

# The Lives of Substandard Housing District Residents and the Eviction Disputes of the 1920s

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(Translated by John Porter\*\*)

## Introduction

Taking the substandard housing district eviction disputes, which began in 1928 and continued for several years hence, as its focus, this article seeks, through an examination of the historical character of those disputes, to elucidate the social structure of Osaka's substandard housing districts and the transformations that occurred in those districts over the course the Taishō and Shōwa periods. In the substandard housing district reform projects, which were carried out by the Osaka municipal authorities starting in 1928, the slums in the southern part of the city, which spread across the districts located on the eastern and western sides of Nipponbashi Boulevard in Naniwa and Tennōji wards, were targeted and reform of these districts was advanced in the following order: first, temporary housing was constructed and substandard housing district residents were temporarily evicted, then reform housing was constructed, and lastly evicted persons were moved back into the reform housing. By the time that the projects were suspended the reform of 13 urban districts had been carried out.<sup>1)</sup> Sparked by the execution of these reform projects, disputes broke out between residents, who were temporarily forced to leave their homes, and the Osaka municipal government, which was the primary executor of the projects, and also between residents and the landlords

and landowners of districts targeted for reform. In this chapter, while analyzing the circumstances of the lives of the residents involved in these disputes, I will attempt to illuminate the historical character of the eviction issue.

In an earlier article, Kiso Junko examined the slum districts that are the focus of this chapter.<sup>2)</sup> In her article, she analyzed the slum districts in and around the Nipponbashi and Kamagasaki areas and in addition to discussing the process of slum formation in southern Osaka from the Meiji period onward, she carried out a materialist examination of the way of life of the residents of those areas, focusing centrally on the Taishō period. In that analysis, in addition to elucidating the reality of the labor processes associated with the representative occupation types performed by the residents of those slum districts, she also analyzed their way of life, focusing on the conditions of their residential environment, livelihoods, and communities and as a whole, she identified the slums in question as both a key area of supply for low-wage labor power and a vital component in Osaka's contemporary economic structure.

In addition, in terms of both evidence and methodology, there is much that can be learned from the conclusions of the edited volume

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*Taishō, Osaka, Slum*, in which Kiso's article appeared. In particular, the methods employed in the above text for concretely grasping the ways of life and labor of the residents of a particular area are of notable significance.

In this chapter, while learning from this previous research and expanding upon analyses initiated therein, I would also like to examine the lives of the residents of these slums in the context of both the conflict that occurred during this period between, on the one hand, the local governing strata and, on the other, the area citizens' movement and the reciprocal relations between the two groups. Regarding this second matter, in Kiso's article the focus is mainly on elucidating the actual conditions of the lives of the residents of these slums from an economic perspective and the problem of the residents' movement, which developed during the same period, and the policies of local governance, which advanced in opposition and were inextricably linked to that movement, were not sufficiently investigated and it is imperative that these points be examined in connection with one another. Also, regarding the expansion of analyses undertaken in earlier research, it is necessary not only to merely further clarify Kiso's findings, but also to meticulously examine the diverse socio-economic strata linked to the areas in question without lumping them together as a vague and undifferentiated 'slum' population and analyze both the contemporary state of each of the various strata connected to the slums in southern Osaka and the relations between them. In addition, the above analyses are indispensable for illuminating the historical character of the eviction problem.

Next, as foregoing research concerning the project of substandard housing district reform, I would like to mention the work of Mizuuchi Toshio.<sup>3)</sup> Mizuuchi's research deals with the substandard housing district improvement projects carried out by the Home Ministry, the relationship of those projects to the "Overcrowded Housing District" surveys of the 1920s and 1930s, which formed the basis of such projects, the course of events leading up to the establishment of the Reform Law and the role of the bureaucrats of the Home Ministry, the specifics of the process whereby districts requiring reform were designated, and

the response of the residents of such districts to the process through which reform projects were executed. The scope of his analysis includes the whole country (six major cities) and there are a number of useful points that we can take from his research. Particularly noteworthy are his assertion that among the social projects executed in Japan's cities during this period, these housing reform projects occupied a position of relatively high significance and his introduction and analysis of the process whereby these projects, which developed in conjunction with residents' movements in Nagoya and Kyoto, were carried out. According to Mizuuchi, in Nagoya's Shimo Okuda district, a prefectural reform project plan had to be revised because of the opposition of a residents' movement. Also, entering the war era, in the districts of Kyoto where projects were carried out, reform projects were advanced through the cooperation of the Area Improvement Promotion League movement, a movement that was organized by city residents on the basis of the *Suibeisha* (Leveler) movement, and the municipal social department.

In Osaka, while the sort of influential residents' movements that arose in other cities and effected significant changes in the reform plans themselves did not develop, the above examples are helpful in understanding the character of the movements that emerged in Osaka. However, at the same time, it is also important to clarify in concrete terms the historical conditions that fostered these sorts of local differences. Without the inclusion of an analysis that considers the local conditions of the area in question, namely the local social structure, the development of resident movements, and the state of the local governmental apparatus, which develops out of relations of opposition and tension between elements of that apparatus and local resident movements, it will be impossible to more deeply delve into and understand the emergence of such movements in their specific context.

In this chapter, on the basis of the above assessment and criticism of the foregoing research and with a focus on the Nipponbashi area, which became the target of Osaka's earliest housing reform projects, I will examine the various aspects of local society during the

period in which these eviction disputes occurred. My analysis will focus on exploring the nature of the changes in local society that occurred during this period and the social conditions that prescribed local change. While carrying out the above analysis, I would also like to investigate the historical character of the eviction disputes of the late 1920s.

Concretely speaking, I will first analyze the material conditions of the lives of the residents of the urban districts targeted for reform from the perspectives of housing and occupation. While conducting this analysis, I will focus not only on lower-class residents, but also members of the various other social strata, which, together with the lower class, collectively composed the social structure of these districts. At the same time, I would also like to focus special attention on the state of production and distribution in these districts. Second, while discussing examples of the various resident movements and labor movements of the Taishō and Shōwa periods, I will also analyze the range of developments in local governance that occurred during the same period and elucidate the characteristics of those developments and the reciprocal relations between the local ruling strata and those various citizen and labor movements. And third, on the basis of the above examination, I will attempt to illuminate the historical character of the eviction problem by analyzing the trajectory and character of eviction disputes, which emerged in tandem with the above reform projects.

Furthermore, in a previous article, I analyzed the 'life structure' of the urban lower classes, the social relations of which they were part, and the local transformations that occurred in the areas they inhabited in relation to the activities of the District Commissioners during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>4)</sup> In this article, there are a number of analyses that are advanced on the basis of work carried out in that earlier article. However, because there are a number of issues concerning my understanding of the lower classes that I have reevaluated since writing that earlier article, I would like to make mention of several of those herein.

First, in that earlier article, when I analyzed the way of life of the urban lower classes, I offered a hypothesis regarding currents of

transformation in that way of life based on empirical indicators, including employment rates, age, population, household composition, households budgets, but my investigation of the concrete substance of the lives of the lower classes was insufficient and in my analysis, Osaka's urban lower class residents were treated as an abstract and undifferentiated mass. In this article, I will examine the laboring conditions associated with the various occupations performed by the urban lower classes and the state of the various relationships of production and circulation in the urban districts in which they lived and in doing so will attempt to treat the urban lower classes in such a way that they are not simply and reductively homogenized.

Secondly, although this point is closely related to the above issue, when I examined the substandard housing districts where the eviction disputes occurred, because I focused solely on the lower classes while neglecting the various strata that surrounded and interacted with them, the tendency in my earlier work towards grasping a peculiar 'lower class social community' and understanding lower class society as a society of a fundamentally different nature, in other words towards treating that society in a manner which cut the urban lower classes off from the so-called mainstream social structure was pronounced. On this point, it is critical to pursue the material conditions of lower-class society by attempting an approach different from that which I tried in earlier articles, which delves more deeply into the work of investigating the conditions of the various internal relations within lower class communities and between the lower classes and the various other strata with which they interacted. In this article, while reconsidering the problems with the methods of analysis I employed in earlier articles, I would like at the same time to advance the work started but insufficiently pursued in those articles of examining lower-class society from a perspective which focuses on the various social relations of the substandard housing districts where the eviction disputes arose.

## **Part 1 The Lives of the Residents of Substandard Housing Districts**

### **Section 1 The Character and Social**

## Relations of Residents

In this section, I will analyze, from several perspectives, the lives of the residents of the substandard housing districts, which were located in Nipponbashisuji area, while focusing special attention on the state of the various social strata in those districts and the reciprocal relations between those strata.

### Subsection 1 The State of the Family and Community

The areas that will be examined in this section are shown in map one. As Kiso outlined in her article, the areas on the eastern and western sides of the southern section of Nipponbashisuji (Okura-atochō, Nipponbashisuji Higashi 1-2 chō me, Shitaderachō 3-4 chō me, Higashi Sekiyachō, Nishi Sekiyachō, Hirotachō) had their origins in the Meiji-era Nagomachi slum.<sup>5)</sup> Beginning in the second half of the Meiji 20s, in these areas, where urbanization advanced together with the rapid expansion of the urban migrant population, a number of substandard housing districts, or clusters of back alley tenements, which were commonly referred to as “---ura” (rear or back-alley) areas, formed as the result of the enactment of the various Osaka Prefectural architectural and building regulations (the Tenement Construction Regulation and Inn Control Regulation) and the disappearance of tenement clusters inhabited by urban lower class residents from the front streets and expansion of tenement clusters in the back alleys off of main thoroughfares that occurred with the road construction projects carried out on Nipponbashisuji and the opening of the municipal railroads for operation.<sup>6)</sup>

Let us now examine in concrete terms the lives and social relations of the residents of these substandard housing districts, focusing centrally on the residents of the Hachijukken Nagaya area (Shitaderachō 3-50), an area that I examined in earlier articles as well.<sup>7)</sup>

In the 79 tenement units in Hachijukken Nagaya, a tenement complex constructed in 1895 (Meiji 28), that we will examine herein, there were 129 households and 504 total residents.

First, when we look at the familial structures of

the households in Hachijukken Nagaya, over 70%, including those households that were missing either the father or mother, were nuclear family households and singleton households comprise only 8% of the total.<sup>8)</sup> Namely, with the execution, beginning in 1887, of the regulation that banished flophouses from the city, tenement districts like Hachijukken Nagaya became areas populated largely by lower class residents with families who rented single tenement units.<sup>9)</sup> Based on that fact, we can confirm that after 1887 a clear disjuncture appeared between, on the one hand, areas like Hachijukken Nagaya, which were heavily populated by single-family households and areas like Kamagasaki, on the other, which was coming to be populated heavily by singletons without families.<sup>10)11)</sup> Therefore, when we consider the character of the occupations performed by the residents of areas like Hachijukken Nagaya as well, it is important to point out that the occupations performed were occupations by local residents were performed for the purpose of supporting one’s family.

In addition, when we conjecture about the sort of household forms found in these areas based on the place of origin of the household head and individual members of these households, due to the fact that while roughly 70% of the household heads were born outside the city, over 80% of the juvenile male members of the households, who were mostly the biological children of household heads, were born inside the city and on top of that 40% of those children were born in Hachijukken Nagaya, it is possible to discern a basic pattern in which single men and women (or young married couples) migrated to the city, got married, had children, and settled permanently.<sup>12)13)</sup>

Moreover, when we consider the reciprocal communality shared by residents of the same tenement in light of the above presumption concerning familial patterns, it becomes possible to assert that communal relations between subleasing households and subletting households, the fact that in these areas there were many individuals related by blood, and the ease of living made possible by this sort of relation-based reciprocal support were no doubt of inestimable value to the residents of these areas.<sup>14)</sup> When we examine the period of residence of the inhabitants of Hachijukken

Nagaya (in their current dwelling at the time of the survey), we see that households residing in the area for more than 10 years made up 43% of all households and excluding subleasing households (households renting a room in an already occupied tenement unit), 56% of all main households. Also, when we look at the furniture possessed by the residents of these tenements, over 70% of households residing on the bottom floor of their dwellings possessed tea cabinets and over 50% possessed dressers and, in addition, over 30% of all households had a trees or bonsai planted around their dwelling.

While of course we cannot say that all households were like that, due to the fact that many of the families in Hachijukken Nagaya had lived there for significant periods and there were many children born to families residing there, it is no doubt possible to assert that the residents of these tenements possessed a definite attachment to the area in which they lived and as residents had a certain permanence.

### **Subsection 2 Class Structure viewed from the perspective of Housing**

Next, let us examine the various relations concerning the land on which and dwellings in which these lower class residents lived. First, we should point out the existence in Hachijukken Nagaya of landlords who lived in the tenements (These landlords were, however, distinct from the landowners, as I will discuss in more detail later). When we examine the state of existence of these on-site landlords from the perspective of the dwelling, we can discern a common pattern, namely, a single family of roughly seven members that lived alone in a single dwelling with an attached shop space that faced the main street (These dwellings in which the landlord and his/her family lived had a maximum floor space of 30 *tsubo*, 8 rooms, and a total of 31.5 tatami mats). In addition, the landlord's dwelling had its own private water tap as well and generally a private toilet.<sup>15</sup> In addition, we also know that as of the 1920 survey from which much of this information comes the median income for these landlords was 240 yen per month. As pointed out in Kiso's article and my earlier articles, in these tenements, a definite paternalistic relationship existed between the landlords and tenants, but

the social rank of the two groups was of course disparate, and it is also necessary to keep in mind that the socio-economic position of the landlords' depended on their extraction of rental fees from the tenants.

