The Politics of Homelessness in Tokyo

By Matsuo Tamaki

Introduction

In recent years in Japan, measures against homelessness have been deployed rapidly on both the national and local government levels. Measures against homelessness by the national government began in 1999. In February 1999, central ministries and dominant local governments jointly established the "Liaison Conference on Homelessness" and formulated "Interim Measures" in May of the same year. "Interim Measures" defined homeless people as "people who have no particular dwelling and sleep on streets, parks, river beds, station houses and elsewhere due to various factors such as unemployment, family breakdown, desire to escape from social pressures and so on" and laid out measures in response to the actual situations of homeless people. The self-sufficiency operation was put forward in "the Measures" as an action against homeless people who are out of work in spite of their willingness to work, which aimed at encouragement of self-sufficiency by employment. In July 2002, "Special Measures Law Concerning Homeless People for the Purpose of Self-sufficiency Support, etc." came into effect as a temporary statute with a 10-year life span. This is the first law that plays an immediate role in measures against homelessness.

In February 1994, "Tokyo and the 23 Wards Exploratory Committee Concerning Problems with Homeless People" was inaugurated by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the 23 wards within Tokyo in unison, to embark on establishing countermeasures against homelessness from the standpoint of Tokyo as a whole. The said committee issued "The Report by Tokyo and the 23 Wards Exploratory Committee Concerning Problems with Homeless People" in July 1996, which raised five points as tasks for measures against homelessness: enhancement of counselling and support, enhancement of health care, stable employment, securement of dwelling and self-sufficiency, and structural plans for furtherance of countermeasures. These were the first systematization, specifying measures, projects and main bodies for implementation of each task. Tokyo and the 23 wards started a self-sufficiency support operation aimed at rehabilitation of homeless people into society after the year 2000 had begun in response to the "Interim Measures" which the government had formulated. In 2001, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Social Welfare issued a white book, Homelessness in Tokyo: Preparation for the Establishment of the New System for Self-sufficiency.

Table 1 shows major actions taken by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the National Government against homelessness. The leading purpose of currently ongoing measures is to encourage self-sufficiency of homeless people by employment and to allow them to re-enter society. Self-sufficiency
Table 1 Major actions taken against homelessness

(1) The Tokyo Metropolitan Government

February 1994 "Tokyo and the 23 Wards Exploratory Committee Concerning Problems with Homeless People" established. (Tokyo and the 23 wards in unison)
September Interim report by Tokyo and the 23 Wards Exploratory Committee.
July 1995 New Urban Problems and the direction for their handling - Focusing on life on the streets issued.
Autumn 1995 The Report by Tokyo and the 23 Wards Exploratory Committee Concerning Problems with Homeless People (Draft report) issued. (Issued date unknown)
Since FY 1995 The survey of the approximate number of homeless people carried out annually.
January 1996 Eviction of homeless people from the West Exit of Shinjuku Train Station
March 2000 "The survey of actual situation of homeless people" conducted.
November Self-sufficiency Center, Taito Dormitory (Capacity: 104 persons) and Shinjuku Dormitory (Capacity: 52 persons) opened.
April Self-sufficiency Center, Toshima Dormitory (Capacity: 80 persons) opened.
November Emergency Temporary Protective Shelter for Homeless People, Ota Dormitory (Capacity: 300 persons) opened.
March 2002 Self-sufficiency Center, Sumida Dormitory (Capacity: 110 persons) opened.

(2) The National Government

October 1998 Study session on homelessness conducted by Liberal Democratic Party legislators 6 LDP legislators and 3 Diet members demand from the Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary preparation of emergency precautions for homeless problems in their joint names.
December The Mayor of Osaka City makes a request for enhancement of countermeasures against homelessness to Prime Minister at the time Mr. Keizo Obuchi.
February 1999 "Liaison Conference on Homelessness" (Five central ministries and 6 local governments from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Shinjuku ward, Yokohama City, Kawasaki City, Nagoya City and Osaka City) established.
March  The National Government announced that there were 16,427 homeless people throughout Japan. (Based on the information provided by local governments.)

May  "Interim Measures" formulated by the "Liaison Conference on Homelessness"

September  The National Government announced that there were 20,451 homeless people throughout Japan. (Based on information provided by local governments.)

Six self-sufficiency centres opened nationwide during FY2000. (Two in Tokyo, three in Osaka and one in Yokohama)

September 2000  Policies pertaining to establishment of emergency temporary shelter designed by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare.

