Private Struggles, Public Supports: Renovating Japanese Minority Community, Buraku

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I. Brief history of Buraku liberation movement and assimilation (Dowa) projects

Japanese minority group of Buraku people, the former outcaste in the feudal Tokugawa Era, was residentially segregated. After the abolition of this status system by the Meiji Government, the living condition of this minority communities of Buraku was still poor due to unfair treatment as before in Tokugawa Era, with deprivation of guaranteed privilege of holding occupations. Capitalistic development of Japan pushed rural Buraku people into urban area and caused the expansion of their living space. Their communities were often called as slums or poor people quarters, which were stigmatized as the typical residential space for the urban and rural poor.

Historically, the first policy on this Buraku problem was realized following a series of social researches of poor people districts by the Ministry of Home Affairs from 1911. After executing successive researches of this kind, the Ministry herself implemented the experimental housing removal and reconstruction project in one physically deteriorated area in Tokyo in 1925. Metropolitan governments such as Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya and Tokyo also carried out this project taking after the method of Min. of Home Affairs, guided by the Law for Improvement of Poor Housing District of 1927. Not every reconstruction work was targeted at Buraku, therefore this ministry newly launched in 1924 a ten-years plan of project applying only for Buraku, rearranging and widening streets, sewage and small rivers. The second ten-years plan started in 1933. These projects were enforced under the name of the Project of Reconciliation (Yuwa) Measure for Buraku by the initiative of Min. of Home Affairs. These projects needed residents' responsibility in respective areas, therefore, some Yuwa associations were established to participate in this Yuwa project, while anti-governmental National Levelers Association (Suiheisha), which was founded in 1922 by the initiative of activists in Buraku, often criticized these Yuwa projects. Rather, Buraku people and Suiheisha struggled to liberate themselves by means of denunciation to the discriminating conducts.

After some years of break of this project due to W.W.II, in the post-war democratized society, Buraku people reconstructed Suiheisha under the title of the National Committee for Buraku Liberation in 1946. In the beginning of 1950s, this committee came up with new tactics to expand the struggle against the discriminative administration toward Buraku

district, taking opportunity of the All-Romance Case in 1951, which was the protest against the discriminatory novel on Buraku life written by a Kyoto city government clerk. Kyoto and Osaka city governments had already progressively restarted Assimilation (Dowa) Projects in 1946 such as the construction of public bathhouses, community halls and joint workshop spaces, etc (See Table 1). Learning the lesson of the All-Romance Case, both of the two governments worked out the exceptional measure to construct public housing for Buraku people, using the newly implemented Public Housing Law of 1951.

In 1951, prefecture and city governments mainly in Kansai and Chugoku regions decided to organize the National Council for Dowa Projects and to put pressure upon the central government to establish state-run Dowa projects. Among the ministries of the central government, Min. of Public Welfare at first added up the Dowa budget in 1953 (See Figure 1). Central government ran after local governments. There were also grass-root movements of Buraku residents in Hiroshima and Osaka who required public housing for compensating the removal of their houses in face of river conservation and street widening. These movements were the well-organized with the support of activists belonging to the Council for Buraku Liberation (renamed in 1955 to Buraku Liberation League [BLL] mainly supported by the Social Democratic Party of Japan [SDP]), and in result successfully accomplished their request.

By the beginning of 1960s, there appeared four factors which were to define Dowa issues. 1: BLL's pressure toward central and local governments, 2: local governments' pressure toward central government, 3: the opposition SDP's pressure toward the ruling LDP, and 4: coalition by BLL, local governments and SDP. These factors led to a very important event: the enforcement of the Law to Establish a Deliberative Council for Buraku Assimilation in 1960 (and the Law for Housing Districts Improvement in the same year). This new stage of Dowa issues is thought to be owing to the coordination of local governments and BLL. It is also important with this regard to point out the leadership of ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which for the first time gave a certain administrative priority to the Dowa problem among the political agendas of the central government. At the same time, LDP set up the All Japan Dowa Association, and making use of this association, LDP government started the Exemplary Dowa Projects. LDP selected several Buraku for this project where LDP was influential (See Figure 2).

In 1965, this Deliberative Council issued a report titled "Fundamental Measures for the Solution of Social and Economic Problems of Buraku Areas." This report, publicly admitting the Buraku discrimination by the central government, is still regarded as a landmark document in the history of government involvement in Buraku problem. Then the Council for Buraku Assimilation was established in the Prime Minister's Office, which afterward in 1967 submitted the advisory opinion to set up the long-term plan for Dowa Projects. At the same time, BLL founded and organized the national movement for

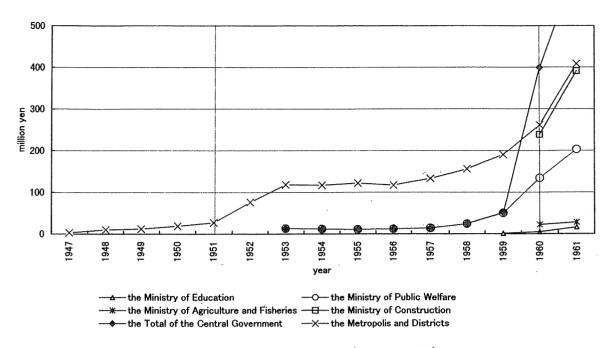


Figure 1. Budget for Dowa project (1947~1961)

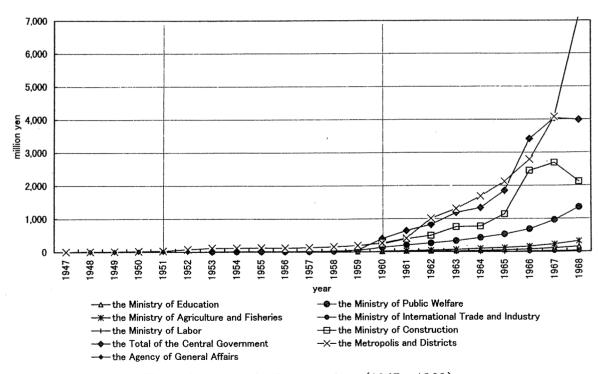


Figure 2. Budget for Dowa projects(1947~1968)

requiring a perfect implementation of the Council Report and the enactment of a law of special measures for Dowa Projects. At last, in 1969, LDP, SDP and other opposition parties except for Japanese Communist Party (JCP) agreed to enact the Law of Special Measures for Assimilation Projects which was valid for ten years.

