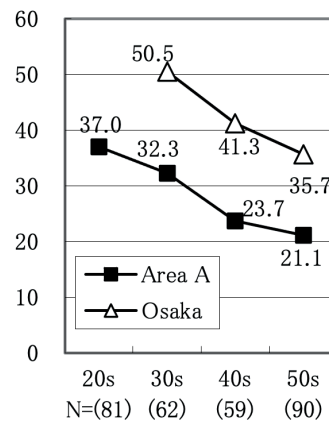


Figure 2. Percentage of senior high school graduates



Source: Osaka City: "national census" (2000) Same for Figure 2.

Note) The figure of Osaka City is shifted to the right by 10 years old. Same for Figure 2.

The percentage of regular employment (including officers.) among male employees is about 85% among those aged 45 or older, which is about the same as that of men in Osaka City. However, the percentage is lower among those younger than 45, and is about 19 ~ 26 points lower among those aged 25 ~ 44. This is more pronounced among women (Figure 4), with women aged 35 years or older about 7 ~ 49 points more than women in Osaka City, while those younger than 35 are about 18 ~ 25 points less. If the data are collected by sex and age group, the frequency will be small and the result will become unstable, but it can be seen that the employment of comparatively young age group becomes unstable on the other hand the relative stability of the employment of middle and old age group.

A similar trend can be observed in the average annual income of workers (Table 3). In the man, it is a little

lower than the man of Osaka City over 45 year-old, and it is 112 ~ 2,030,000 yen lower in 25 ~ 44 year-old, and it is merely about 60 ~ 70% of the man of Osaka City. This is more prominent among women, with women aged 45 or older being 54 ~ 1,100,000 yen more than women in Osaka City, but less than 60 ~ 900,000 yen for women younger than 34, accounting for 60 to 70% of women in Osaka City. The average annual income of middle-aged and elderly people is relatively stable, while that of young people is unstable and low.

These trends are not unique to A district. Although the figure is omitted, a similar tendency can be found from the survey (Below, “Osaka Prefecture *Buraku* Women’s Survey”.)²⁾ conducted in 2008 among women living in 47 districts in Osaka Prefecture, including district A, which is conducted by asking members of the movement organizations and the people around them to conduct the survey, although the reliability of the data is not without problems.

It is not possible to find “Stabilization of employment of young people” tendency which the field study of Dowa district around 1990 showed in present A district. What was found was that, in terms of relations with young people at that time, the present young people were moving down the labor market as a group, and that young people in Area A and young people in the discriminated *Buraku* community in Osaka as “existing lower layer portion” including Area A were more seriously involved in the flexibility of employment, which rapidly became apparent in Japanese society after the 1990s.

Figure 3 Regular employment rate(Male)

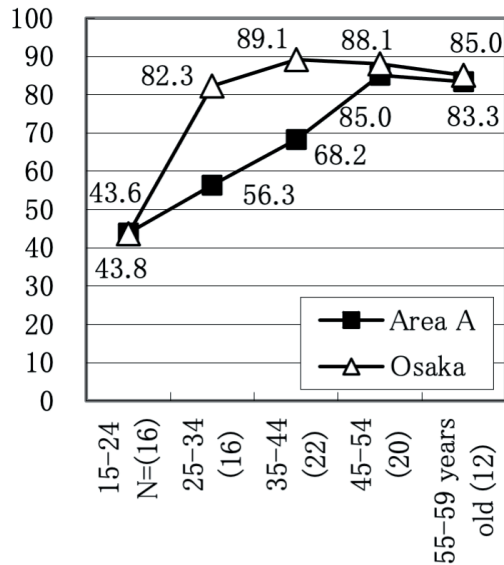


Figure 4 Regular employment rate (Female)

