

Geographical Research on Urban Problems in Japan

FUJITA Naoharu

Abstract Research into urban problems in Japan can be summarized by the progressive stages of urbanization on which a spatial-economic and social process is projected. The pervasive nature of urbanization, related to stimulating technological innovation, has caused structural changes for spatial coordination in Japan's major metropolises.

In this lecture, three stages will be considered: urbanization, metropolitanization urbanization, and megalopolitanization urbanization. Each stage roughly corresponds to the economic growth of nationalization, internationalization, and globalization. In the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, which stands as the dominant locus not only for the national economy but also for the global economy, similar to London and New York, these trends have become clear.

Therefore, this lecture focuses on the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. First, the urban problem that most symbolizes each stage will be taken up and the realities of that dominant urban problem will be explained. Second, the urban policy and city planning that the government came up with at each stage for the solution of these urban problems will be considered. Finally, the cause of the urban problem that changes with each stage will be investigated.

Keywords urban problem; the Tokyo Metropolitan Area; stages of urbanization; stages of economic growth; urban policy and planning; farm village

1 Introduction

During the progress of urbanization in Japan, three stages appeared: urbanization, metropolitanization urbanization, and megalopolitanization urbanization^①. Each stage corresponds to the economic growth of nationalization, internationalization, and globalization^②. These are the eminent spatial phenomena on which socio-economic problems were projected (see Figure 1). Both spatial expansion and urban problems have become “hot issues” in the field of urban economic geography, particularly since the 1960s.

Author Introduction: FUJITA Naoharu, Department of Geography, Meiji University, Japan.

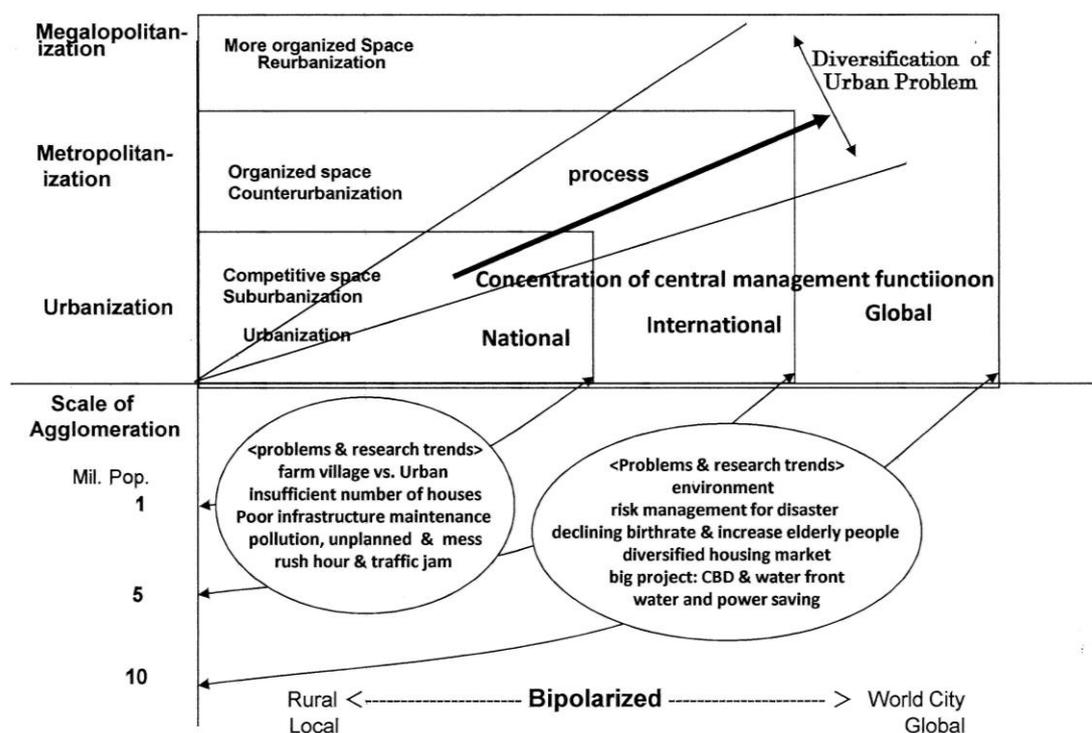


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework

A huge amount of geographical research on urban affairs has accumulated. However, most of this has focused on the construction of spatial models and theories, and on an explanation of the spatial pattern. Systems of cities, cities as systems, urbanism and urbanization, and urban planning have occupied the mainstream of thought for urban geography in Japan, as well as in the rest of the world. This discipline was hardly ever been interested in urban problems, as symbolically shown in *the Dictionary of Human Geography*^③. In its index, the term “urban problem” is not found.