In this paper, the author attempts to review these projects, especially focusing on the physical projects such as housing renewal and provision of infrastructure, in view of public-private coordination, and to demonstrate the following three observations. Firstly, the role of private agents, such as liberation movement associations, was decisively influential to the decision making process of this policy area, despite this kind of mechanism works very rarely among political arenas in Japan. Secondly, the expansion in these projects was so rapid and the budget for these projects became so huge that the private role in participation in these projects could not help becoming politicized and bureaucratic. This kind of transformation of private initiative by public forces often erodes the base of a sound public-private coordination and easily reminds us the discussions of Construction Company (Doken Kokka) Japan. Thirdly, practices of liberation movement associations also bears very practical solutions in renewing and rehabilitating residential space which are deeply related to urban renewal of Machizukuri movement.

II. Present conditions of Buraku and the evaluation of Dowa projects

The ten years' temporal special measures law had been implemented from 1969 to 1981 with the extension for three years, followed by a five years' new temporal law titled Special Measures for Area Improvement Projects Law, which was in force from 1982 to 1986. A minor change of the law title followed in 1987, and this renamed Law for Special Fiscal Measures for Area Improvement Projects, starting with five years of validity, was once again extended by five years to 1996. As of 31 March, if the ongoing Dowa projects were not completed, at most another five years of financial support was guaranteed. Otherwise, many incentives, including high rate of investment subsidies, and preferential tax system, were ended. If they were needed, they had to be carried out according to ordinary laws of implementing projects.

During this twenty nine years' period of Dowa special laws, twelve ministries and agencies operated Dowa projects, and special task forces in many local governments exclusively dealing with Dowa issues also energetically carried out them (See Figure 3). In sum, thirteen trillion yen were invested into these projects, in which nearly 60 percent was spent for physical projects such as housing improvements (See Table 1 and 2). Total 840 Buraku were selected as these targets for this projects. 65,000 public housings were rebuilt after the demolition of physically bad conditioned houses, and 60,000 public housings were newly provided for Buraku people. There were 72,000 cases of loan extension for newlyowned houses, and 98,000 cases of loan extensions for repairing houses. To sum up all the

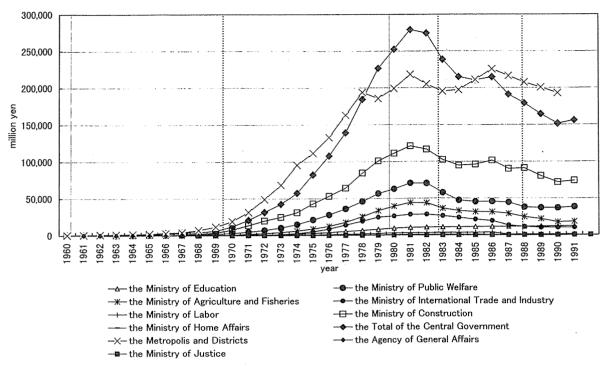


Figure 3. Budget for Dowa projects (1960-1991)

cases, 295,000 of households were obtained or rehabilitated, nearly equal to the number of the total Buraku people in Japan. Among the remaining problems, there still exist Buraku which refused or were not permitted to have Dowa projects, large scale urban Buraku where many works are still undergoing and taking more time to be completed, and too small Buraku which could not apply for projects of Dowa.

Positively evaluating them, Dowa projects should be appraised with its volumes and quantities of the provision of housing renewals, the great transformation of former slums, in comparison with the fact that most existing built-up areas in Japan has been untouched with this kind of improvement programs except for redevelopment of prosperous quarters near railway stations or traffic intersections. In terms of urban renewal and rehabilitation (Machizukuri), Dowa projects are evaluated as most successful urban renewal and they accumulated a lot of knowledge and information for this field. These successes are mainly due to well-organized public-private coordination which was expressed as energetic participations of the associations for liberation movement, well-tuned and well-prepared administrative aids and worked-out plans, and incentives and subsidies of central and local governments. Therefore, in a physical aspect, Buraku, formerly discriminated as the special district, have been completely renewed and is now indistinguishable from ordinary non-Buraku districts (See Figure 4, 5 and Table 3).