Next, I would like to examine room letting and room renting relations. In Hachijukken Nagaya there existed 50 "lodger" households (39% of all households surveyed) that rented part of a tenement unit from a principal tenant household, which was the main renter of the two-story tenement unit. If we consider this in terms of residential environment, several households living together in a single cramped dwelling caused dwelling conditions to worsen. As I have pointed out in earlier articles as well, in many cases, the room renting or "lodging" household lived on the upper floor of a shared two-story dwelling and was part of a reciprocal relationship in which they paid a room rent to the letting household on the bottom floor. In addition, the room rent that they paid was then redirected and used to defray the amount of rent paid to the landlord by the primary household. In addition, both households shared the same cooking space, which was on the first floor, and there were some cases in which lodging households were allowed to continue to occupy their room despite the fact that they had fallen behind in paying their rent, and in these tenements a distinct reciprocal, communal relationship was seen between the "lodging" households and primary renting households.

While bearing in mind the above points, how does the population break down if we divide all of the residents of Hachijukken Nagaya into two general strata? First, as figures that stand out as distinct from the back-alley tenement residents, there are the landlords. It is possible to lump together the remaining residents as tenants, but if we divide the residents up further, it is possible to separate the front-street resident strata, which lived in dwellings with attached shop spaces facing the front-streets and worked as noodle sellers or barbers (also, as will be discussed later, there was also one labor contractor living in a front-street dwelling) from the strata of back-alley tenement residents. In all cases, front-street dwelling households lived alone in their own dwelling and because, as indicated in the aforementioned 1920 survey, two dwellings, in which individuals were paying

high-priced down payments of 700, and 800 yen, were included in this strata, while the scale of the businesses operated by the individuals who rented these front-street dwellings is unclear, they can be considered a strata which was clearly distinct from the back-alley tenement resident strata. In addition, it is also possible to divide the back-alley tenement dwelling strata into principal households (households that had their own dwelling and households that shared part of their dwelling with lodgers), which in relative terms had lived in the tenements for a longer time and had more rooms, and, in contrast, lodging households (households that rented rooms in dwelling occupied by the principal household). However, if we consider this division in light of the similarity of the back-alley tenement dwelling strata from the perspective of occupational composition, it can be asserted that as a whole the uniformity possessed by that strata was pronounced and while there was a relationship of room rent payment, it is certainly possible to treat the primary tenant households and lodging households that shared the back-alley tenements as a single unified strata.

Lastly, it should be kept in mind that the individuals who owned land in Hachijukken Nagaya area were a class distinct from the aforementioned on-site landlords. Table one lists the names of individuals who owned land as of 1912 (Meiji 45) in the small, densely populated residential districts on the eastern side of Nipponbashisuji, beginning with Hachijukken Nagaya. While some change in land ownership can of course be expected to have occurred during the Taishō period, it is accurate to assume, as we can see in the course of development of the eviction issue, which will be taken up in part two, no major changes occurred in the fundamental patterns of land ownership.

As we can see from the above table, what stands out is that Sumitomo Kichizaemon's (Sumitomo Joint Stock Company Chairman) name is listed as the landowner for most of the areas shown, beginning with Hachijukken Nagaya. As shown by the black-shaded areas in map one, the Sumitomo house owned a large number of land parcels in the areas, which formerly had been part of Tennōji Village and

were incorporated into the city of Osaka with the 1897 expansion of the city limits and as a result, came to be entangled in the eviction disputes that began in the late 1920s. Also, in table one, next to the names of the landowners that lived in the areas in which they owned land is the designation *itsuki*, which indicates that the individual landlord was a resident of the area in which they owned land, and in addition, the place of residence of those absentee landowners that lived outside of the areas in which they owned land is noted between the brackets. When we examine this table, we see that there are many areas other than those owned by the Sumitomo in which the land owner did not live on-site and therefore, we can surmise that in those areas, as in Hachijukken Nagaya, there were also landlords who rented land from a landowner living off-site and managed rental housing.<sup>16)</sup> Also, most of these absentee landowners lived in neighboring districts and can be considered members of a capitalist class, which was involved in commercial and industrial activities and the management of rental properties either directly or indirectly through a landlord.<sup>17)</sup>

Therefore, it is possible to divide the owners of the land in substandard housing districts in the Nipponbashisuji area into three different types: 1) the Sumitomo house, which owned a large number of land parcels, stood out in terms of scale, and developed a business managing rental properties, 2) absentee landowners whose business activities and landholdings were smaller in scale than the Sumitomo, but owned several parcels of land in areas surrounding the place they resided, and 3) *itsuki* landowners, who lived on the land parcel that they owned (in some cases it can be assumed that these on-site landowners also hired landlords to manage the rental housing located on the land parcel they owned).

Moreover, in cases in which the landowner was absent, there was a separate on-site landlord (in areas like Hachijukken Nagaya, however, it is unclear whether or not those landlords lived on site) and while paying the landlord a rental fee for the land, these landlord operated enterprises in which they leased housing to lower class tenants and as indicated above, in such areas, we can see that relations concerning land, housing, and residence were multi-tiered or hierarchical

in nature. In addition, this sort of multi-tiered or hierarchical character came to be directly reflected in the manner in which the eviction disputes that began in 1928 manifested themselves.

### **Subsection 3 The State of Labor, Production, and Circulation**

In this section as well, let us focus centrally on Hachijukken Nagaya. In table two, the occupations of the residents of the Hachijukken Nagaya tenement are listed. Regarding the state of labor processes in substandard housing districts, because Kiso has already analyzed concrete examples of occupations related to waste collection and management and match production, I will present here some supplementary examples and points of analysis.

First, one point that we can discern from table two is the fact that while Kiso and the prewar surveys of densely populated residential districts themselves point out that in such districts occupation types related to waste collection and management were numerous, the occupation types raised by Kiso and in those surveys are actually extremely diverse and complex. If we divide up the occupations performed by the residents of Hachijukken Nagaya into general categories, industrial occupation types and occupations related to waste and second hand articles each account for around 40% of all occupations, and of the remaining 20%, day labor accounts for about 10%, and occupations related to commerce, transport, public service, and self-employment comprise the remaining 10%. However, if we examine the occupations performed by the residents of Hachijukken Nagaya by first breaking them down in terms of occupations performed by household heads and non-household heads, we can see that in the case of household heads, while industrial occupations account for only 20%, occupations related to waste management and collection account for 50%, day laboring accounts for 20%, and other various occupations account for the remaining 10%, whereas in the case of non-household heads, while industrial occupation types account for over 50% of all occupations (of these half were related to metal and machine production), waste-related occupations account for 30%, day labor

accounts for no more than 3%, and various occupations account for the remaining roughly 17%. In short, whereas the principal occupations of household heads were waste collection and management-related occupations and day labor, the central industrial occupation types were the main occupations performed by non-household heads. In this way, in a general sense, we can discern that the main occupations performed by the residents of Hachijukken Nagaya were industrial occupations and occupations related to waste collection and management, but the problem is that included in those two general occupational categories were a diverse array of occupation types, each with their own specific character and associated conditions. On that issue, regarding several occupation types that Kiso does not discuss in her article, I would like to raise two or three supplementary points of analysis.

First, 33 individuals (18% of all employed persons surveyed) worked as laborers in tin factories, but of those 33 only one was a household head and 27 were male non-household heads. While according to the 1924 survey of overpopulated housing districts, "tin workers were workers that pressed and cut old pieces of tin," according to a 1920 Osaka prefectural survey, 18 laborers who worked in toy manufacturing are listed together with 14 tin workers and as such we can presume that among the 33 individuals listed as tin workers in the 1924 survey of densely populated housing districts, laborers who worked in toy manufacturing are also included. The reason for that is because, although it is a source for a slightly later period, in a 1935 Osaka Municipal Industrial Department survey, as manufacturers who were involved in factory production with tin and toy manufacturing as their specialty, a number of manufacturing operations from the Nipponbashi area are listed.<sup>18)</sup> According to the same document, although the number of tin and toy manufacturing operations, their output, and the number of factory hands employed in such operations is unclear, the form of production "and processing, because small articles and toys were primarily being manufactured, was primarily manual-industrial, and in addition, extremely small-scale household industrial operations also existed." However, operations that engaged in specialty production numbered no more than about ten.

It was the case that nearly half of such specialty producers were located in the substandard housing districts in the vicinity of Nipponbashi-ji.

Also, regarding the factory hands in these operations, conditions were such that “because most of these operations were petty capital enterprises, the number of factory hands employed in such operations were few and also from the perspective of labor relations which have as their main focus the manufacture of small articles toys, low wages are taken as necessary and therefore the use of skilled laborers is limited to the lowest level and in seeking to keep the cost price down, there are many apprentice-like young workers and in a collective fashion in so far as possible low-wage female laborers are employed to perform miscellaneous tasks.” As a basic principle, wages were set by the day and paid twice every month and “it was standard that skilled laborers were generally paid about 2 or 3 yen per day, apprentice laborers were paid between 70-80 sen and 1 yen 20 sen, and female hands and female laborers who performed miscellaneous functions were paid 70 or 80 sen” (as of 1935). Because the incomes of 25 of the tin factory hands of Hachijukken Nagaya were over 35 yen per month (as of 1924), it can be said that the majority earned incomes that were at the level of apprentice laborers and workers who performed miscellaneous duties.

Above, we looked at the example of tin workers. Before moving on, however, I would like to note the fact that in addition to these workers, who, despite the fact that the work that they performed can be considered a form of supplementary labor performed by the majority of non-household heads in support of the family budget, existed in a definite profundity, there also existed laborers from small and medium-sized enterprises that manufactured food and drink items and sundries, such as soap makers, box makers, confection makers, and wine makers. In all cases, it can be assumed that such enterprises possessed a distinct household-industrial character.<sup>19)</sup>

Also, at the same time, although few in number, laborers, including one metal caster (monthly income of 90 to 95 yen), one brass worker (monthly income of 85 to 90 yen), and one

printer (monthly income of 80 to 85 yen), were also seen and among the aforementioned tin workers as well there were two individuals who were part of a class of workers earning a monthly income between 60 and 65 yen. Looking at these laborers in terms of occupation type and wage standard, it is right to say that these laborers cannot be considered lower class.

Next, I would like to offer a few points of analysis concerning occupation types related to waste and rubbish, which were analyzed by Kiso. First, let us examine waste collectors and waste buyers. Regarding the various labor forms associated with this occupation type and systems of waste circulation, I will defer to Kiso, but on the issue of social relations, what I would like to focus on is the relationship between waste collectors and buyers, on the one hand, and wholesale firms called *yoseya*, that specialized in waste materials and purchased waste from these waste collectors and sellers, on the other.

Citing the reportage of Murashima Yoriyuki, Kiso asserts that wholesalers arranged licenses for, loaned tools to, and facilitated initiation in the basics of the job for waste collectors and buyers and in exchange those waste collectors and buyers had to sell the items that they collected to that wholesaler.<sup>20)</sup> According to a Tokyo municipal survey, among paper waste collectors, there were three distinct forms: 1) individuals who circulated between various day labor occupations and worked intermittently collecting paper waste, 2) individuals who were associated with a fixed boss and lived in a room provided by the boss (*hiroiko*), and 3) individuals known as *jikabata* who were not affiliated with a specific boss and if we consider the aforementioned family and dwelling forms, the waste buyers and collectors of the Nipponbashi area, including also supplementary labors performed in support of the family budget, can be thought to be those associated with the third type.<sup>21)</sup> While maintaining independent households in the tenements, the livelihoods of these waste collectors and buyers was dependent upon a system in which they entered into a fixed business relationship with waste wholesalers located in the area (See Table Four).

Next, let us examine hygiene laborers (*eisei*



*ninpu*). As I have already pointed out in earlier articles, in Hachijukken Nagaya, there were 25 hygiene laborers (10% of all employed individuals and of those 25, 18 were household heads) and in addition there were three labor contractors. Although there are no sources which allow us to know in detail the specific labor functions of hygiene laborers, in the survey of overpopulated housing districts cited earlier, of those hygiene laborers listed, 19 had performed that occupation for less than five years and, as indicated in a passage from that survey, that “in the summer every year, there are many [hygiene laborers] who switch occupations and become ice vendors and candy peddlers,” hygiene laborer on a general level can be said to have been a type of day laboring occupation with a high degree of fluidity and turnover.<sup>22)</sup>

However, on the other hand, in a monograph concerning three hygiene laborers (of which two were supervisors) which was introduced in a separate survey conducted by the Osaka Municipal Social Department, the number of consecutive years that the three individuals had worked as hygiene laborers was 20, 14, and seven, and in the aforementioned survey of overpopulated housing districts as well because there were three individuals who had worked as hygiene laborers for over 11 years, it can be said that among hygiene laborers there were some laborers who considered the occupation of hygiene labor a permanent, year-round occupation. We can assume that the same possibility existed among waste selectors as well. Also, the period of employment of all three of the labor contractors was relatively short at less than ten years, but the monthly incomes of the three contractors were extremely high at 450 yen, 150 yen, and 60-70 yen respectively.