Although urban problems are predominantly socio-economic phenomena that originated from the nature that exists inside capitalism, the degree of seriousness has been improved now than ever before in Japan. But urban problems have not been completely resolved, rather submerged under the expansion of socio-economic polarization and areal disparity. The urban problem that has appeared symbolically in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area (hereafter, it is called the TMA) has been particularly expressed as the “Tokyo Problem.”

The TMA consists of Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba prefectures (see Figure 2). Its area accounts for only 3.6% of the national land of 377,950 km² though it has 35.6 million population that corresponds to 27.8% of the national population in 2010. Its GDP is huge with 165

trillion yen that occupies 31.7% of the national total in 2007 that comes in 7th place if it is located in the world nations' GDP ranking exceeding Canada.

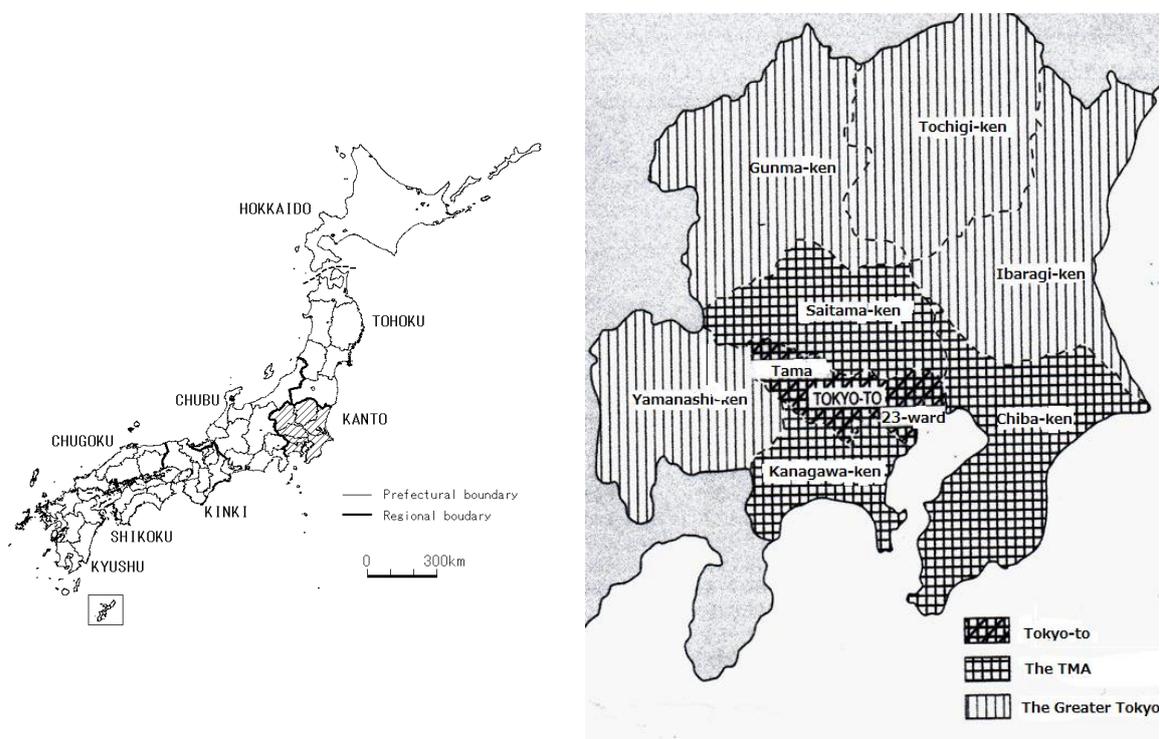


Figure 2 Location of the TMA and its Subdivisions

The Tokyo Problem has been researched by urban economic geographers from two points of view: one is to be concerned with changing spatial structure of the TMA resulted from an excessive mono-centric concentration of central management function as well as a predominant category of Japanese capitalism^①. The other is to be concerned with the urban problems in individual area within the TMA^②. To grasp the essence of urban problem, the consolidation of the two viewpoints, which were profoundly inter-related, became necessary.