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Walkayana 82 18,333 62,175 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Walkayama 622 18,333 62,175 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Walkayama 62 18,333 62,173 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Waranna 62 18,333 62,173 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Walkayama 623 18,333 62,375 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Walkayama 62 18.333 62.175 **** **** **** **** **** **** **** **** **** *** **** **** *** <td> Walkayama 105 18,353 62,175 </td>	Walkayama 105 18,353 62,175
Walkayaman 99 13924 46915 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Welkayama 99 13924 46913 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Wakayama 99 13.224 46.913 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Wakayama 99 13.924 46.915 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Wakayama 99 13924 46915 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Walkayaman 99 13924 46913 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Walkayaman 99 13924 46915 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Tototo 105 5,965 24,664	Totobri 105 5,963 24,664	Totori	Totori	Totocit 105 5,963 24,664	Folion 195 5,965 24,664	Foliori
Shimane 103 5,394 5,39	Shimane 75 1,659 5,394	Shimane 15 1,639 5,393 5,305 6,335	Shimane 233 15,826 55,835 55,	Shimane 15 1,539 5,394	Shimane 15 1,539 5,394	Shimane 150 1,259 1,2594 1,2595 1,2
Oktayanna	Okayanna 283 1,5826 55,833	Okayanna 283 15,226 53,253 Okayanna 477 12,324 42,911 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	Okayanna 283 1,529 53,293 Okayanna 283 1,526 53,833 Vamaguchi 91 5,843 19,829 42,911 Vamaguchi 91 5,843 11,899 4 2 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	Okayanna 283 1,526 53,853 Okayanna 472 12,324 42,911 ************************************	Okayanna 283 1,525 53,834 Okayanna 477 1,526 52,834 Yamaguchi 91 5,834 19,829 4,231 4,231 4,232 4,231 4,232 4	Okayanna 283 15,826 55,835
Chayanna 283 13,826 52,833 52,833 52,833 52,833 52,833 52,833 52,833 52,833 52	Hiroshima 472 12,324 42,911	Hiroshima 233 13,826 23,833	Hiroshima 233 13,826 23,835	Hiroshima 233 13,826 23,833	Hiroshima 472 1,2324 42,815	Hiroshima 283 13,826 52,835
Hiroshimia 472 12,234 42,911 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Hiroshima 472 12,324 42,911 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Hiroshima 472 12,324 42,911 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Hiroshima 472 12,244 42,911 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Hiroshima 472 12,244 42,911 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	12.334 42.911	12.324 4.2911 2.633 1989 2.635 8.436 12.228 4.31899 2.635 8.436 12.228 4.31899 2.635 8.436 12.228 4.31899 2.635 8.436 1.636 122.870 4.80 1.528.70
Yannaguchi 90 5,843 19,892	Yannaguchi 91 5,843 19,852	Yannaguchi 91 5,843 19,852	Vannaguchi 91 5,843 19,852 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Yannaguchi 91 5,843 19,852	2,633 19,893 2,635 8,4361 112,228 43,613 43,613 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	1,944
Tokushima 90 8.834 31.899 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Tokushima 90 8.834 31.899 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Tokushima 90 8.834 31.899 — — * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Tokushima 90 8.834 31,899 — — — * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Tokushima 90 8.834 31.899 — — * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	8.834 31.899 1.2635 8.436 1.228 4361 1.	8.834 31.899 1.228 4.356 8.436 1.228 4.357 1.480 1.52870 4.2299 4.3 1.21 4.3 1.21 4.3 1.229 4.3 1.21 4.3 1.229 4.3 1.21 4.3 1.2299 4.4 1.2299 4.5
Kagawar 45 2,635 8,456 Ehime 466 12,228 43,613 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kagawara 45 2,533 8,336 Ehime 46 12,238 43,613 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kagawari 45 2,533 8,335 Ehime 46 12,233 8,345 Kochi 71 14,804 42,293 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kagawar 45 2,535 8,456 Ehime 46 12,238 43,613 4 <t< td=""><td>Kagawar 45 2,635 8,436 Ehlime 46 12,283 8,436 Kochi 71 14,804 42,299 Fukuoka 605 38,016 132,870 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *</td><td>2,635 2,635 2,635 3,635 4,3613</td><td>2,635 2,635 2,635 3,640 11,238 43,613 3,614 11,280 3,016 11,280 11,513 43 11,981 11,9</td></t<>	Kagawar 45 2,635 8,436 Ehlime 46 12,283 8,436 Kochi 71 14,804 42,299 Fukuoka 605 38,016 132,870 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	2,635 2,635 2,635 3,635 4,3613	2,635 2,635 2,635 3,640 11,238 43,613 3,614 11,280 3,016 11,280 11,513 43 11,981 11,9
Ehime Hagawar 466 12,228 436/3 42,299	All 2,238 3,545 Ehime 466 12,228 43,613 Fikuoka 467 12,228 43,613 Fikuoka 468 132,870 Saga Nagasaki Nagasaki 47 3,104 11,987 Olian Okinawa Oki	Augure 46 1,228 43,613	Augusta Augu	Auguwer 466 12,228 3,613	12,288 43,59 43,299 43,299 44,299 42,299 43	12,283 43,53 12,283 43,53 14,80 1,513 480 1,52870 480 1,52870 48 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
Ethime 4.6 12.229 43.613 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	Ehlme 46 12,228 43,613 Kochi 71 14,804 42,293 Fiktuoka 58aga 16 480 11,513 Nagasaki 17 13,104 11,937 Miyazaki Kagoshima Miyazaki Kagoshima Chinawa 70 Kohamara C Nagaya C Kayoo	Ehime 46 12,228 43,613	Ehlme 46 12,228 43,613	Eblime 46 12,228 43,613	12,228	12,228 43,613 4
Kochi 71 14894 42299	Kochi	Kkochi	Total	Fikuoka	14804 42299	14804 42299
Fukuoka 665 38,016 132,870 — * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Fukuoka 665 38,016 132,870 Saga 16 480 1,513 Nagasaki 1 43 11,921 Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,927 Miyazaki Kagashima 26 1,934 6,731 Okinawa 70kohama C Nagaya C Kyoto C Osaka C. Kyoto C Kobe C Kinakyushu C. Kinak	Fükuoka 665 38,016 132,870 - * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Fükuofa 665 38,016 132,870 — * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Filkuofia 665 38,016 132,870 - * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	38,016 132,870	38,066 122,870
Industry and Segan 16 480 152,500 Segan 16 480 1231 Nagasaki 11 43 1231 Nagasaki 11 43 1231 Miyazaki Kumamoto 11,987 Oita 11,987 Miyazaki Kagoshima 25 2,140 6,731 Vokohama C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Cysto C. C	Indicated	Tukuwa	Thubunka	Thutuwa	1980 1925/N 192	10000 100000 100000 100000 100000 10000 100000 100000 100000 100000 100000 100
Stoga 16 480 1,513 Nagasaki 1 430 1,213 Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Oita 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki 2,140 6,721 Okinawa 2,140 5,251 Okinawa Chama Chama Chama Chama 2,140 5,251 Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Saka C. Chaka C.	Staga 16 480 1.513 Nagasaki 1 43 1.513 Nagasaki 1 1 3.104 11.987 Olia 46 1.934 6.731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 2.	Soga 16 480 1,513 Nagashki 1 48 1,513 Nagashki 47 3,104 11,987 Oila 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki 46 1,934 6,731 Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa 47 2,140 6,751 Vokohama C. Nagoya C. 4,74 3,104 16,751 Kyoto C. Cosaka C. 4,74 3,104 6,751 Kindyushu C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Stoga 16 480 1,513 Nagasaki 1 430 1,213 Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 * * Olia 46 1,934 6,731 * * Miyazaki 56 2,140 6,731 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Stoga 16 480 1,513 Nagasaki 1 43 1,133 Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Oila 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki 48 1,237 1,237 Kagoshima 46 1,934 6,731 Okinawa 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa 70Kohama 4 2,140 6,731 Nagoya C. Kyolo C. 4	430 1.513 430 1.513 431 1.513 43 1.513 43 1.513 43 1.513 43 1.513 44 1.583 4 1.987 1.984 6.731 2.140 6.731 2.14	430 1.513 430 1.513 43 1.1921 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.140 6.731 2.140 6.731 3.150 1.19278
Kumamoto 47 1,034 1(21) Kumamoto 47 3,1934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa 36 2,140 6,731 Yokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Syoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. <td< td=""><td> Nagasaki</td><td>Nagasaki 1 43 121 Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,937 * Olian 46 1,934 6,731 * Mijazaki 2,10 6,751 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *</td><td>Kumamoto 47 1,21 Olta 47,3,14 1,1987 Olta 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazzaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa Okinawa 36 2,140 6,731 Yokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C.</td></td<> <td>Kumamoto 47 1,043 1/21 Kumamoto 47 1,934 6/231 Olta 46 1,934 6/231 Miyazaki Kagoshima 56 2,140 6/231 Okinawa Okinawa 56 2,140 6/231 Vokohama C. Vokohama C. Vokohama C. 50 0<td>43 121 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.160 6.751 </td><td>43 121 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.140 6.751 2.140 6.751 2.140 6.751 315,063 1.119.278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *</td></td>	Nagasaki	Nagasaki 1 43 121 Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,937 * Olian 46 1,934 6,731 * Mijazaki 2,10 6,751 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kumamoto 47 1,21 Olta 47,3,14 1,1987 Olta 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazzaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa Okinawa 36 2,140 6,731 Yokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C.	