Two self-sufficiency centers opened nationwide during FY2001. (Two in Tokyo)

July 2002  "Special Measures Law Concerning Homeless People for the Purpose of Self-sufficiency Support, etc." established. Issuing and implementation carried out in August.

Jan-Feb 2003  First nationwide survey of actual situation of homeless people conducted by The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare.
(Homeless people confirmed in 581 municipalities, 25,926 persons counted)


support operations are provided for "those who are recognized as having willingness to work, and who are of adequate health both physically and mentally as to not cause any difficulties at work" and consist of vocational counselling, living counselling and health counseling, etc.
There have been nine self-sufficiency facilities established until the end of 2002. Their regional breakdown is as follows: four in Tokyo, three in Osaka, one in Yokohama and one in Nagoya.

next to Osaka, is the leading area for the deployment of self-sufficiency operations, thus measures against homelessness are "advanced" compared to those in place in other cities. Considering such, it can be regarded that the measures taken by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government against homelessness symbolically suggest how homeless problems should be dealt with.

Looking Behind the Increase in Homelessness from a Public Policies Aspect

It was after entering into the 1990s that the problem of homelessness began to draw nationwide social concern in Japan. However, the existence of homeless people was not a new
phenomenon. In Japan, homelessness was largely associated with the problems of unemployment among day laborers, and people who sleep outdoors were normally found around yoseba (primary street labor market for day laborers) throughout Japan. Yet until the 1980s, it was thought that homelessness would only be a temporary situation caused by unemployment. Once the 1990s began, on the contrary, the number of homeless people who constantly lived on the streets began to grow, and homeless people came to be found in areas other than yoseba at the same time. Increase and real expansion of homeless people have a connection with the policy problems described below.

First, there is a problem in measures for labor policies taken by the National Government and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, which are aimed at stabilization of employment and life for day laborers and which have given due consideration to the instability of day labor. The core for measures taken by the National Government is abure allowance (fall-back rate, social benefit system for day labor applicants) which began soon after the Second World War ended. Abure allowance is the system which is intended to supply unemployed day labor applicants with allowance to secure their lives after daily job introductions. Maximum amount of abure allowance at the moment is 7,500 yen per day and it can be issued up to 12 times in a month. This system, however, does not provide "protection". The requirement for abure allowance is to have worked for more than 26 days in the past two months. It is exceptionally difficult to work for more than the required number of days under present circumstances where there are very few jobs for day laborers. The bottom line is that there is a fundamental contradiction in abure allowance in that it only helps day laborers who are continuously able to get jobs to a certain degree as "proper laborers". This system is of little use to day laborers who have few job opportunities and are destitute.

The basis of measures taken by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government for day laborers are the "Special Measures Operations against Unemployment" that began in 1972. This system offers jobs to day laborers in order to secure enough working days, which solely depends on the budget of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Job offers for Sanya (the largest yoseda in Tokyo) laborers make up 80 percent of all the job offers in Tokyo as a whole, which thus is strongly characterized as a measure against the Sanya situation. However, Special Measures against Unemployment now offers jobs to laborers in Sanya only once or twice a month. There is a welfare center in Sanya which deploys operations with the goal of supporting day laborers in their self-sufficiency, but more than 90 percent of the operations have come to be engaged in relief for supplying meals and lodging since the fiscal year 1994.

Secondly, apart from special regional measures such as the measures of Sanya, measures established by public administrations generally showed strong "exclusionism", which has something to do with the fact that homeless people tended to be regarded as "vagrant" who lack in willingness to work and are not motivated to return to society. The way Shinjuku ward, where there were many homeless people, handled the situation was typical. Namely, Shinjuku ward has set up the "Environmental Cleanup Task Force for Shinjuku Station area" and deployed the strategy for environmental purification and cleanliness since the early 1980s to exclude "vagrant". In 1996, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and Shinjuku ward evicted homeless people from the West Exit of Shinjuku Train Station on a large scale for
reason of "unlawful occupation of public space". Homeless people had been seen as a problem mainly in terms of "environment deterioration in communities" and "unlawful occupation of public space" and therefore had been the subject of exclusion until the mid-1990s.

**Onset of measures against homelessness by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government - "self-sufficiency" as a focal point**

Measures taken in recent years by the National Government and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government regard the increase of homeless people as a social problem caused by changes in industrial structure and unemployment issues, and aim at self-sufficiency for people who have become homeless due to unavailability of jobs despite their willingness to work, which is a significant factor for these measures. The recent increase of homeless people is one of the results of inadequate measures against day laborers and the Sanyo situation and other related measures that ended up with "exclusion" of "vagrant". To counter such, what are the basic policies for new homelessness measures aimed at self-sufficiency?