The “city hall” contractors that appear in a 1920 Osaka Prefectural survey all lived in front-street dwellings and had monthly incomes of 300 yen and considered in terms income, theirs was an existence, which stood out as exceeding that of the landlords.<sup>23)</sup> Due to the fact that hygiene laborers living in the tenements were also contracted by these labor contractors, it can be assumed that the labor relations between both parties were carried on inside of or as part of the social relations in the tenements. Also, it should be noted that one of the labor

contractors had a criminal record of “gambling and assault.” It is well known that from the Meiji period to the first-half of the Taishō period, the slums in the Nipponbashi area were considered dens of gamblers and “hoodlums,” but the relationship between the continuing presence of this sort of gambling element in the area and the eviction disputes of the 1920s should noted.

Above, I have raised a number of points of analysis, but, focusing on the case of Hachijukken Nagaya, have only attempted to concretely examine a few of the wide variety of occupation types performed by the residents. In the least what we can say is that in order to illuminate the entire social structure of the area that included these tenements, it is necessary to examine one by one each of these occupations and closely analyze the labor forms associated with each as well as the state of the various relations linked to production and circulation in the area.

Lastly, in this section, I would like to survey the state of the various aspects of production and circulation in the entire Nipponbashi area. Table four lists the category of business of the various commercial and industrial operations located in each of the quarters in the Nipponbashi area.<sup>24)</sup> There are source-related limitations and while it is difficult to comprehensively grasp all commercial and industrial activities, it is certainly possible to grasp the general elements of commercial and industrial development in each quarter. On the basis of this overview, there are also a few clear characteristics, which we can elucidate.

For example, in Okuraatochō, in addition to the fact that there were an extremely large number of footwear dealers (almost all were wholesalers), the second hand clothing wholesalers and retail merchants which were located centrally in Nipponbashi 2-3 chō me were also seen there and also soap manufacturers and wholesalers, metal and machine-related factories were located in Okuraatochō in a definite concentration. We can also confirm that only one of the aforementioned toy manufacturing operations was located there. Also, when we examine Shitaderachō 3 chō me, where Hachijukken Nagaya was located, together with 4 chō me, we

can not only confirm that five of the aforementioned waste wholesalers and sterilization operations were located in the area, but also that a variety of factories, including operations producing metal products, confections, machines and machine parts, and footwear were located in the area and we can presume that these operations were connected with the occupations performed by the residents of the local tenements. In addition, although not included among the designated substandard housing districts, in the case of Nishi Sekiyachō, metal and machine-related factories were most prominent (of these, two carried out operations related to tin production), and in addition glassware production and paper box production can be also said to be two distinctive types of industry in this area. Also, the shop merchants of Nipponbashisuji were of course primarily retailers.

Based on the above overview, there are at least two things we can point out. First, if we look at the Nipponbashi area as a whole, there existed a diverse array of elements linked to production and circulation which simply cannot be accounted for on the basis of an understanding that uniformly and homogeneously characterizes the area as a substandard housing district, slum, or lower class society.<sup>25)</sup> Second, the circumstances of commerce and production in this area were, naturally, linked to the labors of the residents who lived there. Therefore, it should be said that lower-class residents alone should not be singled out, and instead that there is a necessity to treat those residents inside and as part of a broader local socio-economic structure. In addition, one more point that I would like to make note of is that between the 1900s and the 1920s, particularly during World War I, the development of this sort of commerce and industry in the Nipponbashi area advanced.<sup>26)</sup>

Above, in part one, focusing centrally on the case of the residents of Hachijukken Nagaya, I have analyzed the lives of the residents of the districts around Nipponbashi from a variety of angles, including family structure, the class structure of housing, the occupation types of residents, and the development of commerce and industry in those districts. Through the above analysis, I think that we have been able to present a number of concrete assertions

concerning the social structure of the districts around Nipponbashi, including 1) the existence of communal relations, which guaranteed a particular ease of living that had as its foundation nuclear households, 2) the special character of mutual relations and the state of class relations which was representatively manifested in housing relations, 3) the existence of diverse labors, which belie a crude bundling or understanding of labor in the Nipponbashi area only in terms of lower class occupations, which had as their core employments related to waste, and 4) a definite connection between the occupations of the residents of the Nipponbashi area and the commerce and industry that developed there.

In part two, on the basis of the above analyses, let us examine the residents' movements that emerged in the Nipponbashi area and the local governmental response to those movements.

## **Part Two The Rise of Residents' Movements and Trends in Local Governance**

### **Section One Examples of Residents' Movements**

In this section, while examining examples of the resident and labor movements that emerged in the districts around Nipponbashi from the latter half of the 1920s to about 1930, I will look at the loci behind the emergence and growth of a resident class which regulated and effected change in the Nipponbashi area during those periods.

As an example of an area resident movement, which included also the lower classes, of course the first one that stands out is the Rice Riots of 1918. Because I lack sufficient preparations to analyze the process of the Rice Riots as a whole, herein I would only like to note that the lower class residents of Hachijukken Nagaya participated in the riots.<sup>27)</sup> On August 11, the day that the first large-scale riots broke out in Osaka, a citizens' assembly concerning rice price regulation was held at 7 PM at the Tennōji Park Assembly Hall, but after the assembly ended the rioting began with an attack on rice merchants in Imamiyachō. The riots, which broke out first in Imamiyachō, then spread to

Tennōji Village and further on throughout the city. Alternatively, after the citizens' assembly ended, the crowd that remain in the park broke off into two groups and "one headed off in the Shitaderachō direction and converged with the poor of the slum commonly called Hachijukken Nagaya of Shitaderachō 4 chō me and the poor of the Nipponbashisuji Higashi 1-2 chō me area and formed a crowd of about 300 and surged toward the rice dealers" and demanded under the threat of violence cut-rate rice sales. As a result of the riots as a whole, it was said that, "the number of quarters that sustained attacks by the rioters numbered 75 and the total number of households damaged numbered 152 and as a consequence, in the southern section of Osaka control was almost totally lost." However, on the other hand, it was reported "the crowd that attacked each of the rice dealers on that evening was in any case relatively mild and two or three representatives directly carried out negotiations. Also, during the negotiations individuals who shouted encouragement in the crowd behind were hidden in the throng of people and individuals that sought to loot the rice shops were held back by the crowds and in terms of injury to individuals and livestock and damage to dwellings, there were almost no persons who committed acts of violence or brutality. The tumult then subsided" and in the rioting as well a definite order was seen. Still more, from the following day, rioting spread even further throughout the entire area of the city.

The outbreak of the Rice Riots became a starting point for the large-scale development of subsequent labor and social movements and the Nipponbashi area was no exception. Below, while looking at table five, in which examples of movements and disputes from the Nipponbashi area are listed in chronological order by year, I will describe the special features of those movements and disputes.

First, as a whole, although there are many fragmentary examples about which the details of the course of events is unknown, even with the limits of our awareness and knowledge, we know that residents' movements, disturbances, and labor disputes carried out in various forms and by various classes occurred in the Nipponbashi area and that the eviction disputes that will be discussed later on occurred as part

of this broader social current.

In addition, keeping in mind the conclusions reached in part one, as well as the eviction disputes, which will be discussed in part two, I will make reference below to several examples. First, as can be gleaned from the newspaper passage introduced in example b, the anti-pollution movement, which is referred to in examples b and f, reached its peak in the Taishō period.<sup>28)</sup> During this period, pollution became a serious social problem. This problem of pollution was caused by and clearly reflected the formation of factories and the intermingled condition of industry and housing in the Nipponbashi area. Also, as far as we can see from contemporary newspaper reporting, the degree to which the lower class residents of the Nipponbashi area participated in this anti-pollution movement is unclear and it is likely that the core of the movement, as seen from the nuances of the newspaper article cited in example b, was the strata of front-street merchants from the neighborhoods near Nipponbashi. Particularly in the case example b, if we focus our attention on the relationship between the lower class residents of the Nipponbashi area and the waste dealers discussed in part one, we can surmise that the position of those lower class residents was a complicated one.

Next, we cannot overlook the rental housing disputes as a major focal point of the movements of this period. In Osaka during this era, with the early 1920s and the Shōwa panic period as two peaks, tenant disputes and rent strikes occurred frequently across the whole city and a class-based tenants' movement also emerged.<sup>29)</sup> Events in the Nipponbashi area can also be said to be part of this broader movement. Of the three examples of tenants' movements that will be raised in this section, the focus of the movement in example c was the landlord and land owner strata that had existed in the area since the Nagomachi era, but looking at the details and method of organization of the movement, the core of the movement should be seen as the front-street strata of merchants and traders, as opposed to the lower class residents of the back alley tenements. On the other hand, the remaining two examples of tenant movements were in both cases linked to the lower class residents of

the Nipponbashi area, but of these two, example a, more than representing a movement, is an example of mediation by a district commissioner. At the same time, however, example a can also be said to be an interesting example of a movement in which in a combined form the aforementioned problem of area factory development and tenant disputes manifested themselves. Although the concrete details of the mediation request are unclear, a resolution, which was in line with the demands of the residents, was reached through the efforts of the district commissioner. In addition, it should be noted that example d, the Kanteki tenement dispute, itself occurred in conjunction with the eviction disputes that will be taken up in the next section. Lastly, while example e, the geta artisans' dispute and the tenant movements can be identified as part of the labor movement that developed during this period, it is also possible that the numerous geta artisans that lived in the Shanoura tenement in Hirotachō were involved in that dispute.<sup>30</sup> As can be seen from this example, in addition to the fact that a large number of small-scale geta manufacturing operations, which do not appear in factory registers from the period, and were linked to the existence of the geta wholesalers in Okuraatochō seen in aforementioned table four, developed in the Nipponbashi area, I would like to point out the fact that geta workers in this area assembled together in groups that transcended the boundaries of their individual factories and became the key actors in the labor disputes that occurred in the Nipponbashi area during this time.<sup>31</sup>

While the above examples are only fragmentary introductions of examples of social and labor movements that occurred in Nipponbashi during this period, it is clear that through the 1920s, with the Rice Riots as one major turning point, the development of a diverse array of movements involving area citizens, which also included the lower classes, occurred. Moreover, it can be said that each of these movements developed to some degree in relation to both class-related conditions and the special character of commercial and industrial production in the Nipponbashi area. In addition, while at the same time these developments can be thought to have been the conditions or factors that brought about changes in local society in the Nipponbashi area during this

period, let us look next at that point in relation to concurrent developments in local governance.

## Section Two New Developments in Area Governance

Now, the 1918 Rice Riots, which we also touched on briefly in section one, did not only become the starting point for the development of a variety of urban class-based movements, but also became an event which stimulated new developments in local governance. While the activities of the Osaka Prefectural District Commissioners, which I took up in an earlier article, were one such development, herein I will examine in particular what sort of new developments occurred in the Nipponbashi area in the realm of policies aimed at the urban lower classes. A series of surveys concerning "Overpopulated Housing Districts," which we discussed above, were themselves one part of the lower class policies initiated by the Osaka Prefectural and Municipal authorities during this period and it can be said that the substandard housing district reform projects of this period were an extension of those surveys. Let us examine two examples of policies targeting the lower classes below.

### A The 'Ōe Savings Encouragement Association'<sup>32</sup>

First, let us look at the activities of the 'Ōe Savings Encouragement Society' (also known as the Ōe Savings Association), which was established in the Nipponbashi area in June 1919. As introduced in numerous contemporary reports concerning lower class society, beginning with the reportage of Murashima Yoriyuki, among the lower classes there were many who borrowed money from pawnbrokers and high-interest lenders and as a result grew more deeply impoverished. Actually, in 1919 when Tennoji Third District Executive District Commissioner Yasumoto Sakube'e surveyed the conditions of high interest loans in his district among the residents of the Hachijukken Nagaya tenement, he found that of the 163 households he surveyed 115 had borrowed money from high interest lenders and that of those 115, 23 had borrowed less than 20 yen, 39 had borrowed between 20 and 40 yen, 34 had borrowed between 40 and 60 yen, five had borrowed between 60 and 80 yen, two had

borrowed between 80 and 100 yen, 11 had borrowed between 100 and 300 yen, and one had borrowed 600 yen.<sup>33</sup> As a whole, he found that “all of those who had taken on these sort of high interest loans once could not easily pay them back and that by borrowing money against their wages month after month, fell into a lifelong condition from which they could not escape.”

In response to this situation, local district commissioners, beginning with aforementioned Commissioner Yasumoto, began to encourage local residents to save and at the same time Police Inspector Nishimura Masamichi of the Ebisu Police Station, which had jurisdiction over the Nipponbashi area, also began to work proactively in an effort to reform the situation. According to the evening issue of the *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper from August 31, 1922, beginning in the spring of 1919, the year after the Rice Riots, Nishimura “moved to the center of Hachijukken Nagaya and began working in earnest to achieve area improvement and oversight” and “with the support of locally interested persons” carried forward “an improvement movement based on the three principles of thrift and savings, poor childrens’ education, and moral reform” and from around the summer of 1919 he began to carry out savings improvement activities, and “nearly every evening held lectures in which he expounded the necessity of saving” and at the same time in the form of postal stamp savings, a saving program was initiated at the level of one or two sen per day for each household. During the period, in Yasumoto’s area of jurisdiction as well, a series of District Commissioner Executive Committee meetings were held, during the achievements of the savings encouragement activities spearheaded by Inspector Nishimura were made, and as such it is clear that the phrase “interested persons” in the 1922 newspaper article is referring to the district commissioners that attended these meetings.