Kumamoto 47 1,043 1/21 Kumamoto 47 1,934 6/231 Olta 46 1,934 6/231 Miyazaki Kagoshima 56 2,140 6/231 Okinawa Okinawa 56 2,140 6/231 Vokohama C. Vokohama C. Vokohama C. 50 0 <td>43 121 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.160 6.751 </td> <td>43 121 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.140 6.751 2.140 6.751 2.140 6.751 315,063 1.119.278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *</td>	43 121 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.160 6.751	43 121 3.104 11.987 1.934 6.731 2.140 6.751 2.140 6.751 2.140 6.751 315,063 1.119.278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 6,721 - - + + + + + + + * + * <td< td=""><td> Collaboration Collaborati</td><td>Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoy</td><td>Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa Okinawa 70 0,00 0 Okinawa 0 0,00 0 0 Okinawa 0 0,00 0 0 Okinawa 0 0,00 0 0 Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. 0 0 0 0 Kyoto C. Kitakyushu C. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 Kitakyushu C. 0</td><td>Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Vokinawa 70kinawa 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa 1,04 6,751 0,00 0,00 Okinawa 1,04 0,00 0,00 0,00 Okinawa 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Nagoya C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Kyoto C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Cyoto C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Osaka C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Kinkyushu C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Fikuoka C. 4,374 315,063 11,119,278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *</td><td>3,104 11,987 1,944 6,731 2,140 6,751 2,140 6,751 2,140 6,751 315,063 1,119,278</td><td>3,104 11,987 1,944 6,731 2,140 6,731 2,14</td></td<>	Collaboration Collaborati	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoy	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa Okinawa 70 0,00 0 Okinawa 0 0,00 0 0 Okinawa 0 0,00 0 0 Okinawa 0 0,00 0 0 Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. 0 0 0 0 Kyoto C. Kitakyushu C. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 Kitakyushu C. 0	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olia 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Vokinawa 70kinawa 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa 1,04 6,751 0,00 0,00 Okinawa 1,04 0,00 0,00 0,00 Okinawa 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Nagoya C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Kyoto C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Cyoto C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Osaka C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Kinkyushu C. 0,00 0,00 0,00 0,00 Fikuoka C. 4,374 315,063 11,119,278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	3,104 11,987 1,944 6,731 2,140 6,751 2,140 6,751 2,140 6,751 315,063 1,119,278	3,104 11,987 1,944 6,731 2,140 6,731 2,14
Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 4 4 7 4 4 7 4 4 7 4	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olta	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olta	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Olta 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshina 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa 70kohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Cosaka C. 0	Kumamoto 47 3,104 11,987 Oita 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa 36 2,140 6,731 Yokohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Kobe C. Nobe C. Kitakyushu C. Kitakyushu C. Fitkuoka C. 4,374 1,119,278	2.140 6.731 2.140	1.1987 1.1987 1.1987 1.1988 1
Oita 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa 79 Okohama C - - - - - + + Pokohama C Nagoya C -	Okia 46 1934 6,731 Miyazaki	Olia 46 1934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa 70kohama C. 4,741 315,063 Nagoya C. 5,751 5,751 Nyolo C. 6,751 5,751 Osaka C. 5,751 5,751 Kinbyushu C. 5,751 5,751 Fukuoka C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278 5,751	Olia 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Vokinhawa 36 2,140 6,731 Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Costa C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kayata C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kayata C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kayata C. Nag	Okis 46 1,934 6,731 Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,731 Okinawa Okinawa 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa Okinawa C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kayoto C	1.934 6.731 2.140 6.751 2.140	1.934 6.731 2.140 6.751 2.140
Miyazaki	Miyazaki	Miyazaki Kagoshima 36 2,146 6,251 Ckinawa 7 Colohama C	Miyazaki 36 2,140 6.251 Okinawa Okohama C. Nagoya C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Osaka C. Osaka C. 4 Osaka C. 4 Kobe C. 6.251 Kiabyushu C. 4 Fikukusha C. 4,374 J15,063 11,119,278	Miyazaki Miyazaki 2,140 6,251 Kagoshima 26 2,140 6,251 Vikohama C Vikohama	2.140 6.751	2.140 6.751 - * 2.140 1.000~1000
Majazarki 36 2,140 5,751	Majyazarki	Mayazak	Majazark 36 2,140 6.751	Majyazaki 36 2,140 6.751 Okinawa 70kohama C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Oksaka C. Kyoto C.	2.140 6.751	2.140 6.751 - **:10-100 0:1000-1000 0:1000-10000
Company Comp	Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa 70kohama	Kagoshima 36 2,140 6,751 Okinawa TOKohawa	Kagoshima 36 2,146 6,751 Okinawa Okinawa	Kagoshima	2.140 6.751	2.140 6.751 - **:10~100 0:100~1000
Okinawa Oki	Okinawa Ok	Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa	Okinawa Oki	Oklamwa Oklamwa Oklamwa	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278
Okulawa Yokohama C Nagoya C Kyoto C Osaka C Okaka C Kobe C Kitakyushu C	Vokulnava Vokulnava Vokulnava Vokulnava Nagoya C. Kayoto C. Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kinkyushu C. Filkuoka C. A 774 115 041 1110 278	Vokiniawa Vokiniawa Vokiniawa Vokiniawa Vokiniawa Nagoya C. Kayoto C. Cyata C. Coska C. Kobe C. Kitakyusibu C. Kitakyusibu C. Fikuoka C. 4.374 315,063 1,119,278	Voknihama C. Voknihama C. Nagoya C. Kayoto C. Cysaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kitakyusitu C. Fikukuska C. Formula C. Kobe C. Kitakyusitu C. Fikukuska C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	Okulawa Yokohama C. Yokohama C. Nagoya C. Kyono C. Cyono C. Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kindy Ushu C. Fikuoka C. Fikuoka C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 .119,278
Nagoya C.	Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C	Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Cosaka C. Kobe C. Kiakyushu C. Fukuoka C. Fukuoka C. Fukuoka C. TOTAL 4.374 315,063 1,119,278	Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Kyoho C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kinkova C. Finkusha C. Finkusha C. TOTAL 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	Vokohama C. Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Coska C. Kobe C. Kitakyushu C. Kitakyushu C. Filkuoka C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278
Kygoto C. Kyoto C. Osaka C. Acobe C. Witakyushu C.	Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kinkyushu C. Filkuoka C. 100/Al. 4 774 115 061 110 278	Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kitakyushu C. Fikuoka C. Fikuoka C. Kitakyushu C. Fikuoka C. Kitakyushu C. Kit	Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kitakyusith C. Fikukoka C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	Nagoya C. Kyoto C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kindo C. Kobe C. Kindo C. Kindo C. Kindo C. Fillunka C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 .119,278
Kyoto C.	Wagbyarc	Kydbo C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kyoho C. Kyoho C. Osaka C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kyoto C. Kyoto C. Kyoto C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278
Kyoto C.	Kyoto C.	Kydot C. C.	Kydto C. Osaka C. Osaka C. Kide Kide C. Filkunka C. FOTAL 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	Kyoto C.	\$15,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278
Osaka C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kitakyushu C. Fukuoka C. 1070 A. 774 115 057 1110 278	Osaka C. . * * * * * * * * * * O O O O O O O O O	Osaka C. Osaka C. Kobe C. Kinkyushu C. Fiukusha C. 1707AL 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	Osaka C. Osa	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	315,063 1,119,278
Koskac * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Coskat C. Cos	COSSIGN	Coskac	Kobe C. Kinkyushu C. Fukuoka C. 107AL 4,374 315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278
Kobe C * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	Kobe C.	Kobe C.	Kobe C	Kobe C.	315,063 1,119,278	315,063 1,119,278
C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	C. 4374 315063 1110278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	C. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	C. 4,374 315,063 1,119,278 * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	315,063 1,119,278	* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
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Table 2. Budgets for Dowa Projects in Municipalities and Prefectures