*Homelessness in Tokyo* (March 2001) raises two points as the cores of homeless people’s problems, which are "Homeless people's tough living conditions and exclusion from social security" and "the conflict with local communities due to their occupation of public space". Self-sufficiency operations, as a response to "homeless people's tough living conditions", frame one of the pillars and "management of public space" frames another one. What affirms the connection between those two is the fact that it is recognized that "self-sufficiency based on a life on the streets" is impossible and unacceptable. This is also clearly stated in "The Report by Tokyo and the 23 Wards Exploratory Committee Concerning Problems with Homeless People". In other words, public administrations are responsible for the management of public space, and "it is one thing and whether or not people who live on the streets can get self-sufficient is automatically another. Thus it is not acceptable for people who live on the streets to use the public place as their dwellings just because they wish to do so." Originally, a broader definition of homeless people includes individuals who live in *hanba* (bunkhouses run by labor contractors who house laborers and hire them for a certain period), lodging houses, other such facilities and so on. In Japan, however, the increase of people who live in public space such as in the streets have been socially regarded as the homeless problem. The self-sufficiency of homeless people, the aim of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, is impartible from the objective to dissolve the occupation of public space. In this connection, the main public space used by homeless people to live, one of recent problems, is parks. "Homelessness in Tokyo" states that 90 percent of homeless people live in public spaces and that two thirds of these live in parks. The conflict between the use of public space by homeless people and the management of public space is primarily seen in parks in other big cities and local cities.

Another point to take notice of regarding "self-sufficiency" in the administrative scheme is its major premise for homeless people to utilize available programs for self-sufficiency and make every effort as long as there are programs offered by public administrations for their self-sufficiency. It is clearly specified in "Homelessness in Tokyo", that "As long as the society organizes the structure that helps homeless people to breakaway from there (living on streets), it is their responsibility to utilize it and retrieve self-sufficiency." There is
logic subtended in this viewpoint to regard homeless people who are unwilling to use the program as the ones who lack in the desire to become self-sufficient. As seen in Figure 1, homeless people are divided into four types as follows: 1) Individuals expected to be self-sufficient by employment, 2) Individuals who are partly supported by public welfare while reaching towards employment, 3) Individuals needing support, and 4) Individuals with no desire for involvement with society. Homeless people who don't utilize the programs would be summed up and categorized into type 4. They are described as "individuals who refuse society" in the "Interim Measures" formulated by the governments, which uses a more severe description. The heart of the measures against those homeless people is to be dominated by expulsion admonitions, around transfer consultation and so forth. In addition, self-sufficiency operations are classified as interim undertaking, whereas the pertinent management of public space as a task to be secularly tackled.

Results Brought about by Self-sufficiency Centers and Their Issues- Reference to the data of the use of the centers

Table 2 shows the utilization of the Emergency Temporary Protective Shelter for Homeless People, Ota Dormitory and four self-sufficiency centers in Tokyo (total of four centers) as of April 2002 (the numbers are the accumulated total). There are four self-sufficiency centers open at the moment. The total capacity of the existing four centers is 350 persons, while the overall plan is to establish five centers with a total capacity of 400 persons. In addition, the Ota Dormitory was established as an Emergency Temporary Protective Shelter for homeless people. Ota Dormitory is an institution where treatment policies for homeless people are assessed and decided in accordance with physical and mental restoration to health. The overall plan is to establish five facilities with a total capacity of 700 persons, with the Ota Dormitory being able to provide shelter for 300 persons.

The breakdown of 769 persons leaving the Ota Dormitory in regards to reason for leaving or the place to go to after the Dormitory in numerical descending order is: 389 persons for self-sufficiency center (50.6%), 119 for expiry of term (15.5%), and 112 for lodging houses (livelihood protection) (14.6%), in which self-sufficiency centers make up more than half. Reasons for leaving self-sufficiency center consist of: 28.8% of self-sufficiency by employment (securement of dwelling), 17.7% of self-sufficiency by employment (live-in system), 12.1% of no prospect for self-sufficiency by employment (difficulty in self-sufficiency), and 11.7% of breach of rules. The total of self-sufficiency achieved including both securement of dwelling and live-in system amounts to 46.5%, which means nearly half of the homeless people left with employment. The breakdown of the jobs secured is as follows: 23.7% for keeper/security guard, 16.6% for sanitation related and 15.3% for construction/civil engineering, which are the top three job positions overall. Approximately half of the people in the Ota dormitory enter self-sufficiency centers and thereafter half of them become "self-sufficient by employment".