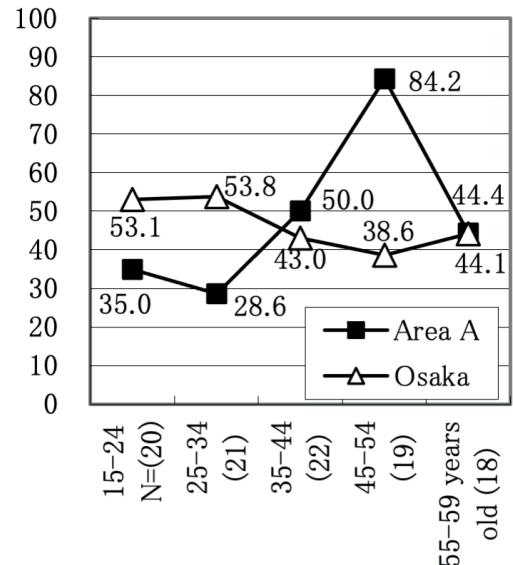


Table 3 Average Annual Income

	Male			Female		
	Area A		Osaka City	Area A		Osaka City
	Millions of yen	N	Millions of yen	Millions of yen	N	Millions of yen
15-24 years old	152	(16)	192	119	(18)	181
25-34 years old	271	(20)	384	139	(21)	230
35-44 years old	297	(23)	500	242	(22)	223
45-54 years old	530	(16)	562	325	(21)	215
55-59 years old	477	(14)	544	249	(21)	195

4 Background to the destabilization of youth employment

4.1 The Government Employees Thinning

The employment of the middle-aged and elderly people is relatively stable. On the other hand, what are the factors that destabilize the employment of young people who have graduated from school since the mid-1990s? This is not a direct result of the rapid progress of flexibility in employment in Japanese society as a whole. This period coincides with the period when the special measures law concerning the Dowa Measures Project, which had been continued for 33 years since 1969, expired (2002). The most direct effect on the destabilization of employment of young people is considered to be the reduction of employment assistance to public servants, which has been implemented as a practical employment guarantee, the Dowa countermeasure. Looking at the ratio of public employees to total workers (Although the figure is omitted, this tendency can be confirmed in the Osaka Prefecture *Buraku* Women's Survey.), the thickness of the middle-aged and elderly, which was much higher than the average of Osaka City, is rapidly decreasing among the younger generation (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5: Ratio of public offices (Male)

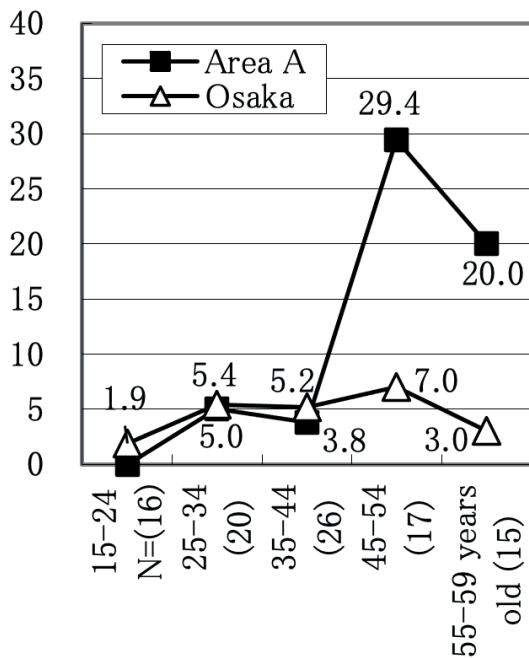
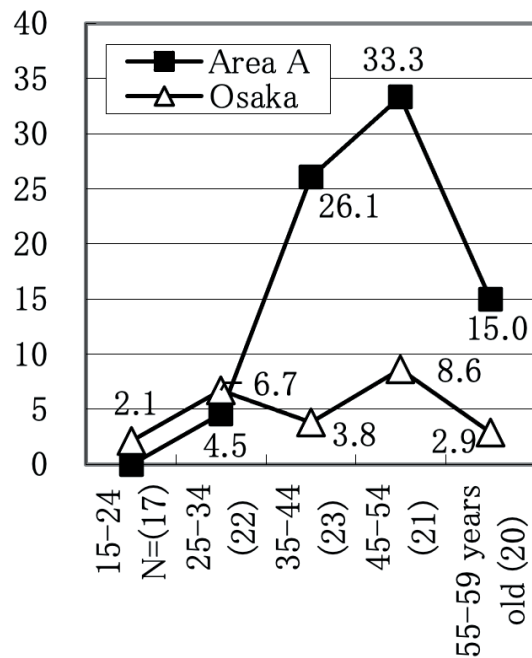


Figure 6: Ratio of public offices (Female)



Note) "55 ~ 59 years old" in Osaka City is the value of 55 ~ 64 years old.