MUNICIPALITIES

		Munici- palties reported	Total expenditures spent for the projects	I	Share of ohysical orojects	Share pf non- physical projects	National funds	Prefectural funds	Municipal funds	Total expenditures of the municipalities	Share of expenditure spend for these projects
		number	in billions of	Yen;	%	%	%	%	%	in billions of Yen	%
Total	1969-93	1,094	10,318		58.4	41.6	22.6	10.8	66.6	255,523	4.0
	Kanto	156	332	:	70.8	29.2	27.6	14.0	58.4	30,948	1.1
	Chubu	149	717	•	67.1	32.9	27.0	13.1	59.9	34,368	2.1
	Kinki	234	5,349	-	53.5	46.5	18.7	9.6	71.7	95,968	5.6
	Chugoku	227	1,116	,	57.0	43.0	19.4	14.4	66.2	33,614	3.3
	Shikoku	147	1,272		70.3	29.7	35.4	9.8	54.8	17,611	7.2
	Kyushu	181	1,532		60.0	40.0	24.5	11.5	64.0	43,014	3.6
Total	1969-81	1,023	3,826		67.8	32.2	24.4	11.7	63.9	67,517	5.7
	1982-86	1,072	2,867		57.8	42.2	24.9	10.5	64.6	62,541	4.6
	1987-91	1,088	2,617		49.7	50.3	18.9	10.4	70.7	83,600	3.1
	1992-93	1,084	1,008		46.7	53.3	18.4	9.3	72.3	41,866	2.4

PREFECTURES

	,	Prefectu- res	Total expenditures	Share of physical	Share pf non-	National funds	Prefectural funds	Total expenditures of the prefecturers	Share of expenditure
		reported	spent for the	projects	physical projects	141145	Turius	or the protostators	spend for these projects
		number	in billions of Yer	%	%	%	%	in billions of Yen	%
Total	1969-93	36	3,562	37.0	63.0	21.5	78.5	409,500	0.9
	Kanto	6	269	34.9	65.1	25.7	74.3	84,415	0.3
	Chubu	8	- 291	34.0	66.0	20.4	79.6	96,672	0.3
	Kinki	6	1,752	33.4	66.6	12.4	87.6	89,112	2.0
	Chugoku	5	399	44.9	55.1	35.0	65.0	43,703	0.9
	Shikoku	4	346	46.3	53.7	32.6	67.4	26,294	1.3
	Kyushu	7	505	39.8	60.2	33.7	66.3	69,304	0.7
Total	1969-81	36	1,328	45.9	54.1	19.0	81.0	111,359	1.2
	1982-86	36	1,009	34.4	65.6	23.0	77.0	100,038	1.0
	1987-91	36	888	29.4	70.6	23.6	76.4	133,218	0.7
	1992-93	36	337	29.8	70.2	21.8	78.2	64,882	0.5