In this way, while savings encouragement activities, which were implemented through the joint cooperation of the police and district commissioners, who were locally influential persons, were “not activities which were initiated voluntarily by the poor, but were instead originally despised and initiated through

the zealous encouragement of local officials,” savings among the poor gradually became habitual and over time such programs produced definite results.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, with this savings encouragement program as its foundation, the Osaka Peoples’ Trust Union was established in 1920 as a savings encouragement and low interest capital-lending project targeting the urban lower classes.<sup>35</sup>

These savings encouragement activities were not limited only to Hachijukken Nagaya and spread to other back-alley tenements. Examining the savings results, for example in Hachijukken Nagaya and the Shanoura tenement in Hirotachō, the residents as a whole in 1920 saved 320 yen and 369 yen respectively and by 1924 that figure had risen to 3,532 and 1,219 yen and a median savings level per person of 28 yen 84 sen and 29 yen 38 sen respectively.<sup>36</sup> These activities were continued subsequently as well and were incorporated as one of the series of projects carried out by the Tennōji Citizens’ Center, which will be discussed in the next section.

Coming out of the unrest of the Rice Riots, efforts the Ōe Savings Encouragement Association can be said to have sought, through the unified effort of police and locally influential persons, to facilitate the proactive intervention into and ‘improvement’ of the lives of the urban lower classes. With that, in the next section, let us examine the activities of the Tennōji Citizens’ Center, which implemented an even broader array of projects, including also the above sort of savings encouragement activities.

## **B The Projects and Activities of the Tennoji Citizens’ Center**

The Tennōji Municipal Citizens’ Center was opened in February 1926 on the northern side of Hachijukken Nagaya in Shitaderachō 3 chō me, but the facility (The Assembly Hall), which was the precursor of that institution, had already been established “on the basis of philanthropists’ contributions” in September 1922 in the area bordering the western side of Hachijukken Nagaya. In addition to establishing a savings encouragement association, that facility implemented a broad range of projects, including a preschool, a children’s association, a mothers’ association, a

citizens' lecture series, a women's practical school (where instruction in a variety of areas, including sewing and housework, was offered), a youth association, and a children's association-supported lecture series.

In addition to the above activities, which focused centrally on edification and moral suasion, following its opening, the Citizens' Center also added livelihood protection and medical treatment projects and carried out both these new and preexisting projects on an even larger scale. Regarding the activities of the Tennoji Citizens' Center, I would like to examine the special character of those activities in the three points below.

First, the projects of the Citizens' Center were developed, from the perspective of both the projects themselves and finance that funded them, as city-run neighborhood welfare projects behind which the primary actor was the Osaka municipal authorities, but a number of city councilpersons were also connected with the projects in alternative capacities as well, for example, as lawyers who supervised legal consultations and chairpersons of the Cooperative Welfare Association. In addition, in order to secure and administer the funding for these activities, beginning with occupational funding, a number of local organizations were founded, including the Tennoji Ward Assets Management Association and Nipponbashi 3 chō me Friendship Society (Neighborhood Associations or Social Organizations), financial contributions were provided through the charity of city councilpersons and entrepreneurs, and the cooperation and volunteer service of trade associations and individuals, who provided services, including medical treatment and hair cuts, was seen as well, and in this way, the projects themselves moved forward as charitable activities, which included the support of local elites.

Second, in addition to the activities of the Cooperative Welfare Association, which carried out both savings encouragement programs and entrepreneurial capital circulation projects, community milk distribution and year-end monetary relief distribution projects as well as medical treatment projects, including pediatric dental care, trachoma treatment, and free haircuts, all of which sought to substantially

improve, albeit only in part, the living conditions of the residents of these areas, also developed. It is significant to note that these projects achieved definite results.<sup>38)39)</sup>

Thirdly, edification and moral suasion projects, such as lectures and the activities of the various self-discipline and self-improvement organizations, also provided the residents of these areas with opportunities for community-based social action and it can be presumed that these projects also stimulated among residents new forms and dimensions of mutual aid and collective action. For example, in 1924 before the Citizens' Hall was opened, during the era of the Assembly Hall, an organization which gathered together the youths of Shitaderachō called the Taiyū Physical Education Club was established (likely from above) and training in swordsmanship, judo, and military training activities was provided, but the aforementioned Overpopulated Housing District Survey reports the fact that "for several months" the youths of the area "did not attend the club" and instead the youths themselves organized a separate association called the *Shinkōkai*. Also, as will be discussed later, as the eviction disputes, which broke out in 1928, progressed, the Tennōji Citizens' Center was used as a site for negotiations between residents and city hall.

These sorts of neighborhood welfare projects were accompanied by a concrete economic substance and became projects, which stimulated independent group action on the part of residents and at the same time facilitated increased interaction between area residents and the city government. As such, we can surmise that this development served to strengthen the tendency among residents to proactively make use of such projects.

As we saw above in subsection two, the 1920s saw the rise of a broad range of social and labor movements among the various urban social strata of the Nipponbashi area. The first such movement was the Rice Riots, which were introduced in subsection one. In response to these developments, the public authorities and the local elite joined together in the establishment and execution of projects that sought to facilitate both the thoroughgoing intervention of the authorities and the local

elite into the lives of lower class residents, and, while promoting the material improvement of the lives of those residents, these projects were designed to help the public authorities and local elite maintain control and order in the Nipponbashi area.

Moreover, it can also be surmised that these new developments themselves possessed a facet, which alternatively stimulated activity based on the demands and self-awareness of the residents and mass actions by groups of residents, and it is also possible to understand the eviction disputes of the second half of 1920s as one manifestation of that new sort of activity.

## Section Two 'The Substandard Housing' Eviction Problem

### Subsection One The Execution and Course of Housing Improvement Projects

While it is necessary to examine in historical terms the substandard housing district improvement projects carried out by the Osaka Municipal authorities themselves, I will leave that to another opportunity and will limit my examination here of the character of the legal framework of improvement and the process of execution of those projects in Osaka to the scope necessary for understanding the course and character of the eviction problem which occurred in the late 1920s.<sup>40)</sup>

The Substandard Housing District Improvement Law, which was promulgated in March 1927 and came into effect in July, was a legislation that regulated the execution of improvement projects vis-à-vis "singular housing districts in which groups of substandard dwellings are crowded closely together and which endanger or pose a threat in terms of hygiene, morality, and public safety and security" (*Horei zensho*, Shōwa 2). The local public authorities were the chief executor of these projects. According to Mizuuchi's aforementioned article on the topic, the special feature of these projects was that they combined two aspects: a firm intent to return residents to the areas that they were temporarily evicted from after the improvement projects had been completed and no universal standard of "substandard" district designation. The former aspect had, on the one hand, the benefit

of preventing both the sort long-term of estrangement from one's employment and home that often accompanied such reform projects and the increases in personal financial outlays caused by such estrangement, and, on the other, had the drawback of leading to higher rising structures and more cramped rooms due to restrictions on floor space. As Mizuuchi also notes, Osaka's reformed housing can be said to be one example in which the process of room narrowing that occurred during the interwar period was archetypically manifested.<sup>41)</sup> Also, the latter aspect became a factor, which led to discrepancies in the methods whereby substandard housing districts were designated in the various cities and, for example, in the case of Osaka, beginning with the urban outcaste district of Nishihama, which was comparatively speaking much larger than the outcaste districts of Kyoto city, the fact that almost no outcaste districts received designation as substandard housing districts was one characteristic of the projects.<sup>42)</sup>

Furthermore, in article 14 of this law it was stipulated that in cases in which reform was necessary the relocation or eviction of the owners and occupants of structures in the district in question was permitted on the basis of the order of the local government office and in connection with that, in article 17, it was mandated that appropriate compensation or indemnification be provided to parties who are evicted or are forced to relocate as a result of improvement projects.

Next, although related to the process of execution of these projects in the city of Osaka, with the enactment of the Improvement Law, the Osaka municipal authorities were the earliest nationally to initiate projects and in December 1927 a proposal was adopted by the city council to tack project expenses onto the supplemental budget of that year. The Osaka authorities awaited approval of the districts they designated for reform and by March they had already begun construction on housing in Imamiya, the area designated for the temporary relocation of evicted persons (construction was completed in April 1929). The first districts designated for reform were parts of Shitaderachō 3-4 chō me, Kita Nittochō, Minami Nittochō, Higashi Sekiyachō 1-2 chō, and Hirotachō. A total area of 18,796 *tsubo* and

1,227 dwellings (1,661 households) were targeted and in order to fund this six-year plan a budget of roughly 7,103,000 yen was allotted. If we compare the 580,000 yen budget for the first year of the project with the standard 380,000 yen budget set aside in normal years to fund social projects, we can see just how large-scale this project was.

In October 1928 the purchasing of land parcels in the districts designated for reform began, but starting around this time, citizens' movements in designated districts also began. If we detail first the course of events, by December of 1929 the temporary eviction of the Hachijukken and Shin-Hachijukken tenements in Shitaderachō 3 chō me had been completed and in January 1930 construction of the first houses in Shitaderachō began and that construction was completed in October. Continuing after that, land in Kita Nittochō and Minami Nittochō was purchased and the eviction of the residents of both districts carried forward and up to November 1935 in the districts on the eastern side of Nipponbashiuji five reformed housing tracts and three temporary housing tracts were constructed (there were also temporary housing tracts in the Imamiya and Miyazuchō areas).

Alternatively, during this period, in 1933, due to delays caused by eviction disputes, part of the project plan was revised and as a continuous project the reform began anew in the districts on the western side of Nipponbashiuji and continued until 1942. These projects dragged on into the war era, but because of wartime shortages in construction materials, reform of only 13 of the 18 planned districts was completed and in 1944 the project was officially discontinued.<sup>43)</sup>

### Section Three The Development of the Eviction Problem and Its Character

#### Subsection One The Course of Events

Historical documents directly pertaining to the eviction disputes available today are primarily newspaper articles and while it is impossible to sufficiently grasp the details of the development of the problem, let us examine first the actual course of events which we can confirm through an analysis of the available materials.

The disputes began initially in Hachijukken Nagaya, which was the site of the first land purchases and eviction negotiations. The October 9, 1928 *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper reported that the residents of the areas that received designation as substandard housing districts "held an opposition rally and were extremely spirited." Based on the claim that there were "about 120 households living in Hachijukken Nagaya," the speakers at the rally asserted that the city negotiated a contract whereby it would purchase the land from the landowners, namely the Sumitomo House, Kyuemon of the Kōzu House, and Ito Chobe'e, for "the exorbitant price of 120 yen per tsubo," while the residents of Hachijukken Nagaya, who were the residents of the tenements targeted for improvement, would receive "only 25 yen per dwelling." In addition, the October 9 article reported that the speakers at the opposition rally claimed that "as stated above, this was a social project in name only and actually this project was one that belittled the have-nots and fattened the bellies of the propertied classes" and that "branding" these districts "substandard" was inappropriate and that "it would be proper to begin the reform first in the Kita Nagaya and Imamiya/Kamagasaki areas" and on the basis of these assertions residents demanded both an increase in the compensation for eviction and a postponement of the period in which the evictions would be carried out.

On October 16, 80 or so residents of "Shitaderachō 4 chō me and 5 chō me" barged into city hall and demanded that the eviction period, the specified eviction compensation, and the relocation site (Imamiyachō) be changed (*Osaka Asahi* Newspaper 17 October 1928). In addition, the October 19 *Osaka Asahi* Newspaper reported that the residents formed a "Relocation Conditions Reform Alliance" and that negotiations were taking place with the city authorities, but that the eviction compensation of 50 yen per household suggested by the city on October 16 was seen as "ridiculously insufficient" and that on the following day, October 17, that strained talks between the residents' representatives and the city authorities had taken place at the Tennoji Citizens' Center, but that without obtaining their demands, the residents had resolved to



reject both the proposed increase in eviction compensation and individual negotiations and to “unconditionally oppose” the relocation site and that in addition to submitting the resolution to the city, the residents had visited each of the newspaper offices and declared their opposition to the evictions. At that stage, the following statement ran in the newspapers under the heading ‘The Representatives’ Statement.’

That statement read, “Awaiting the coronation, the people are unanimously filled with the happiness of this glorious celebration. Today, at this time, the homes in which we have grown accustomed to living are being taken from us and what is more, we are being commanded to temporarily relocate to an unhygienic location and even if apartments are constructed, they will not be aptly suited to our occupations and lives, much to the opposite, they will deprive us of our lives. Now, how can relocation be achieved with only 50 yen per household? We oppose this to the last!”

The above is a recounting of events in Shitaderachō as they were described in contemporary newspapers, but unfortunately due to source limitations, the subsequent course of events is unclear.<sup>44</sup> In the newspapers, precisely at this moment articles concerning events in Shitaderachō, stopped appearing and almost as a substitute for articles concerning this initial dispute, an article entitled “The Nittochō Eviction Problem” appeared. Namely, before October 19, a dispute over evictions between the city and the residents and between residents and the Sumitomo House, with residents on one side demanding eviction compensation and the Sumitomo on the other refusing to pay, had already broken out. In addition, on the 19<sup>th</sup> “more than 100 residents” bearing a petition visited an individual named Imakita Jisaku and requested his mediation to help resolve the dispute (*Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper 19 October). According to a newspaper summary of the details of the dispute between the residents and the Sumitomo (*Osaka Asahi* Newspaper 3 November), the residents “were dissatisfied” with the site selected for their temporary relocation and said that “because they would move to a different place, they demanded that eviction compensation be paid and first tried to negotiate with the landowners, the Sumitomo

House, but because the Sumitomo House owned the land and the dwellings located on the land were owned by separate persons, and because the city authorities were the ones who were forcing the to relocate, they tactfully refused and because of that, things grew disorderly.” Subsequently, as a result of Imakita’s mediation, on November 2, the Sumitomo House provided the residents with “a monetary gift” and with that the dispute between the Sumitomo and the residents moved towards resolution. Imakita continued on and was also involved in the mediation of the dispute between the city and residents (although the details are unclear, we can presume that what occurred was similar to that which occurred in the case of Shitaderachō), but subsequent developments are also unclear (*Osaka Asahi* Newspaper 3 November). Further, according to subsequent articles, the amount of money that the Sumitomo “gifted” to the residents was “5,000 yen” (*Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper 9 December).