In the present survey, the ratio of regular employment among public employees was 100% for men and 88% for women, which was much higher than that of other workers (63% and 41% of the same.). The average annual income was 8.59 million yen for men and 5.71 million yen for women, which was 2.5 times higher than that of other workers. In 1990, the percentage of public employees in such stable employment status reached 40% of male employees and a little over 30% of female employees. The percentage is even higher when employees of extra-departmental organizations in Osaka Prefecture and Osaka City and employees of corporations that receive most of their business income from local government projects are included. The employment arrangement for the public servant raised the present employment situation of the middle and old generation ³⁾, and in the young generation who met the school graduation after the latter half of 1990's when the scale of the Dowa countermeasure business rapidly shrinks for the law expiration, the instability is progressing in the form of removing the ladder. As has been repeatedly pointed out, it is the low education level that is more likely to precipitate as an unstable working layer and to be immobilized in that state (*Tarōmaru* 2006). The difference in achievement of educational attainment continues to exist even among the young generation, and the thickness of the low educational attainment class, which tends to be precipitated into

unstable employment, appears as the thickness of the unstable employment class, as a result of the closure of the route to stable employment by means of anti-discrimination measures.

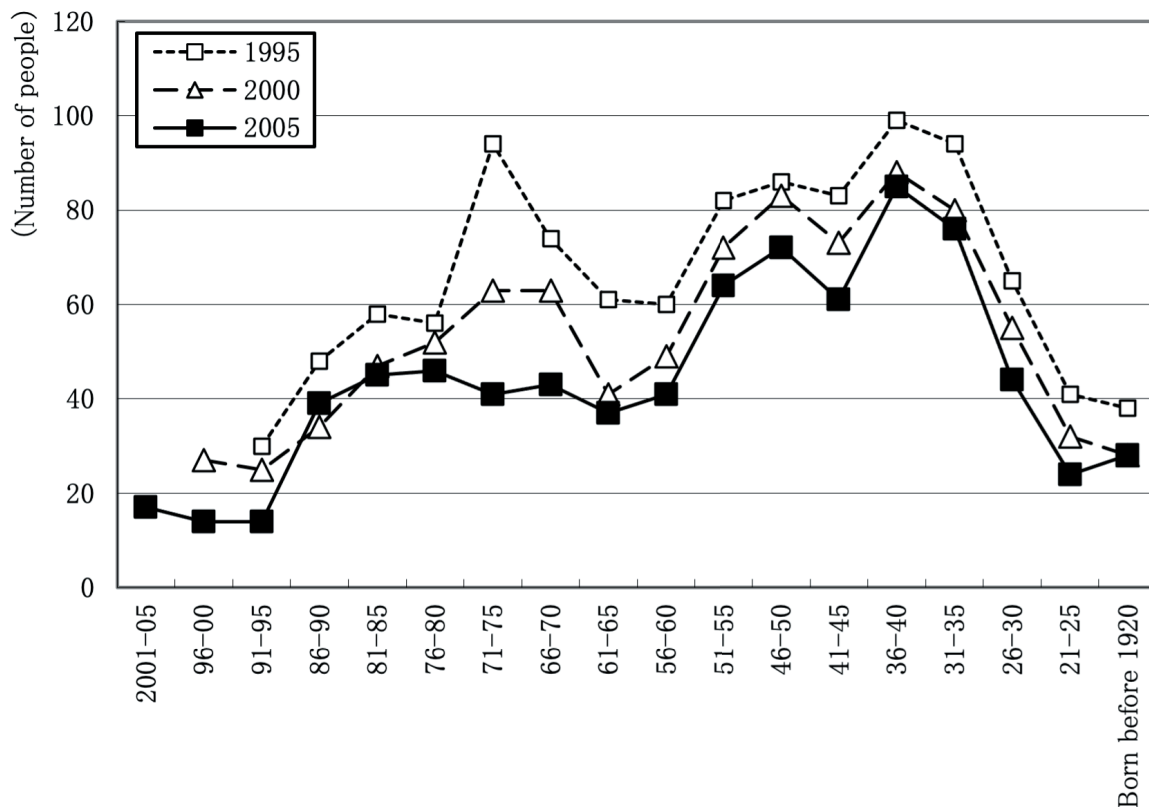
In 2002, the open scholarship system, which had systematically supported the achievement of educational attainment by young people in Dowa district, was abolished. However, if the effect of the abolition of the system becomes serious, the narrowing educational attainment gap will widen again, and the destabilization of employment for young people may accelerate. In addition, it is expected that young people who are already in unstable employment will tend to stay in the situation where the route of transition to stable employment by Dowa Measures is closed. Middle-Aged and elderly people, who were in a stable working condition, eventually reached retirement age and retired. Considering these factors, the destabilization of employment in area A is highly likely to progress further.