Source: Somucho Chiiki Kaizen Taisakushitsu (1995)

At the same time, there can be pointed out many problems. In the renewed Buraku, share of public housing is extraordinarily high, and its rent is also incredibly low, as from one sixth to twentieth of the average public housing rent, vacant public housing has been seldom open to the non-Buraku people, and the selection process of housing tenants is not managed in a proper way. These problems are very serious at the moment when the fundamental revision of Public Housing Law in 1996 declared the future abolition of the preferential treatment for Dowa public housing under the new principles of provision of public housing in line with privatization: open to housing market mechanism, and truly-limited subsidized provisions only for the very poor, the handicapped, or the aged.

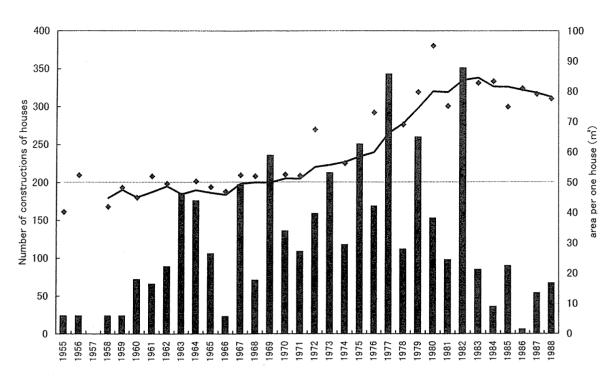
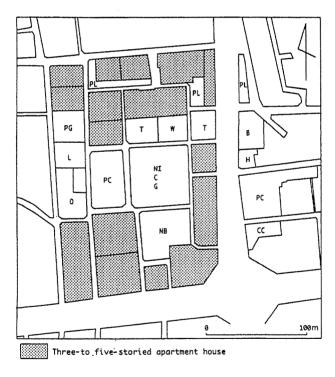


Figure 4. Number and average size of houses in case of Dowa renewal projects in one metropolis



L : Lerning center
 C : Community hall
 G : Gymnasium
 H : Public health center
 W : Welfare center
 PG : Play gound for aged people
 PL : Parking lot
 T : Temple
 PC : Park for children
 NI : Day nursery for infants

Figure 5. Present conditions of land use in a certan renewed Buraku

Table 3. List of municipalities investing large expenditures for Dowa projects (1993)

			<u> </u>			Α		Д.		(
	Number	Number of	Number of	Total Expenditure	Share of	Expenditure for	Number of	Share of	Share of	Share of
Mondainalisiaa	of Dowa	Households	Population	spent for Dowa	expenditure	uncompleted	housing	owned	public	rented private
Municipalities	Districts			projects (1969-91)	for Dowa	works	constructions	housing	housing	housing
					projects					
				in million Yen	(%)	in million Yen		(%)	(%)	(%)
Nagoya	3			54,830	0.5	7,787	1,387	20.0	73.5	5.6
Matsusaka	23	2,281	6,552	37,446	9.1	1,287				:
Kuwana	I	1,102	3,371	31,248	10.9				İ	
Otsu		1,045						43.9	53.1	1.1
Kyoto	12	4,971	16,581	186,414	2.5	62,000	2,885	23.1	63.2	9.5
Osaka	12	22,688	70,215					19.7	58.9	12.7
Sakai	1	1,289	3,751	123,688	4.3	14,913				
Higashi-Osaka	2	1,184	3,222	154,942	8.4	16,556	1,583	6.0	78.9	13.8
Takatsuki	3			64,623	5.4	2,443				
Yao	2	1,344	3,598	101,564	10.3	8,223	1,039	17.7	58.1	23.7
Izumi	ı			114,181		3,423				
Izumisano	3	771	2,463	45,793	12.8	18,724	301			i
Wakayama	17	4,332	13,485	144,216	7.2	25,735	2,381	57.9	35.8	6.4
Gobo	11	1,835	6,332	58,475	28.0	5,564				
Kobe	28	8,573		178,230	2.2		3,626	34.5	45.0	15.4
Amagasaki	6	2,295	6,915	119,840	5.2	5,692	1,985	46.0	49.4	3,3
Takarazuka	3	1,071	3,553	46,307	4.6	0	246	61.9	34.2	
Kurashiki	18	1,429	5,022	31,992	1.8	1,403	878			
Tsuyama	25	2,211	8,005	53,436	15.3	670	344			
Hiroshima	39	2,273	5,568	33,814	0.7	3,507	391			I
Fukuoka	39	5,565	19,356	159,809	2.5		1,554		;	
Kitakyushu		1,819					1,011	38.9	55.6	5.5
Tagawa	20	2,507	8,002	52,963	11.3	9,266	406			

Source: Suginohara (1993, 1994)

Judging the physical environment, during the early stage of Dowa projects in the 1970s, designing of housing construction and scheme of housing estate was in most cases in a tentative, ad hoc manner, so that the physical environment with deserted asphalt streets and concrete block boxes of housing were not fit for a sound and humane residential life. High-rising blocks, which were thought to be a best solution for the density problem, did not suit for the aged people's living. Lack of a sophisticated sense of physical management of housing estate also damaged the Buraku industries of shoe making, and waste materials gathering. As a result, an open space in the housing estate became a workshop space for the latter use, otherwise, industries themselves disappeared. Hollowing out of industries from Buraku was underway, and younger generation people and highly or professionally educated people could not help but leave Buraku, partly due to these progress of Dowa projects. The management and control of the facilities for the daily services in Buraku became too bureaucratic to be handled flexibly. In fact, concentration of aged people and low income residents caused once again the reproduction of Buraku slums, since few considerations was paid for permanent residents.