Extant newspaper articles about the disputes that occurred in 1928 are those mentioned above. However, because articles concerning the eviction problem appeared occasionally in subsequent years as well, I will list them below.

First, on September 3 of the following year, 1929, “about 200” residents of Higashi Nittochō barged into city hall, met with Social Department director Yamaguchi Tadashi, and demanded that “the city completely clarify the timing of the eviction, the purchase price for the land, and other plans,” but the Social Department director responded that “while the specifics of the plan were still being discussed, he would do as much as possible to make the residents thoroughly aware of the details of the plan.” (*Osaka Asahi* Newspaper 4 September, *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper 5 September).

In addition, the petition submitted by the residents of the Kanteki tenement (example d), which was introduced in part one section two subsection one of this chapter, can be considered an item that was submitted on the same day as the above events at likely the same location. Namely, in the Kanteki tenement a movement that was both concurrent with and connected to the disputes between the landowners and tenants in Higashi Nittochō

occurred.

Moreover, in connection to this, in December, the following article appeared (*Osaka Asahi* Newspaper 2 December). Regarding relocation to temporary housing, while the residents of 'Momokinoura' in Kita Nittochō and 'Kantekiura' in Minami Nittochō decided to accept "as eviction compensation from the landowner, the Sumitomo House, 40 yen per house," the dispute between the landlords and tenants continued for a long period, but of the districts involved in the dispute, in 'Kantekiura' on December 1, the landlord, Nakagawa Kozō and four others agreed to "award" the residents "85 yen each, forgive unpaid rents, and return their key deposits and [the dispute] was amiably resolved." Alternatively, the residents and landlords of 'Momokinoura' remained locked in a dispute and a petition was made to the chief of the Ebisu Police Station requesting his help in resolving the issue.

The above are historical sources that describe the course of the eviction problem, but next let us add to this an analysis of the character of the problem.

### Subsection Two The Positioning and Character of the Problem

As a special feature of the eviction problem, the first point that we can raise is that the problem reflected the multi-tiered relations concerning land, housing, and residence discussed in part one and the eviction disputes themselves developed in a multi-layered fashion. Not limited only to conflict between the Osaka Municipal authorities and residents over the improvement projects, disputes also occurred variously between landowners, namely the Sumitomo House, and residents and between landlords and residents and the problem unfolded in an extremely complex manner. Of the various disputes that occurred, the confrontations between the Sumitomo and residents, beginning with the mediation of the individual known as Imakita in the Nittochō dispute, were resolved through the payment of a legally non-mandatory 'eviction fee' by the Sumitomo to residents targeted for eviction. In addition, we know that some of the disputes between landlords and residents were resolved on the basis of extremely broad concessions made by landlords (The disputes between the

city and residents will be discussed later).

Next, I would like to discuss Imakita Jisaku, the individual who intervened in a number of these disputes. Imakita was a *kyōkaku* who served as an advisor in the Osaka Headquarters of the Greater Japanese Patriotic Society, which was founded in 1920.<sup>45)</sup> He lived in Nishi Ward Honda 2 Banchō and was an individual with a strong connection to the Matsushima pleasure quarter. Also, Imakita was known for his intervention into and mediation of a variety of social disputes and strikes in Osaka during the 1920s and first half of the 1930s.<sup>46)</sup>

Just after resolving the dispute between the Sumitomo and the Nittochō residents, a commentary written by Imakita entitled "Humanity Over Rights" ran in the *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper (19 November 1928). In that commentary, Imakita contrasted, with the social movement of the time, which brandished the relationship of rights and duties, a notion of "human justice," which he argued transcended the relationship between rights and duties and he discussed the resolution of disputes based on that notion as a personal principle. In addition, he indicated that the "monetary gift" provided to the residents of Nittochō by the Sumitomo in order to avoid a dispute was an "insurance fee of the wealthy" and took pride in his personal actions, which prevented a sharpening of feelings of antipathy against the Sumitomo and the emergence of a resident opposition movement by summoning the "generosity" of the Sumitomo.

In addition, to the extent that we can see in newspaper articles, Imakita came to mediate in tenant disputes at the request of the residents. Yet, why did tenement residents seek Imakita's mediation? The first factor that comes to mind is the fact that Imakita mediated in a variety of social disputes was reported with an extremely high frequency in the newspapers.<sup>47)</sup> Next, as a more concrete factor, we can point to the fact that a large number of gamblers and *kyōkaku* linked to the Greater Japanese Patriotic Society lived and operated in the substandard housing districts of Nipponbashi. Namely, in the *Survey Tables of Gambler and Kyōkaku Affiliations* compiled by the Osaka Prefectural Police Department in 1925, the names, addresses, and ages of gambling bosses and

kyōkaku and their subordinates beginning with individuals affiliated with the National Patriotic Society are listed.<sup>48)</sup> According to those survey tables, among the subordinates of the syndicates with spheres of influence in the southern part of Osaka, we can confirm that a number of individuals linked to these syndicates resided in Shitaderachō 3-4 chō me, Minami Nittochō, Kita Nittochō, and Hirotachō. Also, as an individual directly related to the National Patriotic Society, we can see the example of Hosokawa Sakutarō, who was a directly affiliated subordinate of Noguchi Eitarō, the second chairman of the Osaka Headquarters of the National Patriotic Society. Hosokawa lived in Kita Nittochō with his younger brother Shinkichi and of their 58 underlings, four lived in Shitaderachō 3 chō me (including one who lived in the Shin-Hachijukken tenement), two lived in Shitaderachō 4 chō me, 19 lived in Minami Nittochō (including one who lived in the Getayaura tenement and 17 in the Kantekiura tenement), and 11 lived in Kita Nittochō (with one each in the Momokinoura and Mochiyaura tenements). It should also be noted that a labor contractor with a criminal record of “gambling and assault” lived in the Hachijukken Nagaya tenement. In this way, even though there is no single source that directly explains the relationship between the residents and Imakita, the fact that a large number of gamblers and *kyōkaku* lived in the substandard housing districts of Nipponbashi can be seen as a piece of evidence that points to the existence of conditions that explain why an individual like Imakita would intervene in these sort of disputes.

Moreover, when we consider the other examples of disputes in which Imakita was involved, we cannot ignore the significance of the fact that, as a condition of his involvement, the Osaka municipal authorities or Sumitomo House had to be involved as participants in the dispute in question. Imakita also intervened in the Osaka Municipal Railroad Dispute and the Konoike Reclaimed Rice Paddy Tenant Dispute, but in all cases he “assisted” in finding a “resolution” to the dispute that was in line with the demands of the government authorities or social authority involved.<sup>49)</sup> He intervened in the disputes at the request of the residents, distorted the residents’ demands and assertions

of rights and as a result, it should be said that the historical role of mediators like him was to suppress or hold down those demands and assertions of rights in place of the authority involved in the dispute.

Lastly, I would like to examine the character of the struggle over the improvement projects between the Osaka municipal authorities and the residents. In conjunction with the examination of this issue, there is the problem of how we view the character of the Osaka Municipal government’s improvement projects. First, what we have to consider is the problem of how the way of life of the residents of districts targeted for improvement changed during and after the execution of these projects. The changes that occurred in the residents’ way of life in the period around which these projects were carried out are examined in Mizuuchi’s aforementioned article and an article by Kadota Kosaku and based on an analysis in a separate article of mine, which was in turn grounded in Mizuuchi and Kadota’s analyses, I will present only a conclusion.<sup>50)</sup> About two-thirds of improved dwellings that were completed were occupied by in-district resident households that had resided in the districts in question before reform projects were carried out and accompanying a changeover of one part of the resident population, as a whole, a trend of standardization in terms of the income level of the residents was seen. In addition, there were also improvement successes in a broad sense, including the results achieved by Tennōji Citizens’ Center projects, and as a result of those successes, a major improvement was seen in basic levels of education and health of local residents. Significant changes were not seen in the occupational composition of the residents. However, when we recall the various conditions that formed the basis of the “ease of living” found in these districts during the pre-reform tenement era, we can surmise that the moving of one-third of traditional residents out of these districts and the disappearance of relations of subleasing and subletting brought about a significant transformation in local social relations.

Moreover, in terms of social relations, that which we can say was a major change was that through these improvement projects, the multi-layered relations linked to the particular

dwelling type, the back-alley row-house tenement, found in these districts disappeared and the complex and multi-layered relations that had previously existed were reorganized into a basic form in which the Osaka city authorities, which became both a land owner and housing manager, and the lower class residents, who were the tenants, directly confronted one other. To the Osaka city authorities, which had since the Rice Riots sought to proactively reform these areas and penetrate area society through new forms of local governance, the execution of this housing improvement project, in conjunction with the Citizens' Center projects, was significant in that marked for the time being the completion of the preparation of the various conditions necessary for the direct management of the city's urban lower classes. Alternatively, it can be said that to the Sumitomo House, which had been linked to those residents and embroiled in a series of eviction disputes due to their ownership of land in the districts targeted for improvement, this shift meant that they were no longer in a position in which they were forced to stand directly in the path of the arrowhead of the citizens' movement. Therefore, it is perhaps possible to view these housing improvement projects as a mechanism that helped to facilitate the establishment of a new, realigned local governing structure, something that the Osaka Municipal authorities had been working to achieve since the Rice Riots.

The completion of improvement projects and the resolution of the eviction disputes can be understood as events that allowed Osaka to achieve a dramatic local governmental reorganization and accompanying the improvement of the residential environment of the districts targeted, can be said to be projects which realized the material eradication of substandard housing, which was considered from a moral, public safety, and hygienic perspective to be a primary factor which destabilized local order and stability.

If that is the case, what sort of character can we associate with the resident movement that arose in opposition to these improvement projects? Regarding this point, we can catch a glimpse of the demands made by residents involved in these movements in the claims of Hachijukken Nagaya residents, which were

discussed in our examination of the first dispute. Namely, the concrete aims expressed by the movement leave us with the sense that they were limited to the improvement of the conditions of relocation, including a reconsideration of the eviction compensation amount and temporary relocation site, but included in the claims of the residents in this dispute as well was a content that criticized the life-destroying aspects of improvement projects. On this point, we can see that inherent in the Hachijukken Nagaya residents' movement in Osaka was a character, which was shared with the residents' movement introduced by Mizuuchi that arose in opposition to improvement projects in the Shimo Okuda district of Nagoya city.<sup>51)</sup> That shared character can be said to have been an expression of the fact that the existence of an ease of living based on ways of life and tenement communities that the residents themselves as families had built was to the residents more valuable than anything else, including reformed housing.

In addition, as I noted in part one, the subjective participation of the residents in these movements had its background in the rise of citizens' movements during the Taishō period and in addition can be said to have been linked through new developments in local governance to the factors which expanded residents' points of contact with municipal government and participation in mass activities. However, alternatively, the various multi-layered disputes, which arose concurrently, as shown by the fact that those disputes were accompanied by a process in which the residents themselves invited the intervention of *kyōkaku*, were limited by a number of historical conditions and as a whole came to assume a complex character which belies a simple, straightforward historical assessment.

Now, the course of events leading up to a final resolution of the disputes over eviction between the Osaka municipal authorities and tenement residents is unclear. However, as noted above, because the projects were completed only after being delayed, in the end, the residents were compelled to consent to the evictions and reform. Because historical documents, which show part of the content of this resolution, exist, let us examine briefly the

resolution of one such dispute.

The area in question is the western side of Nipponbashi-ji and the period is 1938, the war era (both of which are different from the above disputes). An eviction compensation contract from the period of the eviction of the residents of the Gokaiato Minamiura district of Naniwa Ward Higashi Sekiyachō has been preserved as an official Osaka municipal government document.<sup>52)</sup> I will leave a detailed introduction and examination of this document to another article and will only offer a conclusion. First, as in the case of Hachijukken Nagaya, at the time of the evictions, there were some residents who were not relocated to Osaka city-designated temporary housing and already constructed reformed housing. In fact, 30% of all evicted persons moved to the Nipponbashi area and 30% moved to other areas. In other words, a total of 60% of all the evicted residents were not relocated to designated municipal temporary housing and already constructed reformed housing. Second, when we examine the Eviction Compensation Contract, which is included in the same set of documents, the eviction compensation amounts varied widely and although we cannot easily sort out these varying amounts, as a whole the median amount of compensation per household was over 50 yen and also in many cases, in addition to a pure eviction payment, a moving payment was tacked on for tatami mats and household articles.<sup>53)</sup>

While it is unclear whether or not the actual conditions of compensation, which are shown in this example, were the same in the case of the districts on the eastern side of Nipponbashi which were targeted for eviction during the first half of the improvement project, the actual eviction compensation paid to evicted persons by the city authorities, which included moving costs for household items, can be said as a whole to have exceeded of course the median 25 yen amount per household projected in the original budget and the 50 yen amount which was proposed during the negotiation process. Here, it is possible to presume that this level of compensation reflects a definite achievement on the part of the residents' movement. Namely, in terms of results, while the residents' movement did not effect a change in the city's execution of the projects, not only did their efforts have a

real impact in producing delays in the execution of improvement projects, but also it can be said that definite alterations in conditions of relocation were also seen.