4.2 Poverty Pumps – Stable Outflows and Unstable Inflows.

Amid the ongoing instability of employment in Japanese society as a whole, the ladder to stability has been removed due to the end of the Dowa Measures Project. The young in the A district faced to the pressure of such double destabilizations. However, there are additional factors that should be considered to fully explain the destabilization of the young. Population inflow and outflow.

Since there are no detailed data on population composition, we will look at the areas that overlap with area A from the subregional tabulations of the national census ⁴⁾. When the population distribution in each year is observed according to birth cohort of 5 year-old class (FIG. 7), the population decreases gradually in most cohort, but the decrease in the birth cohort born in 1966 ~ 75 is especially big. This generation, which had 168 as of 1995, had halved to 84 in 2005. Considering the age, it can be regarded as a social decrease due to an excess of moving out. During the 10 years from 1995 to 2005, a large number of relatively young people in their 30s moved out in 2005.

figure 7: the population distribution according to birth cohort



Source: Osaka City: "national census" (2000) .

From this survey, it is not possible to know the socioeconomic status of this migrant population. However, from the hearing to the persons concerned in A district, the image of movers of high educational background and stable working class emerges. There are not a few studies supporting this. For example, Okuda (2002) reanalyzed the fact-finding survey of Dowa districts conducted by Osaka Prefecture in 1990 and 2000 and found that 26% of the population of Dowa districts in Osaka Prefecture shifted out during the past 10 years, and that the majority of them were young and highly educated, while elderly single-person households, fatherless households and low-educational groups, and low-income groups were flowing in. “The Dowa district fulfils the ‘Role of a giant pump’ which absorbs citizens with severe living conditions and discharges the stable layer.” (Okuda 2002: 35). The disparities in educational attainment among young people and the instability of employment among young people are thought to be a result of the pumping of poverty.

This phenomenon has been observed in urban *Buraku* since the end of the *Meiji* period and has been accelerated by the rapid economic growth and the increase in the number of stable working class due to the Dowa measures (Yamamoto 1991), but it became more remarkable in the introduction of the responsive rent system with the revision of the Public Housing Act in 1996. As a result of this revision, when the income exceeded 25% of the national income, the rent rose, and at 50%, it was raised to the level of private housing of the same kind in the neighborhood. As the merit of low rent was lost, not a few local residents chose to move out of public housing for Dowa, which was not always provided with sufficient facilities and living space.

However, it is not only done as an independent choice of inhabitants. In Osaka City, the name of the public housing for the Dowa was abolished in 2002, and the public offering for the inhabitant in the same elementary school ward began, and the public offering object was expanded to the citizen in 2007. In addition, the income limit at the time of moving in became stricter. As a result, even if they wanted to leave their parents’ home for marriage or child rearing and live in a new house, they could not even apply for a house recruitment if their income exceeded 25% of national income. It was decided in 1973 for the residents of A district to promote the improvement of living environment “Six principles”, and the number 1 was “This is the town where we live permanently.” However, in A district, where nearly 100% of the houses built in accordance with these principles are public housing, there is no option to purchase land and own a house, and the realization of this principle is ironically becoming institutionally impossible.