While noting this point, to make the points clear, three stages in the development of spatial phenomena will be presented in this lecture. The paramount cause of urban problems in Japan is that neither a central management function nor a predominant category of Japanese capitalism shown a positive concern for urban problem solving. In addition, due to the lack of a grand design supported by urban policy and city planning, serious problems appeared in the TMA. A spatial process of centripetal and centrifugal forces, as both sides of the coin that promotes the functional cleansing effect, is an important factor in forming a city. If a striking imbalance occurred in one process or the other, a distortion or contradiction will be produced and then it will turn to be a

trigger for worsening the urban problem.

2 Post-war Urbanization: Urban Problems in Economic Stage of Nationalization

This stage occurred up to around 1965 when the era of urbanization was taking place in the background of post-war economic growth. Full-scale urbanization in Japan started in the latter half of the 1950s and reached a peak around 1965. Underlying this process, the distribution of the national population drastically changed. Depopulation (過疎) in rural areas and overpopulation (過密) in large urban agglomerations, especially the TMA, appeared as the outstanding spatial phenomena seen generally since then, and urban economic geography has paid attention (see Table 1).

Table 1 Changing Population in the TMA and Japan

	National Pop.	TMA Pop.	B / A
Year	(A) mil.	(B) mil.	%
1950	84	13	15.5
1960	94	18	18.9
1970	105	24	23.0
1980	117	29	24.5
1990	124	32	25.7
2000	127	33	26.3
2010	128	36	27.8

Source: The Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism

In Japan, the degree of the concentration of the population was hierarchically different, based on the size of the city. A city with a population of more than one million had a considerable inflow of population; however, a city with 300,000 had much less. cities with populations of less than 100,000, accounting for 80% all cities, shown stagnancy or a decrease in population.

Regarding the regulations, the Comprehensive National Land Development Plan was established in 1962 to balance the equilibrium of the development of the national land and regions. The New Industrial City Construction Act was enacted in 1962, and 15 cities were selected across the country. Act for the Provision of Special Areas for Industrial Development was promulgated and six special areas were selected across the country. These measures were not powerful enough to regulate urban expansion.

In 1961, before these regulations, the Cabinet Council decided on the income-doubling plan, and the Agricultural Basic Law was enforced with the goal of modernizing agriculture under three pillars: structural improvement, selective expansion, and an increase in management scale. Both the plan and law played major roles in drawing out manpower from the primary industry sector to the secondary and the tertiary industry sector, which was necessary for rapid economic growth.

Under the pressure of an intense inflow of population, the urban problem during this stage was deeply related with the shortage of the absolute number of houses and with the poor conditions, including insufficient utilities and infrastructure, in both inner areas and suburbs. By the end of 1950s, most part of the Tokyo space was in the situation covered with the slum.

Geographical researches at this stage were positively done on farmers' responses to urbanization under the drastic change of the external economy. The researches on occupational change of the farmer who had given up farming in favor of other occupations and on converting agricultural products—from grain to vegetables and garden products—with higher labor intensity and profitability were the examples. These researches made clear how the rural communities in suburbs were disorganized and how the old traditional factors had been replaced with the new urban factors.

As the urbanization front moves to outward, an inner area generally obtains the higher relative advantages than ever before or than an area located in the outer zone. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the farmers tried to respond to urbanization as rationally as possible. They waited for the rise of land price until they can compromise, though the rise in land price is possible to become a negative factor to landholders like farmers who face the rising taxes that enticed them to sell their land. In this process, the farmers shifted from a full-time to a part-time with a side job, further to a person doing farming on the side, and finally to a farmer abandoning farming by the change of their economic base to manage the rental houses, parking lots and others. The increase of an urban element such as the house for rent, the apartment, parking lots, and stores not based on urban policy or city planning brought about disordered and contradictory urban space.

All of these were taken up as research themes. At the same time, the metropolitan space itself has increased in importance as a huge capital investment market through gigantic development or redevelopment projects as mentioned above. The CBD in Tokyo expanded with the concentration of economic functions. With widening social disparity, urban blight area where a cluster of small,

wooden house for one-room rental type with no bath and sharing rest room where an extremely weak to the disaster and high density living space was formed from the north to the south on the west side of the Yamanote line in Tokyo (see Figure 3).