In the eviction disputes, the residents' demands, on the basis of various historical conditions, were not necessarily attained in a pure form and because of that fact the process of development and conclusion of these disputes cannot be easily characterized. In terms of results as well, in the projects as a whole, a result was not achieved which reflected the residents' will. However, at the root of the process, as I noted above, it can be said that a fundamental conflict between the residents and the Osaka municipal government over life in the areas targeted for improvement existed and therein lies the significance of the eviction problem.

## Conclusion

In this article, I have examined the structure of the lives of the residents of substandard housing districts in the Nipponbashi area from the perspective of the circumstances of their housing, labor, and community and at the same time have discussed and analyzed the various residents' movements, which reached an apex in the eviction disputes of the late 1920s, in light of the opposition between those movements and the local governmental apparatus. In this last section, I would like to summarize the points covered in this chapter.

First, I will discuss the circumstances of the lives of the residents. The foundation of the lives of the residents of the substandard housing districts of the Nipponbashi area lied in family-based households and the community relations that linked the residents of a given tenement together. At the same time, the socio-economic structure found in these communities had a multi-layered character, which was reflected in relations of housing ownership. Namely, in these communities there existed a hierarchical structure which had at its apex the landowner class, which included the Sumitomo House, and then in descending order, the landlords, the front-street dwelling strata, and at the bottom, the back-alley tenement-dwelling, lower-class residents. Also,

in terms of occupation, the major forms of employment were of the 'lower-class' variety, such as the multifold employment types related to waste collection and management. Some of the residents of these districts were employed in modern, mechanized factory-based employments. In addition, there were also some residents, primarily non-household heads, who were employed in a diverse array of non-mechanized, household-based industrial occupations. Moreover, the occupational structure of the residents of these areas possessed a definite connection to the mixed residential-industrial form of commercial and industrial development in the districts in which they lived and as a whole it can be said that the occupational structure and form of commercial and industrial development in the areas in question collectively formed a single, integrated social structure.

Second, I will discuss the residents' movements and local governance in these areas. The Rice Riots and the participation of the lower class residents in them was a major point of departure for the development of various citizens' movements and labor movements in the Nipponbashi area. From the time of the Rice Riots through the 1920s, we can confirm the existence of a variety of examples of social and labor movements, including anti-pollution movements, tenant disputes, and labor movements with which the residents of the Nipponbashi area were connected and in particular, the tenant disputes reflected the aforementioned hierarchical structure reflected in area housing relations. In addition, these tenant disputes reflected the range of contradictions in the Nipponbashi area linked to the substandard housing eviction problem. Moreover, it should be noted that concurrent with the above movements, the Osaka city government, the police, and local elites joined together and a new form of local governance began to develop. That new form allowed the authorities and the local elite to intervene more deeply than ever before into the lives of lower class residents and developed in conjunction with efforts undertaken to materially improve the lives of Osaka's lower classes. In addition, in one respect the form assumed by this new governmental framework reflected the demands of the residents. In addition, it can be assumed that the development of this new form of

governance became an opportunity for mass action and the attainment of rights. In this way, the rise of residents' movements and the development of a new form of local governance possessed reciprocal oppositions and at the same time while mutually permeating and stimulating each other, these movements and this new form of local governance can be thought to have promoted changes in and the reorganization of local society in Nipponbashi.

Third, the substandard housing eviction issue can be identified as one point of convergence in the above opposition between the residents' movement and the local governmental apparatus. In that issue, the disputes that accompanied these improvement projects reflected a range of historical conditions, which had their origin in the hierarchical housing structure in the Nipponbashi area and developed in an extremely complex manner. However, in addition to the demands of the residents, who sought to preserve, as something indispensable, the community life of the back-alley tenements, which they themselves had cultivated, at the root of these disputes, there was a fundamental conflict with the Osaka city authorities, who, in addition to carrying out the material reform of the residential environment in which the lower classes lived, sought to reorganize the districts targeted for improvement in a form which was predicated upon the direct management of the lives of the residents. Due to a variety of factors, in terms of results, the residents' movements were unable to stop the municipal government-initiated projects from being carried out, but through the 1920s the residents of the Nipponbashi area did accumulate a definite wealth of movement experience and it can be said that their experiences reflected the growth of an urban lower class which became aware of its own life interests. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that following the completion of the improvement projects as well, the fundamental opposition between the city authorities and the residents continued to exist as one of the internal contradictions that propelled change in the Nipponbashi area.

The above points are the conclusions of this article. Lastly, the issues that this article has left unexamined are many. The investigation and confirmation of a number of key issues,

including the series of events surrounding the resolution of the eviction problem, remains insufficiently executed and it is vital that these matters be taken up in future research as well. Although I will examine this in another article, an analysis of the historical character of the Osaka municipal improvement projects themselves is certainly also essential.

## Notes

- 1) Ōsaka shiyakusho, ed. 1953. *Shōwa Ōsaka-shi shi*, Volume 6.
- 2) Kiso Junko. 1987. "Nipponbashi hōmen Kamagasaki suramu ni okeru rōdō•seikatsu katei." Sugihara Kaoru and Tamai Kingo, ed. *Taishō Ōsaka suramu: mo hitotsu no Nihon kindai shi*. Tokyo: Shinhyōron.
- 3) Mizuuchi Toshio. 1984. "Senzen daitoshi ni okeru hinkon kaisō no kamitsu kyojū chiku to sono kyojū kankyō seibi jigyō—Shōwa 2 nen no furyō jūtaku chiku kairyō hō." *Jinbun chiri*, Volume 36, Issue 4.
- 4) Saga Ashita. 1995. "1920 nen dai no toshi chūki shihai to shakai kōzō—Ōsaka-fu hōmen iinkai no katsudō o megutte." *Rekishi kagaku*. Volume 140-141.
- 5) Kiso Junko. 1987. "Nipponbashi hōmen Kamagasaki suramu ni okeru rōdō•seikatsu katei." Sugihara Kaoru and Tamai Kingo, ed. *Taishō Ōsaka suramu: mo hitotsu no Nihon kindai shi*. Tokyo: Shinhyōron, p. 61-65. In 1923, the quarter names, Nipponbashi-1 Higashi 1 chō me and Nipponbashi-2 Higashi 2 chō me, were officially changed to Kita Nittōchō and Minami Nittōchō.
- 6) Ibid, 61-65.
- 7) When necessary, *Mitsujū chiku kyojūsha no rōdō to seikatsu* (Rōdō chōsa hōkoku 36), a survey report compiled by the Osaka Municipal Social Department Survey Section concerning the tenement in question, is abbreviated "*Mitsujū chiku chōsa*." However, because in addition to Hachijukken Nagaya this survey also includes information concerning the Hirotachō area, commonly known as Shanoura, when necessary, I have also touched on conditions in the surveyed sections of Hirotachō. According to the above survey, in the 1920s there were 76 households in Shanoura and the population was 346.
- 8) In the Shanoura area of Hirotachō, over 60% of the households were nuclear family households and only 3% were singleton households.
- 9) Refer to Harada Keiichi. 1985. "Chian, eisei, hinmin—1886 nen Ōsaka no 'shiku kaisei,'" *Machikaneyama Ronsō*, 19 and a 1997 monograph by the same author, *Nihon kindai toshishi kenkyū*. Shibunkaku Shuppan, which also contains as a single chapter a version of the 1985 article.
- 10) According to an article by Honma Keiichirō entitled 'Kamagasaki shōshi shiron,' which appeared in the 1993 Kamagasaki Shiryō Center edited volume, *Kamagasaki: Rekishi to genzai*. San-ichi Shobō, at the beginning of the 1920s in Kamagasaki while half of the occupants of local flophouses were singletons, a distinction was seen in the flophouses themselves between those that catered to families and those that catered to singletons.
- 11) Regarding this point, Murashima Yoriyuki wrote the following (see Murashima Yoriyuki. 1918. *Donzoko seikatsu*. Bungadō, p. 50-51). "In general the sort of people in the Hachijukken Nagaya vicinity are somewhat lower than those of Hirotachō area, yet when compared with Tobita, they are still higher. Therefore, it seems as though there is a sort of pattern in which ordinary poor people first live in Hirota, then they fall to Hachijukken Nagaya, and once things have gotten even worse they escape to Tobita."
- 12) On this point, I referred to Nakagawa Kiyoshi's 1985 book *Nihon no toshi keasō* (published by Keisō shobō). However, regarding Nakagawa's research, when we look the character of local residents that he describes, while his work is useful in that it sheds light on the issue of the familial forms of poor families as an important element, as with the problems that I mentioned concerning my earlier work on lower class society, it should be noted that there methodological problems with Nakagawa's approach.
- 13) This point also applies to the Shanoura tenement in Hirotachō and while over 80% of the 76 household heads surveyed in the Shanoura tenement were born outside of the city of Osaka, over 70% of male non-household heads surveyed in the area were born inside the city.
- 14) On this point, please refer to page 89 to 92 of Kiso's aforementioned article.
- 15) Ōsaka-fu keisatsubu eiseika. 1920. *Ōsaka-fu boken eisei chōsa hōkoku*, Volume 3. The above document was a survey that was carried out by Osaka Prefecture focusing on Hachijukken Nagaya and neighboring Shin Hachijukken Nagaya. Below, this survey is abbreviated '1920 Survey.'
- 16) When we look at the percentage of absentee land owners in the area as a whole as of 1912, for example, in the case of Shitaderachō 3 chō me and 4 chō me, 75% and 81% of local landlords did not live in the area and when compared with the figure of 44% for the front-street quarters of Nipponbashi 1-5 chō me, the percentage was much higher (these

- figures are compiled from the 1912 land register *Osaka chiseki chizu dai-san ben tochi daichō no bu*).
- 17) Among those land owners listed in table 1, the large-scale land owner in prewar Tennōji village, Takatsu Kyūemon, for example, worked as a sugar merchant and he also had links to a number of land and trust companies and he was an individual who served as the first chief representative of the Sugar Exchange following its establishment in 1925. In addition, Itō Chōbe'e of Kōzuchō 2 ban chō worked as a sundries merchant and during the Taishō period he served as a representative of the Tennōji Public Assets Management Committee (the above was taken from the 1916 book *Osaka no kōjin* by Yamamoto Tōshū).
  - 18) Ōsaka-shi sangyōbu chōsaka. 1935. *Osaka no buriki seihin kogyō*.
  - 19) Of these, for example, in the case of the paper box manufacturing, the majority of producers were small-scale independently-run home industrial-style operations with less than five employees and the standard composition of the labor force of these operations was 2 or 3 laborers, most of whom were apprentices, and included the operator himself and his family. The production process was generally carried out by a single machine (as of 1931 about 40% of operations had introduced motive power into the production process) and handiwork and at the 1927 it was standard that the median daily wage for a male laborer was 1 yen 55 sen (Ōsaka-shi sangyōbu chōsaka 1933. *Osaka no kami seihin kogyō*).
  - 20) Murashima Yoriyuki. 1919. *Seikatsu juan*. Bungadō, p. 319-320.
  - 21) Tōkyō-shi shakaikyoku. 1935. *Kami kuzu hiroi (bataya) chōsa*, p. 1.
  - 22) *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* 1917.7.8 (Evening Edition).
  - 23) Ōsaka-shi shakaibu chōsaka. 1922. *Jōyō rōdōsha no seikatsu (Rōdō chōsa hōkoku 16)*, p. 165-180.
  - 24) Ōsaka shiyakusho shōkōka. 1922. *Osaka-shi shōkō meikan: Taishō 12 nendo yō*. This document contained statistics for over 17,000 of all of the commercial and industrial enterprises in the city of Osaka that paid operating taxes of over 50 yen in 1921. However, there are some operations that were overlooked or about which information had yet to be gathered and recorded.
  - 25) The argument here is premised on the idea that the labor form in question was one characterized by a proximity of the worker's dwelling and employment site, but according to the *Mitsujū chiku chōsa*, only 55% of persons with employments in Hachijukken Nagaya and 69% of persons with employments in the Hirotachō Shanoura tenement worked at places within 10 *chō* (1090 meters) of their place of residence.
  - 26) Employing the same method as in table 4, from the Ōsaka-shi sangyōbu compiled document, *Osaka-shi kōjō ichiran* (a document published in 1930 containing information concerning factories employing more than five full-time laborers as of 1928) we can identify 85 factories in the areas in question, but of these 85, 13 were established before 1900, 14 between 1901 and 1910, 35 between 1911 and 1920, and 24 between 1921 and 1928. Therefore, we can determine that there were a large number of factories established between the 1910s and 1920s (over 60% of these factories were established during the Taishō period at a median rate of 3.5 new factories per year). Also, from the same document we can determine the number of laborers employed full-time in these factories and the scale of each factory. Enterprises employing five laborers were most numerous at 51 (60%). In addition, there were 19 factories employing ten laborers, six factories employing 20 laborers, six factories employing 30 laborers, one factory employing 50 laborers, one factory employing 70 laborers, and one factory employing 100 laborers. Lacking large factories, it can be surmised that conditions were such that in the areas in question small-scale local factories developed in a mixed residential-industrial form (For concrete information concerning the development of these small-scale local factories please refer to *Honshi ni okeru fujyō jutaku chiku zushū*, a document published in 1938 by the Osaka Municipal Social Department).
  - 27) This quotation is taken from an Osaka Military Police document entitled *Kome sōdō ni okeru Osaka kenpeitai rekshi no gaiyō* printed in Tsuda Hideo. 1981. "Kome sōdō" no kenkyū shiryō no shōkai." *Kansai daigaku bungakubu ronshū*, Volume 30 Issue 4. In addition, regarding the rice riots as a whole in Osaka, please refer to Inoue Kiyoshi and Watanabe Toru, ed. 1959. *Kome sōdō no kenkyū*, Volume 2. Tokyo: Yūhikaku Publishing Company and Shinshū Ōsaka-shi shi hensan iinkai. 1994. *Shinshū Osaka-shi shi*, Volume 6, etc.
  - 28) Please refer to note 26.
  - 29) Refer to Matsushita Takaaki. 1987. "1920 nendai no shakuya sōgi chōtei to toshi chiiki shakai: Ōsaka-shi o chūshin ni." *Nihon shi kenkyū*, Issue 299.
  - 30) In the Shanoura tenements of Hirotachō, in addition to geta artisans there were also many clog thong and hemp sandal makers and if both are added together, they collectively account for 39% of all employed persons in the Shanoura area. On this point, in addition to the aforementioned article by Kiso, refer also to Fukuhara Hiroyuki's article, "Toshi buraku jūmin no rōdō=seikatsu article: Nishihama chiku o chūshin ni," in the aforementioned edited