Remarkable destabilization of employment and outflow of the stable layer are progressing simultaneously in the young generation. Furthermore, with the recent revision of the Act on Public Housing, there is an increasing tendency for the target population to be narrowed down to people who fit the categories of elderly, disabled, mother and child, in addition to low income (Hirayama 2009: 250-5). The influx of people with a variety of difficulties, not just low incomes, into the district will strengthen but not weaken. In the future, the progress of re-destabilization as a region beyond the stage of prediction is expected.

5 Wobble and Accumulation Effects of Mura Networks

The present and projected future of Area A overlaps with the inner cities of the American metropolises that have experienced recession, structural changes in industry, and outflows from the inner cities of the black middle class. The consequence was that the poor were left behind, community cohesion was lost, and the accumulation of the poor constrained further opportunities, leading to extreme “state of disassembly” in the region. The tendency of re-destabilization in Area A may be the cause of further acceleration.

As discussed by Wilson, we will look at the further opportunity constraints and the effects of the agglomeration of the poor. It also explains the question of why, despite the fact that the Dowa Measures Project had raised the standard of living in the community, the educational disparity has continued and the employment situation, particularly among young people, has become unstable again as soon as the project was completed. This cannot be explained only by the destabilization of employment in society as a whole, the termination of employment mediation for public servants, and the outflow of highly educated and stable people out of districts. It is influenced by the unique history and culture embedded in the region and its people.

Yoshimasa NISHIDA (1996 b; 2001) found, from the results of an interview survey, a “life of flow” in which money flows from right to left, as opposed to an abstinent “life of the stock” in which people store their personal assets and invest for the future, as a lifestyle culture of a discriminated community⁵⁾. Under the unstable living conditions brought about by *Buraku* discrimination, mutual support and sharing, such as accommodation of those who earn daily money to those who do not have it, was inherited as a historical effect even after the living conditions were stabilized. It is said that the background that such stability was achieved collectively by the movement prevented adoption of the strategy to improve and stabilize the life of the next generation by improving individual achievements.

The limitation of the familiar achievement model also exists as a condition that individual life improvement and maintenance strategy are difficult to be adopted. People who have careers from universities to general enterprises tend to leave the district, and it is difficult to be a model for parents and children in the district. On the other hand, many of the adults who are close to them are blue-collar workers, mainly government employees working in the field, and the children form such future prospects early on. The limitation of achievement models may have acted in a way that did not motivate students to climb the ladder of school education and stay in a strange world. As the closed route of employment mediation for public servants leads to the destabilization of employment, and as the pump of poverty increases its momentum, the limited tendency of the familiar achievement model will become more remarkable.

The discriminated *Buraku* community was a gathering place of poverty and social exclusion, and the social inclusion project called Dowa Countermeasure Project, which the movement against such exclusion led, and the life culture of flow as an unintended consequence of the project, were succeeded, and the limitation of the achievement model also occurred. The fact that such trends toward poverty and instability continued to be included in the overall development of Dowa countermeasure projects made the destabilization of employment and the termination of Dowa countermeasure projects, which had been promoted throughout Japanese society, have a greater impact on the region. In addition, the weakening of the regional network which was a social buffer of such impact also began.

The residents of discriminated *Buraku* often refer to their area as “Mura”. As its name suggests, its regional and kin networks are relatively strong, and a multilayered network called “Mura Network” by Uchida (2005) has been formed by *Buraku* Liberation Movement based on them (2001 Nishida). These networks have been systematically supported by anti-discrimination projects. To show a part of this in line with the growth of children in the district, first of all, the *Buraku* Liberation Children’s Association activities, which take place mainly in the Youth Center during elementary and junior high school years, and the high school students’ Friendship Association, which is a scholarship organization for the Liberation Scholarship, form a network of children across grades, and this network is taken over by the Youth Division of the Liberation League. The activities of children’s groups and friends’ groups are supported by education parents’ organizations such as education protection groups, teachers, and *Buraku* Liberation Movement groups, and the relationship between adults and children in the district is also strengthened.