Bringing the fact to mind that it is very difficult for homeless people, who have no fixed abode, to secure employment, it can be said that the result of around half of the people in self-sufficiency centers having acquired jobs is the indication of what the Tokyo Metropolitan Government has achieved a sufficient degree of protection. The issue here is what type of homeless people became self-sufficient by
Figure 1: Self-sufficiency System for Homeless People by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government

Step 1
(Emergency temporary protection and assessment)

Step 2
(Self-sufficiency program)

Step 3
(Support for life in the community)

Re-enter into society

Emergency Temporary
- Protection Shelter
- Physical and mental restoration to health
- Decision of treatment according to abilities

(1-month stay in principle)

Approx. 700-800 persons

Type 1
Self-sufficiency by employment

Type 2
Partly supported by public welfare while reaching towards employment

Type 3
Support needed

Type 4
Other than those above

Self-sufficiency center
- Support for self-sufficiency and employment.
- Living guidance
- Vocational guidance

(2-month stay in principle)
Appro. 400 (5 locations)

Group Home
- Living guidance
- Vocational guidance

(6-month stay in principle)

Partial support by public welfare while reaching towards employment

Self-sufficiency by employment (Apartment)

Partial support by public welfare while reaching towards employment

Livelihood Protection (dwellings, facilities, hospitalisation)

Pertinent management of public facilities

Enhancement of health care

Enlargement of job opportunities

Securement of dwelling

Table 2 Utilization of Ota Dormitory and Self-sufficiency centers as of April 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Age</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70~</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-sufficiency centers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ota Dormitory</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1008</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 Length of Time Homeless</th>
<th>Less than one month</th>
<th>1-3 months</th>
<th>3-6 months</th>
<th>Less than one year</th>
<th>1-3 years</th>
<th>3-5 years</th>
<th>5+ years</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-sufficiency centers</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ota Dormitory</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>1008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 Reasons for leaving Ota-ryo</th>
<th>Self-sufficiency centers</th>
<th>Institution(LP)</th>
<th>Lodging house(LP)</th>
<th>Home(LP)</th>
<th>Expiry of term</th>
<th>Hospitalization</th>
<th>Breach of rules</th>
<th>Optional</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ota Dormitory</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 Reasons for leaving Self-sufficiency centers</th>
<th>Self-sufficient by employment</th>
<th>No prospect for self-sufficient by employment</th>
<th>Hospitalization for long</th>
<th>Breach of rules</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>securement of dwelling</td>
<td>live-in system</td>
<td>sickness</td>
<td>difficulty in self-sufficiency</td>
<td>Hospitalization for long</td>
<td>Breach of rules</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-sufficiency centers</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 Breakdown of jobs</th>
<th>Sanitation</th>
<th>Security guard</th>
<th>Restaurant</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Transportation</th>
<th>Manufacturing</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-sufficiency centers</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The data of Self-sufficiency centers is the total of four centers.
- The numbers of the accumulated total.
- As of April 2002, the number of persons staying in Self-sufficiency centers is 1354, and the number of persons who have left centers is 1106.
- As of April 2002, the number of persons staying in Ota Dormitory is 1008, and the number of persons who have left Ota Dormitory is 769.

Source: The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Social Welfare
employment. As compared with the characteristics of homeless people in Tokyo as a whole in the first instance (in reference to "The survey of actual situation of homeless people", The Society for the Study of Urban Life, 1999), the homeless people who enter the Ota Dormitory and self-sufficiency centers are younger and have lived on the streets for a shorter period of time. In addition, there are some people in self-sufficiency centers, in no small measure, who have never done day labor or have done it only for a short time, according to staff in self-sufficiency centers. It is possible to grasp these facts as a result that people who have not much experience of sleeping outdoors and are relatively younger are more willing to use self-sufficient centers and the municipal welfare office tends to select mainly those people.

Hindrances to the utilization of "self-sufficiency by employment" programs

Self-sufficiency centers have had an effect to a certain degree on mainly younger people who have a relatively short period of experience of sleeping outdoors regarding self-sufficiency by employment. Conversely, however, people who have slept outdoors for a long time, have a lot of experience in day-labor, or who are aged are unwilling to use self-sufficiency centers, or there may be reasons that make it hard for them to use the centers.