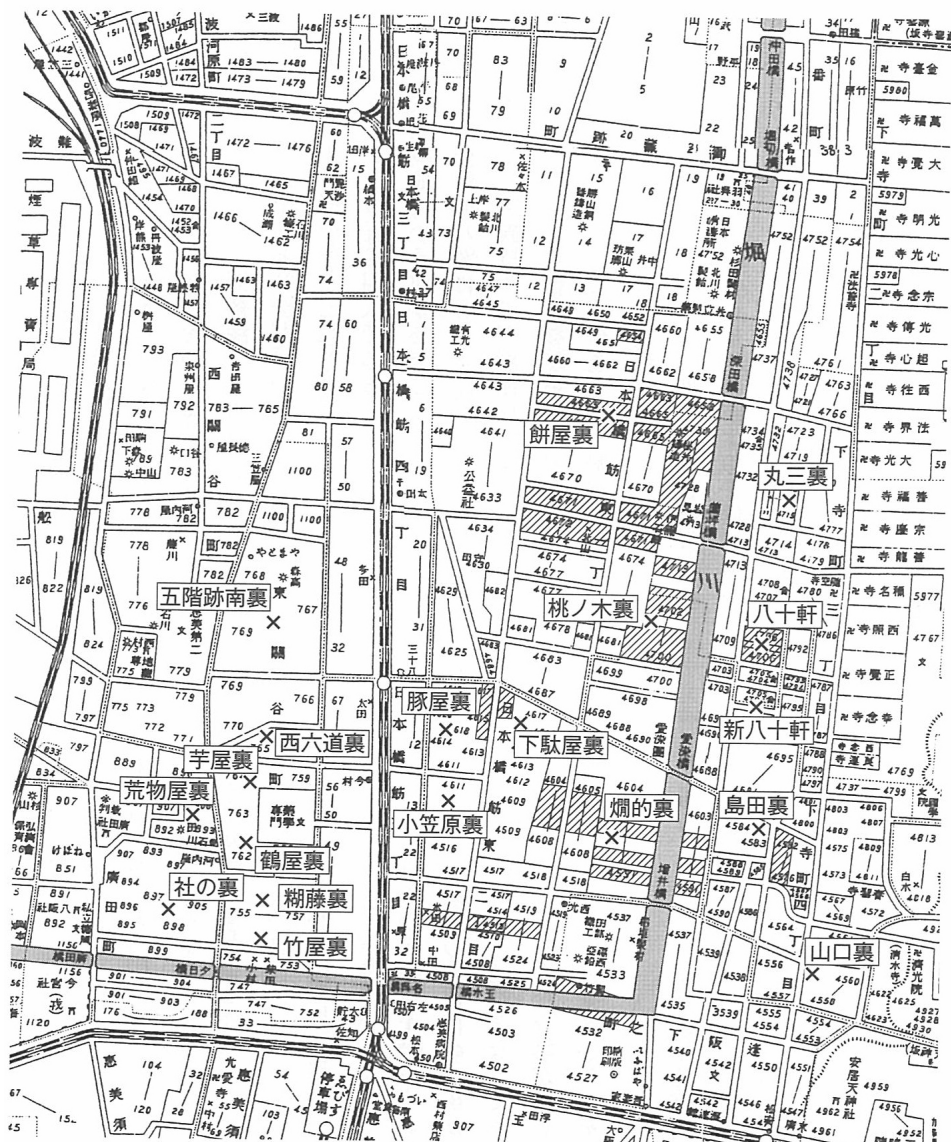
- volume *Taishō, Ōsaka, suramu*.
- 31) In addition, according to pages 20 and 21 of the Shōwa 5 *Osaka-shi rodō nenpō*, in the areas in question in January of the following year as well, there was a dispute in opposition to a proposed wage decrease in which 122 laborers at 25 factories participated, but in the end a settlement was reached in which the laborers accepted a “10 percent wage decrease.”
  - 32) Regarding the Ōe Savings Encouragement Association, refer to pages 304 and 305 of the *Mitsujū chiku chōsa* and pages 40 and 41 of the aforementioned 1920 Osaka Prefectural survey.
  - 33) Ōsaka-fu shakaika. 1920. *Osaka hōmen ūn dai-ikkai jigyo nenpō*, p. 128. In addition, refer also to Ōsaka-fu. 1958. *Osaka-fu minsei ūn seido yonjū nen shi*, p. 98-109.
  - 34) Yasumoto was a land owner who lived in Nipponbashisuji 1 chō me (subsequently Kita Nittōchō) and from 1907 he served as a ward councilman and from 1909 he also served as a representative of the Tennoji Ward Assets Management Council. His family business was associated with the transportation trade (Yamamoto Tōshū. *Osaka no kojūn*, p. 1028-1029).
  - 35) Regarding the activities of the *Osaka shōmin shinyō kumiai*, refer to *Osaka-fu minsei ūn seido yonjū nen shi*.
  - 36) *Mitsujū chiku chōsa*, p. 304. In addition, in the aforementioned *Osaka Mainichi* article, as of the end of August 1922, the total savings figures for the districts in question was reported to be “over 20,000 yen.”
  - 37) The above is cited from the *Mitsujū chiku chōsa*, p. 303-305.
  - 38) According to the *Mitsujū chiku chōsa*, when the health condition of 347 residents of Hachijukken Nagaya was surveyed, individuals afflicted with diseases numbered 213 (57% of all those surveyed) and as for the types of diseases with which the residents were afflicted, the most numerous were eye diseases afflicting primarily children, including trachoma (113 individuals) and conjunctivitis (32 individuals), etc. (*Mitsujū chiku chōsa*, p. 104-110).
  - 39) As for the actual results achieved by these activities, when we look at the state of things in 1927, in terms of the provision of small-scale enterprise capital, during the same year 3,335 yen had been provided to 43 borrowers performing occupations that included machine-based sewing, the buying and selling of recycled and second-hand materials, and scrap peddling and the amount of money recovered rose to nearly 2,703 yen collected from 146 borrowers. In addition, in terms of medical treatment activities, including medical examinations and treatments in a range of specialties, trachoma examinations and treatments, and pediatric dentistry examinations and treatments, during one year, examinations were carried out on a total of 69,029 patients (Ōsaka-shi shakaibu. 1927. *Osaka-shi Tennōji shūminkan jigyo nenpō* (Shōwa 2)).
  - 40) An examination of the improvement projects carried out by the Osaka municipal authorities themselves can be found in the Ōsaka-shi shi hensenjō edited article “Ōsaka-shi no furyō jūtaku kairyō jigyo” in the June 1998 edition of the journal *Osaka no rekishi*.
  - 41) The floor space of the reformed housing units in the city of Osaka was 8.75 *tsubo* and as a standard the units contained two rooms, one six *jō* and the other three *jō*, a kitchen, and a private toilet (Ōsaka-shi shakaibu. 1929. *Osaka-shi jūtaku nenpō* (Shōwa 3)).
  - 42) In addition, on this point, Professor Mizuuchi identifies as the cause disparities in industrial development between each of the cities and problems in the relationship between projects aimed at outcaste districts and general social projects (p.14-16), but I think there is room for further analysis.
  - 43) The above course of events is outlined on the basis of passages contained in the various editions of the Ōsaka-shi shakaibu edited *Osaka-shi jūtaku nenpō* that were published compiled and published between 1929 and 1934, Ōsaka shiyakusho. 1953. *Shōwa Osaka-shi shi*, Volume 6, and Ōsaka shikai jimukyoku, ed. 1953. *Osaka shikai shi*, Volume 22, etc.
  - 44) In addition, the eviction of the residents of Shitaderachō 3 chō me (Hachijukken and Shin-Hachijukken) was completed in December 1929 but of the 206 households that were temporarily evicted, 137 households (67%) were relocated to temporary housing and 69 households were “relocated variously to places of their choice” (Ōsaka-shi shakaibu. 1930. *Osaka-shi jūtaku nenpō Shōwa go nen ban*, p. 11-12.
  - 45) The term *kyōkaku* refers to a gangster or underworld figure often involved in gambling, prostitution, racketeering, and violence with a reputation in popular culture of struggling against the strong and helping the weak.
  - 46) I plan to discuss Imakita in separate article.
  - 47) In the article that introduced Imakita, it was reported that “Individuals from every sort of social background thronged to his residence in Honda from morning until night and came to borrow his astute knowledge of mediation” and that “His residence was one great social problem resolution center.” (Kawabata Itarō. 1928. *Shōwa shintai jinbutsu hyōden*. Shinjinbutsu Hyōronsha, p. 349-350).
  - 48) The full text is printed in Fujita Gorō. 1980. *Ninkyō hyaku nen shi*. Sasakura Shuppansha, p. 519-641. On this point, I have received the guidance of Mr. Iida Naoki.
  - 49) I would like to examine this issue in detail as well on another occasion.

- 50) Kadota Kōsaku. 1987. "Jūtaku mondai to toshi shihai: 1910-1920 nendai no Ōsaka-shi o chūshin ni." *Hisutoria*, Issue 114.
- 51) Refer to pages 17 to 20 in the aforementioned article by Professor Mizuuchi.
- 52) Ōsaka-shi keirikyoku yōchika. 1938-1939. "Gokaiato minamiura furyō jūtaku tachinoki hoshō keiyakusho (this document is stored in the Osaka Municipal Archives). Regarding this document, please refer to the article mentioned in note 40.
- 53) The compensation amount in the case of an

ordinary household was, as the most frequently adopted standard, 70 yen, but the actual amount could vary widely yen highest depending on the specific situation. In some cases the compensation provided was as low as 30 yen, whereas in others it was as high as 900 yen. However, it can be surmised that in such situations landlords were also involved. For more detailed information about the compensation paid to evicted families please refer to the article cited in note 40.

**Map 1 Locations of substandard housing in Nipponbashi and its neighboring area**

Notes: This map is based on the 1918 *Banchiri saishin Ōsaka shigai chizu*, a map included in *Furyō jūtaku ni kansuru shiryō*, a set of documents compiled around 1925 by the Osaka Municipal Social Department. This documentary set is currently stored in the Seki Hajime Collection at the Osaka City University Media Center. Sites marked with an x represent substandard housing districts. Also, the sections of the map marked in black represent land parcels owned by Sumitomo Kichizaemon as of 1912, as indicated in the Yoshie Shūgadō, ed. *Ōsaka chiseki chizu dai-san ben tochi daichō no bu* (1912).