III. Public-private coordination of Dowa projects

Considering these positive and negative aspects of the Buraku projects, it is important to analyze the mechanism of Dowa projects in view of public-private coordination; private struggles, public supports. In section I, the author already pointed out three observations, that is the great influence of the Buraku liberation movement toward this Dowa

administration, the transformation of the private character of this movement into bureaucratic manner as the projects became more gigantic both physically and budgetarily, and presentations of good example of residential renewal and community renovation activities in the process of carrying out Dowa projects. Based on these observations, the author considers the mechanism which worked in the progress of Dowa Projects.

The roles of private agents engaged in this huge volumes of Dowa projects are destined to be institutionalized and authorized, so that the relation between public and private agents was generally politicized, struggling each other to accomplish their demands and requests. On a political arena among the private agents of the liberation movement, it should be mentioned that there occurred a split of organizations. This split occurred in 1970 when JCP faction of BLL denounced the special law for Dowa projects of 1969, saying that it could not attack the capitalistic evils and contradictions, and that, it would rather weaken the class struggle if it depended only on protests against discriminative and anti-human rights conducts. This faction soon established the new association and in 1976 formally renamed to All Japan Federation of Buraku Liberation (JFBL), which deeply connected with JCP. Thus the mainstream of BLL had kept more intimate connection with SDP stance.

During the progress of Dowa projects, serious conflicts occurred between these two associations, since they had definitely different recognitions of the Buraku problems and Dowa projects. According to the BLL's viewpoint, promotion of Dowa projects was to be positively asserted and strengthened further to attain the involvement of general programs of development and rehabilitation policies. In addition, BLL demanded a future enforcement of a fundamental law for Buraku liberation. On the contrary, according to the JFBL, while it did not openly criticize the implementation of Dowa projects themselves, it denounced the inequality and unfairness in the implementation process of Dowa administration. JFBL strongly contested the BLL's initiative of introducing a fundamental law, and it aimed to abolish the existence of Buraku problem, advocating the assimilation of the Buraku people into the non-Buraku people and the liberation of Dowa projects into those of ordinary policies.

While this confrontation between BLL and JFBL existed, Dowa projects were progressing under the mechanism shown in Figure 5. It illustrates the established mechanism and operation of each agent engaged in Dowa Projects. The most conspicuous feature in this mechanism is the existence of local branches of the Buraku liberation movements of BLL and JFBL in each (not all but most) Buraku, where not a few professionals accumulated knowledge and information not only on Dowa projects but also on ordinary residential renewal and rehabilitation projects. It shows a clear contrast with an ordinary district of, for example, Machizukuri movement. In such a movement, they either lack this kind of associations or, even if there exist ones, they are not authorized but voluntary associations.

In Figure 6, five agents in the local private side are shown, BLL local branch, JFBL local

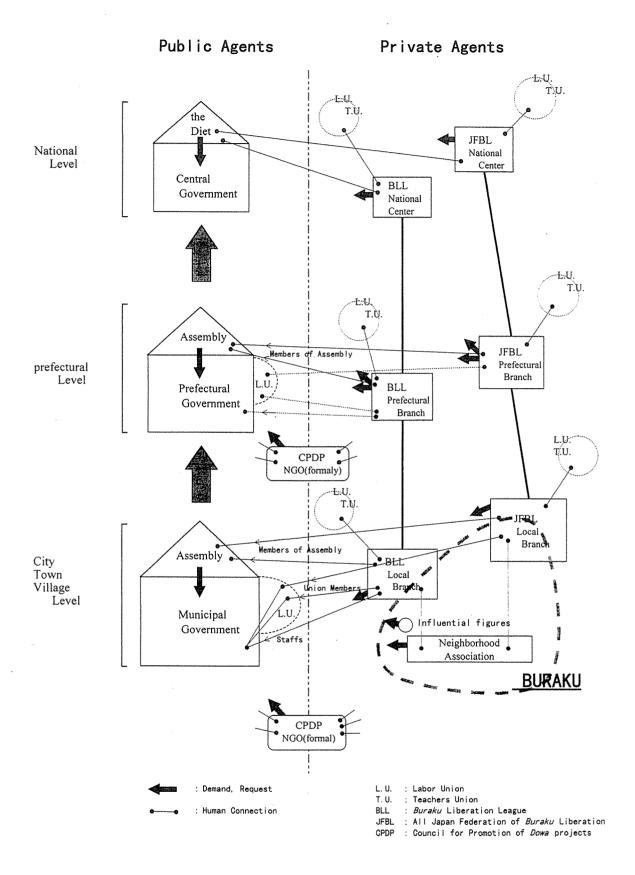


Figure 6. Mechanism and operation of each agent engaged in Dowa projects

branch, neighborhood association, influential figures, and the non-government association such as Council for the Promotion of Dowa Projects (in most cases, local branch of BLL). Each agent usually has opportunities to negotiate together with respective government staff in order to fulfill their demand and to request on behalf of each Buraku for projects and funds. The impact of this negotiation often depends on the political power of each agent: whether he has a connection with the assembly member and government staff union or not. In many cases, members of BLL and JFBL are also those of either the assembly, trade union or staff of the respective government. Therefore, decision-making process of Dowa projects and their priority often depends on the extent of the political involvement of each agent, especially by BLL and JFBL. This politicized involved mechanism also works in the arenas of prefectural and national level.

In 1970s, during the early stage of Dowa projects just after the enforcement of the Special Measures Law, this mechanism was being established and various requests were attaining their purposes step by step. Energetic and hopeful public-private partnership did exist in this stage and realizations of requests directly led to the intensification of the liberation movement and residents' solidarity. But this situation soon changed at the outset of 1980s. Since the projects were routinely institutionalized in accordance with certain manual and format, grass-root request by Buraku people became weaker. The more they acquired, the less they required, in other word of directly apply this assertion to the respective project, and still had an opportunity to negotiate with government staff for acquiring and keeping projects and funds. This opportunity actually ensured to keep the ties of the local organization of JFBL. Thus, the assertion of national center and requirement of local branches seems to be inconsistent. Rather, in this scene of the negotiation, JFBL used to take more time to denounce the improper use of facilities in Buraku and the process of determining the eligible person who could be provided with services. In fact, BLL exclusively administered this process, which was called "one window policy," and consequently, it had a power to administer government-funded programs in Buraku. Unclear process of construction of buildings and facilities in the name of Dowa projects was also a target for JFBL criticism. Although BLL formally denied JFBL criticism, BLL partly admitted the existence of unfair aspect found in Dowa projects such as bribery, blackmail, abuse of power and incorrect use of funds.