Firstly, as a reason for that the above-mentioned, job offers recommended or introduced by self-sufficiency centers are limited to full-time jobs. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government considers day labor and part-time jobs as unstable in that such jobs do not lead up to self-sufficiency by employment, and as a result excludes these jobs from their selection. It is true that day labor and part-time jobs are unstable and full-time employment is more desirable in general. However, this basic policy ignores employment needs for day laborers, etc.

According to "The survey of actual situation of homeless people", although many homeless people wish to be employed, people who would like to have the same type of jobs as they did before account for the largest fraction (nearly 40%), whereas less than half of it would like to have a new type of job. Correlating with age, men younger than 39 have a tendency to want a new type of job, while men between 40 and 54 have a tendency to want the same type of job. As these results infer, the number of people who have worked as day laborers at construction sites and still want to do the same type of jobs continuously is not negligible. However, the self-sufficiency operations lack in the consideration for those needs. There were many business suits and ties prepared in one of the self-sufficiency centers, and one of the people who had worked as a day laborer at construction sites refused to wear a tie and did not go to his job interview after all. This is not just a funny story, and it is not permitted to criticize people who don't go to job interviews reasoning that they lack in willingness to work. Lifestyles and mind-sets are strongly defined depending on the jobs people have been engaged in, and are difficult to change.

Secondly, there are problems in the life style in the Ota Dormitory (1-month stay in principle) and self-sufficiency centers (2-month stay in principle), which are lack of privacy and freedom in forms such as communal living in a large, shared rooms, strict rules such as a curfew, prohibition of drinking outside the dormitory, and etcetera. It would not be easy for people who have much experience in day labor, living in a flophouse and sleeping on streets for a long period of time to get used to and adapt
to the living environment in a facility like this. In short, at least two conditions must be fulfilled in order to be provided with self-sufficiency operations: 1). willingness to work in the position that the municipality introduces coupled with expectation to become self-sufficient early on; 2). ability to adapt to communal living in the facility.

Lastly, it should be noted that there are some homeless people, in no small measure, who have a certain level of stable livelihood in that they have a place to live in somewhere like parks while performing miscellaneous jobs such as day labor or collection of disused articles to earn hard cash, which can be classed as self-sufficient livelihood. Their place to live being jeopardized is rather vital to them in comparison to the employment issue. If the self-sufficiency operations didn't suit their employment needs and lifestyles, it would be quite natural for them not to choose to utilize them.

What are the issues?

It is true that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government has started comprehensive measures for homeless people's self-sufficiency by employment means degree of progress. Attempts at measures for self-sufficiency should be expanded. However, the following two major problems exist for the implementation of self-sufficiency operations.

First of all, there is hardly any viewpoint on measures for day laborers in self-sufficiency operations. As mentioned in the beginning, the increase of homeless people has been deeply connected with the unemployment problem of day laborers. In addition, abure allowance that aims at improvement of employment for day laborers and Special Measures Operation against Unemployment that is strongly characterized as a measure against the Sanya situation have exposed their limit by long-term unemployment of day laborers who thus are more likely to become homeless. There has not been specific progress in measures against day laborers at the moment, and the program for self-sufficiency by employment in self-sufficiency operations lack in consideration for unemployment problem day laborers have been facing. Destitute day laborers have been left out without any protection by the government.

Secondly, self-sufficiency operations are based on the logic that sort out homeless people by the dualism of good and bad as a standard. The "good" homeless people who make an effort to become self-sufficient by employment through the self-sufficiency centers are provided with generous protection. On the other hand, homeless people who do not utilize self-sufficiency operations for any reason whatsoever are regarded as "bad" ones, who "lack in the willingness to be self-sufficient" and cause social problems, and become the subject of exclusion from social benefits. In other words, selection and exclusion are made while focusing on self-sufficiency. Many of the homeless people who are regarded as "bad" ones have much experience in day labor, living in flophouses and sleeping outdoors, and find it hard to get accustomed to administrative bodies, but still manage to live self-sufficiently with a stable livelihood in their ways while doing a variety of things. The fundamental reason of the existence of homeless people who are thought to be unwilling to become self-sufficient is in the administrative structure which narrowly defines self-sufficiency of homeless people while considering it as inapplicable from the objective to dissolve the occupation of public space at the same time. It virtually lacks in consideration for the various needs and lifestyles people who
sleep on streets have. The selection of homeless people based on their self-sufficiency like this will facilitate further discrimination against homeless people throughout society as a whole.

What is required in this circumstance is to full-dimensionally investigate into the way the self-sufficiency of homeless people is defined in the administrative structure that is deeply associated with social exclusion. In addition to this, a unique vision of self-sufficiency of homeless people and their coexistence with local communities must be proposed.

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