**Table 1 Landowners in Slum Districts on the East Side of Nipponbashisuji**  
 (Area names and locations are cited from the *Kamitsu jutaku chiku chosa (c. 1925)* and the landowners' names are from the)

Area Name	Location	Landowner in 1912
Hachijiken	Shitaderachō 3 chō me 50	Sumitomo Kichizaemon (Minami Ward Unagidani Higashi no chō)
Shin Hachijiken	Shitaderachō 3 chō me 58	Takatsu Kyūemon (Higashinari County Tennōji Village)
Marusan no ura	Shitaderachō 3 chō me 43-46	Murata Eijirō (On-site)
Shimada no ura	Shitaderachō 4 chō me 43, 69, 71	Nakamura Moto (On-site)
Yamaguchi no ura	Shitaderachō 4 chō me 32	Kosuge Hideji (Minami Ward Tennōji Reininchō)
Momoki no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 25	Toyota Jisuke (Minami Ward Kōzuchō 2 ban chō)
Momoki no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 29, 31	Sumitomo Kichizaemon (Minami Ward Unagidani Higashi no chō)
Momoki no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 30	Itō Chōbe'e (Minami Ward Kōzu 2 ban chō)
Momoki no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 52	Nakagawa Ai (Minami Ward Nipponbashisuji 4 chō me)
Momoki no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 63, 66, 67	Nagamura Zengi (Higashi Ward Kyūhōjichō 1 chō me)
Momoki no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 63, 66, 67	Nakata Tasaburō (Minami Ward Kōzuchō 4 ban chō)
Mochiya no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 18, 78	Sumitomo Kichizaemon (Minami Ward Unagidani Higashi no chō)
Mochiya no ura	Kita Nittrōchō 84, 85	Kokubun Minosuke (On-site)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 6, 9, 12	Sumitomo Kichizaemon (Minami Ward Unagidani Higashi no chō)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 7	Oginō Yūjirō (Minami Ward Tennōji Reininchō)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 8	Ōe Shinjirō (Minami Ward Tennōji Reininchō)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 10	Ōura Gorōbe'e (Minami Ward Chausuyamachō)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 11	Sugita Iwamatsu (Minami Ward Shiochō)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 25, 29, 30	Sumitomo Kichizaemon (Minami Ward Unagidani Higashi no chō)
Kanteki-ura	Minami Nittrōchō 25, 29, 30	Yamaguchi Tamenosuke (Minami Ward Tennōji Reininchō)
Getaya no ura	Minami Nittrōchō 148	Sumitomo Kichizaemon (Minami Ward Unagidani Higashi no chō)
Getaya no ura	Minami Nittrōchō 148	Sanada Kichinosuke (Minami Ward Nishihama Nakadōri 2 chō me)
Getaya no ura	Minami Nittrōchō 189	Takada Heisuke (On-site)

**Table 2 The Occupational Composition of the Residents of *Hachitjiken Nagaya***  
 (Compiled from Ōsaka-shi shakaibu, ed. *Mitsujiri chiku kyōjūsha no rōdō to saikatsu* (1930))2009/2/17

	# (%)	# /%	# /%
<b>Industrial Occupations</b>	<b>18(19)</b>	<b>83(53)</b>	<b>101(40)</b>
Ceramics/Glass		2(1)	2(1)
Metals/Machinery	5(5)	42(27)	47(19)
Chemicals	1(1)	5(3)	6(2)
Leather		1(1)	1(0)
Textiles		1(1)	1(0)
Paper Manufacturing and Printing		6(4)	6(2)
Wood-Based Production	2(2)	1(1)	3(1)
Food and Drink		13(8)	13(5)
Construction	1(1)		1(0)
Electricity and Gas	4(4)	1(1)	5(2)
Other	5(5)	11(7)	16(6)
<b>Commercial Occupations</b>	<b>3(3)</b>	<b>12(8)</b>	<b>15(6)</b>
<b>Transportation/Conveyance</b>	<b>5(5)</b>	<b>1(1)</b>	<b>6(2)</b>
<b>Civil Service and Self-Employment</b>	<b>4(4)</b>	<b>6(4)</b>	<b>10(4)</b>
Health Care	2(2)	1(1)	3(1)
Customer Service/Entertainment	2(2)	5(3)	7(3)
<b>Other Employments</b>	<b>65(69)</b>	<b>53(34)</b>	<b>118(47)</b>
Used and Second-Hand Articles	46(49)	49(31)	95(38)
Day Labor	19(20)	4(3)	23(9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>94(100)</b>	<b>156(100)</b>	<b>250(100)</b>

**Table 3 Tin Plate and Toy Factories in the Nipponbashi Area**  
(Compiled from Ōsaka-shi sangyōbu, ed. *Ōsaka no buriki seihin kōgyō* (1935))

Name	Product	Location
Hirota Hisakichi	Normal Toys	Minami Ward Okura-Atochō 9
Hirota Hisakichi	Normal Toys	Minami Ward Okura-Atochō 9
Kobayashi Factory	Small Toys	Minami Ward Nipponbashisuji 3-81
Moriya Yasuyoshi	Small Toys	Tennōji Ward Kita Nittochō 145

**Table 4 Commercial and Industrial Enterprises in the Nipponbashi Area (1922)**  
(Compiled from Ōsaka shiyakusho, ed. *Ōsaka-shi shokō meikan* (1922))

Okura-Atochō	Shitaderachō 3-4 chō me	Kita Nittochō-Minami Nittochō	Higashi Sekiyachō-Nishi Sekiyachō	Nipponbashisuji 3-5 chō me	Hirotachō
Footwear (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 22	Rice (Wholesale-Retail) 7	Rice (Retail) 9	Rice (Retail) 8	Clothing (Wholesale-Retail) 9	Machinery (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 3
Machinery-Metals (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 4	Second-Hand Articles-Refuse (Production-Wholesale) 5	Machinery (Production) 4	Metalware (Production-Wholesale) 4	Pawn Brokers 9	Stone (Production-Contracting-Wholesale) 3
Second-Hand Clothes (Production-Retail) 4	Metalware (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 3	Lumber (Wholesale-Retail) 4	Glass (Production-Wholesale) 4	Rice (Wholesale-Retail) 6	Refuse (Wholesale) 1
Soap (Production-Production) 3	Confektions (Production-Wholesale) 3	Footwear (Wholesale-Retail-Production-Processing) 3	Paper Boxes (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 3	Confektions (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 5	Rice (Wholesale) 1
Lumber (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 2	Machinery (Production-Processing) 2	Second-Hand Articles-Refuse (Wholesale-Retail) 3	Machinery (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 2	Rice Wine (Wholesale-Retail) 5	Rice Wine (Wholesale-Retail) 1
Charcoal-Firewood (Wholesale) 2	Pawn Brokers-Money Lenders 2	Confektions (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 3		Eating and Drinking Establishments 5	Lumber (Wholesale-Retail) 1
Toys (Production) 1	Footwear (Production-Wholesale) 2	Pawn Brokers 3	Rope (Wholesale-Retail) 2	Second-Hand Clothing (Wholesale-Retail) 4	Firewood-Charcoal (Wholesale-Retail) 1

Rickshaws-Rickshaw Parts (Production-Retail) 1	Pharmaceuticals (Retail) 2	Firewood-Charcoal (Wholesale-Retail) 2	Printing 1	Footwear (Wholesale-Retail) 3	Sundries (Production-Wholesale) 1
<b>Okura-Atochō</b>	<b>Shitaderachō</b> 3-4 chō me	<b>Kita Nittōchō-Mimami Nittōchō</b>	<b>Higashi Sekiyachō-Nishi Sekiyachō</b>	<b>Nipponbashiuji</b> 3-5 chō me	<b>Hirotachō</b>
Glass Refuse (Wholesale) 1	Rickshaws (Production-Wholesale) 1	Knit (Production-Processing) 2 Fabric	Beef (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Metalware (Production-Wholesale) 3	
Clothing (Production-Wholesale) 1	Glass (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Soy Sauce (Wholesale-Retail) 2	Rice Wine (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Lumber (Wholesale-Retail) 3	
Ceramic Ware (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Rope (Wholesale) 1	Pharmaceuticals (Production-Wholesale-Retail) 2	Stone Materials (Retail) 1	Paper Boxes (Wholesale-Retail) 3	
	Flowers (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Button Raw Materials 1	Second-Hand Articles (Intermediary) 1	Pharmaceuticals (Retail) 2	
	Rice Wine (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Automobile Parts (Retail) 1	Lumber (Contractor) 1	Futons (Retail) 2	
	Noodle Shops 1	Glass (Wholesale) 1	Pharmaceuticals (Wholesale) 1	Sugar (Wholesale-Retail) 2	
		Rope (Wholesale) 1	Bamboo Materials (Wholesale-Retail) 1	Matting (Production-Retail) 2	
			Firewood-Charcoal (Retail) 1	Automobile Parts (Wholesale) 2	
				Western-Style Alcohol (Production) 2	
				Umbrellas (Wholesale) 2	
				Soap (Production-Wholesale) 2	
				Buckets (Production-Wholesale) 2	
				Hairpieces (Production-Wholesale) 2	
				Hemp Thread (Wholesale-Retail) 2	
				Miso (Wholesale-Retail) 2	
				Firewood-Charcoal (Wholesale-Retail) 2	
				Glass (Retail) 2	
				Sundries (Retail) 2	
				Bamboo (Retail) 2	

**Table 5 Examples of Citizens' Movements in the Nipponbashi Area**

- A) The Nipponbashisuji Higashi Rental Housing Dispute (1919)**  
 Landowners concluded a contract to sell land in Nipponbashisuji X chō me, and the new landowner requested the immediate eviction of the tenants in order to construct a factory. At the time, a total of five front-street and ten back-alley housing units are located on the land parcels in question. The tenants were uncertain about how to proceed and requested a one-year postponement of their eviction, but because the new landowner refused to grant their request, things turned “ominous” and the residents requested the mediation of District Commissioner Fujioka Ihachi. Because the district commissioner then appealed to the new landowner about the impoverished condition of the tenants, the land sale contract itself was withdrawn. However, the intermediary who arranged the sale and stood to receive a fee for his services claimed financial damages as a result of the withdrawal of the contract and once again a dispute showed signs of breaking out, but because the district commissioner arranged for the “provision” of compensation the issue was resolved (*Osaka-in homen im dai-ikēki jigyo nihpo*).
- B) The Pollution Opposition Movement Against the Nihon Shōdoku Company (1919)**  
 There was a fire at the company's facility in Shitaderachō 3 chō me on December 11, 1919 and eight neighboring dwellings were partially or totally burned. In addition, since the company's establishment 13 years earlier in 1906, fires of various sizes had broken out on seven separate occasions causing damage to the surrounding area and with the fire in 1919 displeasure began to spread among local residents. Following the fire, “several hundred” residents of Shitaderachō and Okura-Atochō petitioned the local police and Osaka Prefectural Hygiene Department in an effort to halt the company's operations (*Osaka Asahi Shinbun* 12/13/1919 Evening Edition). The subsequent course of events is unclear, but because the name of the company in question is not listed in commercial and industrial registers and factory registers from the period following this dispute, it is possible that they were forced to halt operations). In addition, in a conversation with the *Osaka Asahi* newspaper, the petitioners made the following statement (*Osaka Asahi Shinbun* 12/13/1919 Evening Edition).  
 “Until ten years ago this area was remotely located on the outskirts of the city and was a lonely place, but in recent years the area has experienced dramatic development and is now bustling and factory lights line the streets. However, not only has this sterilization facility seen fires on several occasions, but also in the neighboring building there is a bean jam manufactory. Everyday the only items earned to this sterilization facility are waste articles and these articles are divided up on the streets, which are constantly jammed with carts and wagons, etc. In hygienic terms conditions are extremely bad and furthermore because there are many *geta* sandal wholesalers in these quarters from a law and order perspective as well the area is extremely dangerous.”
- C) The Nipponbashisuji Tenants' Movement (1923)**  
 When tenants, who were forced during the previous year (1922) to vacate their homes to allow for the execution of an urban planning project to widen the roads between Nipponbashisuji 3 chō me and 5 chō me, tried to return to the newly constructed housing in the area in August 1923, six landowners, including Ogawa Torajirō of Tennōji Village, simultaneously raised the rents and deposits on the new housing and because there were cases in which the rent were increased several times over the amount paid by the tenants before their eviction, the tenants organized an organization called the Dai-Nippon Kodōkai and enlisted Diet representative Shian Shinkurō and “Dr. Imai” (probably Imai Yoshiyuki) as advisors and began a movement seeking reduced rental rates and deposits and on the 15th they petitioned the Osaka municipal authorities (*Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* 10/16/1923—the subsequent course of events is unclear).
- D) The Minami Nittrōchō ‘Kanteki’ Tenement’ Tenants’ Dispute (1929)**  
 Beginning in June 1929, 272 residents from 171 households in the Kanteki tenements in the Nittrōchō section of Tennōji Ward were involved in a dispute with four local landlords, including Nagata Komajirō, in which the tenants sought to have their rental fees halved, etc., but because the landlords ordered the eviction of the tenants for failing to pay their rents, on September 3, 1929 the tenants burst into city hall and petitioned Social Department director Yamaguchi Tadashi (*Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* 9/3/1929 Evening Edition)—The dispute continued subsequently until December of the following year, when it was resolved as part of the eviction disputes that accompanied the housing reform projects carried out during this period).

### E) *Geta* Sandal Makers Dispute (1929)

Because their wages had declined due to an economic downturn, 47 laborers from 18 *geta* factories in Okura-Atochō, Nipponbashi-ji 3 chō me, Minami Nittrōchō, Kita Nittrōchō, and Shiraderachō became involved in a labor dispute in which they sought a 15% wage “increase” and on August 31, 1929 the dispute was resolved with the approval of the laborers’ demands by the factory owners (Ōsaka-shi shakaibu. *Rōdo gōppō*, Issue 100. August 1929).

### F) Kimura Pharmaceutical Factory Pollution Opposition Movement (1930)

A fire broke out at the Kimura Pharmaceutical Factory of Minami Nittrōchō on August 11, 1930 and two of the three buildings on the premises were completely gutted by fire. However, even before this fire broke out, because fires had occurred on three prior occasions at the factory in question, the factory emitted “foul smelling gas” on a daily basis, and workers in the factory had died of exposure to poisonous gas, ten citizen representatives bearing a document signed jointly by “nearly 500 area residents” accompanied by Prefectural Assemblyman Shimizu Tadashi (Tennōji Ward Representative) petitioned the Ōsaka Prefectural Industrial Department and Construction Department to have the factory shut down (*Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* August 17, 1930)—The subsequent course of events is unclear, but because the Kimura Pharmaceutical Company is listed in the 1936 Factory Register, operations were not halted).

Notes: In gathering information about each of the disputes and newspaper articles related to the disputes, I referred also to Ōsaka shakai rōdō undō shi henshū iinkai. 1987. *Ōsaka shakai rōdō undō shi*, Volume 2. Ōsaka shakai undō kyōkai and Ōsaka shakai rōdō undō shi henshū iinkai. 1989. *Ōsaka shakai rōdō undō shi*, Volume 3. Ōsaka shakai undō kyōkai.