IV. One example of Dowa projects

In order to demonstrate these fact-findings in a more concrete manner, the author prepared Table 4. It shows who dominates Dowa projects in each municipalities of a certain prefecture. For instance, in "c city" where Buraku geographically surrounds city office, everyone calls his city office as a branch of BLL. It means that BLL is delegated the authority to determine a person's eligibility for government subsidies or other assistances.

Table 4. Degree of the political influence of liberation movement in *Dowa* projects in case of one prefecture

Area Unit	Municipalities	Number of Buraku	Number of households of Buraku	Degree of the political influence of BLL	the political	Degree of the political influence of Other Agents
I	A city	17	4,332	0	0	0
П	B city	4	259	0		
11	C town	1	19			
	D town	4	397	0		
Ш	F town	3	97	0		
1111	G town	1	88	(0)		
	H town	3	407	0		
	I city	4	813	0	Δ	
IV	J town	6	1,774	Δ		0
1	K town	2	473	Δ	0	
	L city	5	311	0		
v	M town	4	458	0	0	0
	N town	1	453	0		0
The state of the s	O town	6	370		0	
	P city	11	1,614	Δ	Δ	0
	Q town	3	140			
VI	R town	3	236		0	
V1	S village	1	13			
	T town	1	285		0	
	U town	2	306		0	
	V city	3	478	0	0	1
1	W town	1	85		0	
	X town	1	10		0	
VII	Y town	1	344		0	0
	Z town	3	28,4		0	
	a town	2	74		0	0
	b town	1	95		0	
	c city	7	291	0	Δ	
VIII	d town	1	82			0
ΥШ	e town	1	207		0	
	f town	1	70		0	

BLL: Buraku Liberation League

JFBL: All Japan Federation of Buraku Liberation

Source: Interview to the local government staff in charge of Dowa Projects

In human connections, a few activists of BLL are, at the same time, staff of city office and members of workers union in the city office, and city government maintains friendly relationship sharing the principle of movement with that of BLL. Construction and building companies in charge of Dowa projects also keep close contacts with BLL.

The largest "A city" has seventeen Buraku. On the whole, influence of BLL dominates all Buraku except for the largest one. Over two third of Dowa expenditure is spent for this

largest Buraku, where the local branch of BLL, at the beginning of 1980s, was split into two due to the struggle for who acquired more funds and who ruled this Buraku politically at the face of the election of member for the prefectural assembly. The former Chairman of this local branch was expelled from this branch in this incidence, and afterward, making use of his former fame, money and power, he set up a council for improvement measures for this district in opposition to the BLL branch. He successfully invited both prefecture and city government staffs to his established council, and showed his ability to manage Dowa projects taking full advantage of this semi-governmental characteristics of this council. The influence of JFBL in this city is not so small. Even in this largest Buraku, JFBL manages a medical clinic and a coop shop, but, it tends to criticize this council for its monopolistic and unfair manner in using the community hall, joint workshop floor, and sports facilities. Similar case is also found in "M town" where BLL and JFBL are competing each other. Specific characteristics of JFBL of this prefecture is also worthy to note. Powerful activists of JFBL are usually, at the same time, teachers and the members of teachers union, therefore, their viewpoints do not always stand on and come out from their daily life and labor experience in Buraku.

Before the split of BLL, influential figures of BLL of this prefecture were predominantly the JCP sympathizers, and were often selected as the members of the prefectural and municipal assemblies. This local support area for these assembly members often matched the area where the influence of JFBL was stronger in such regions as "VII" and "V." In managing annual negotiations with local governments for acquiring Dowa projects and funds, these JCP assembly members acted as intermediaries between local government and JFBL. Of course, in according with the principle of JFBL national center, "O town", "T town" and "W town", where JFBL's influences perfectly dominated and sent the leading JCP members to prefectural assembly, have already declared to put to an end to several Dowa projects. In "O town", Buraku were geographically erased by adopting the method of disperse resettlement in the renewal project in concordance with the JFBL principal of fusing into the non-Buraku. The "VI" and "VII" regions have been traditionally predominated by JFBL. There, the branch of JFBL are restrained by the national center's principle of the future declaration of the end of Dowa projects, so that it cannot dare to acquire funds and subsidy, even if it could acquire them. In "Y town" and "a town", in order to maintain the loyalty to the Buraku organization and to solve this dilemma, new factions were established after the split of JFBL branches.

"P city" presents one specific case. One fourth of its population are Buraku people, but, both BLL and JFBL cannot exercise their influences. Instead, local leading figures and one influential prefectural assembly member control a considerable part of the negotiations about Dowa projects and act as agents, with little contact with either BLL or JFBL. Frequent experiences of calamities of floods in 1950, 1953, 1961 and big fire in 1964,

damaged Buraku, its surroundings and temporal barracks quarters for the people who suffered these calamities. In these calamities, the city government and the member of prefectural assembly took great initiative in these rehabilitation works making use of Dowa projects. Unfortunately, these renewal housing estates now once again need to be removed and rehabilitated, due to the excessive concentration of poverty, occupancies by gangs of Yakuza, and careless and loose management of housing. In "N town", union of neighborhood quarters controls Dowa projects without any connections with BLL nor JFBL, and this can be observed in "M town" and "J town" as well.

V. Prospect

Although, within the academic circle of Buraku and Dowa studies, these observations that the author has clarified seem nothing new, they give many lessons to us in considering the construction projects which are consuming great amount of funds in Japan. I am, as a geographer, keenly recognizing the lack of both academic and practical contributions from geography in these issues. Geographers should highlight and struggle with not only the social-spatial influence of these public construction projects but also the politicized aspects in these urban and housing developments in Buraku districts. It is a very attractive theme for geographers to examine these issues as the public politics of place or private struggle for place.

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