Employment mediation through the Mura Network thus formed often opened the way for civil servants, but as Uchida (2008) arranged it by referring to R. Putnam (2000 = 2006), its characteristics are basically that of a cohesive social capital, and it has functioned as a network to “manage somehow (getting by)” disadvantageous situations. Cohesive social capital, paired with bridging social capital, which is important for “move forward aggressively (getting ahead)”, is convenient for stabilizing specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity, and provides crucial spiritual and social support to relatively disadvantaged members of the community (Putnam 2000 = 2006: 19-20). However, as a result of the termination of the Dowa Measures Project which systematically supported the Mura Network, not only the employment security system but also the various systems and social facilities which were the basis for forming and maintaining the unity of the region, such as the abolition of the open scholarship and Dowa *Kahai* Teaching Staff System, and the closure of the aged center and youth center, were dismantled and reduced. The organization which becomes a core of the village network has the shortage of bearers by the runoff of young generation and stable layer to the outside of the district, and there is the stagnation in the activity, and there are not a few organizations which dissolved like the education protection society. The unevenness network as a cohesive social capital, especially the network of the release movement fluctuated, and the “manage” function weakened.

The agglomeration of the poor is itself a constraint on further opportunities, leading to further agglomeration and deepening of poverty and social exclusion. This situation is considered to be the one facing the district A and many urban communities.

The “manage” network and its fluctuations, and the limitations of life cultures and achievement models that integrate and deepen poverty - are strongly linked to the conditions inherent in discriminated communities. However, they cannot be reduced only to the peculiarity of discriminated *Buraku*. Nishida (1996 a) found solidarity, homogeneity, closeness and current orientation which overlapped with the network of the discriminated community and the characteristic of the life culture in this region where “stratum difficult-to-live” accumulates from the interview with the young people of culture and residential area in Osaka where the families with the parents of the low educational background blue-collar live together. And, it is clarified that the hierarchical structure of the region is reproduced in the generational way by working in the direction which does not drive the educational competition of the youth. *Shuhei Niiya* (2007) has also found a “local connection culture” based on the relationships among peers, seniors, and juniors of neighboring junior high schools of young people who have low academic achievement and whose parents are non-salaried workers, and characterized by sharing places, time, and money through field work of street dance groups. It is a culture that is related to the region as well as the hierarchy, and they even choose freeters to focus on local ties rather than professional accomplishments. The overlapping knowledge is also found in Seiko TAKEISHI (2006), etc..

Poverty and social exclusion accumulate regionally, and regional accumulation leads to further accumulation and deepening of poverty and social exclusion. The region is the dependent variable which is tossed by macroscopic social change such as de-industrialization and globalization, employment policy, economic policy, and social policy. At the same time, the region is the mother of the unique life culture and network, and it is also an independent variable which activates the mechanism which is not recovered in macroscopic social change and policy, hierarchy and class culture, etc. in continuation and deepening of poverty and social exclusion. The current status of District A, which is a Dowa District whose conclusion leads to immediate re-destabilization despite 33 years of long-standing attempts at social inclusion, shows clearly how important it is to identify the impact of the region as an independent variable in devising measures to deal with regionally accumulating poverty and social exclusion.

[Note]

- 1) The investigation was carried out by the visit interview method using the questionnaire. All 256 households with 15 ~ 59 year-old household members in A district were investigated. As a result, 185 households and 318 persons responded (Household collection rate of 72.3%). For details of the outline of the survey, refer to School of Sociology, Faculty of Letters, Osaka City University (2010).
- 2) Refer to *Buraku* Liberation and Human Rights Institute (2009) for the outline of the investigation.
- 3) For example, the average annual income of middle-aged and elderly people was about the same or more than that of Osaka City, but excluding the public service class, it was 124 ~ 2,000,000 yen less than that of men in Osaka City, and it was about the same or about 90,000 yen less than that of women in Osaka City.
- 4) This small area covers most of A district, but households other than A district are included about 40%. This is not necessarily appropriate data, but there is a limit to the available data. For details, refer to Tsumaki (2010).
- 5) On the “life of flow” *Nabeshima* (2003) clarified from the result of the questionnaire survey that even if the educational background is controlled, the parents of Dowa district are scarce in the educational investment to the child in comparison with the outside of the district, and they tend to buy the temporary entertainment consumer goods to the child.

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