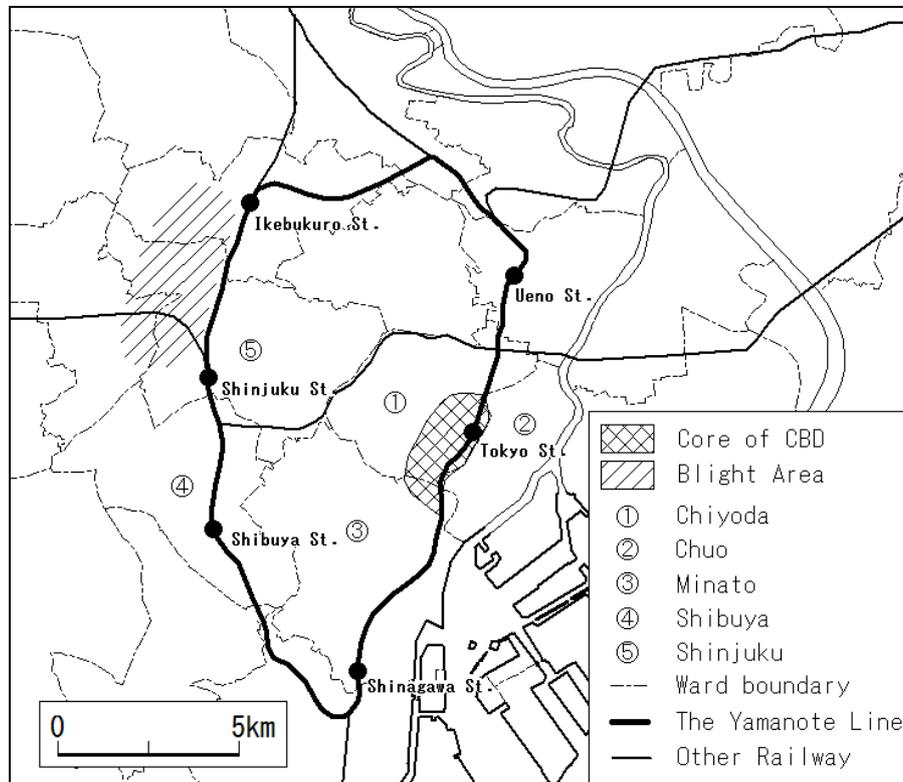


Figure 3 Central Part of the TMA

Research on urban problems became active at this stage as clearly shown by a symposium held by the Japan Association of Economic Geography (the JAEG) in 1957 entitled “Spatial Interdependencies between Agricultural Regions and Industrial Regions or between Rural Areas and Urban Areas.” The discussion concentrated on the mechanism of the formation of overcrowding as well as depopulated areas[Ⓒ].

“*The Urbanization of Japan*,” [Ⓒ] the first textbook on urbanization in Japan, was published in 1964. Up to that point, only *laissez-faire* research had been carried out. In the process of forming the TMA, serious contradictions had been produced owing to the intense inflow of population that far exceeded governments’ expectations. The JAEG also held a symposium on “Economic Geographical Problems of Cities” in 1964. This is appearance of consciousness of crisis to the urban problem that becomes aggravated.

Thus, two forces emerged: one from the city side that had always been overwhelming, and

the other from the farm village side, which had always been in a vulnerable position and always remained passive. Although farm villages located in 20km and 30km zone from the center of the TMA still actively existed at this stage, most of them were eventually disorganized and annexed to urban areas. The Tokyo Olympics in 1964 was the turning point for the structural change of the TMA owing to the specified block system and floor area ratio district system and the removal of absolute restrictions on building heights.

3 Metropolitanization Urbanization: Urban Problems in Economic Stage of Internationalization

The second stage occurred up to around 1985 when it was the age of metropolitanization urbanization, sometimes called suburbanization^⑦. Rapid economic growth had ended, to be replaced by stable economic growth. But urbanization rushed to the next stage. Urban areas grew horizontally and ever more outward, expanding vertically up to the sky. By the time of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, restrictions on building heights were removed and the first super high-rise structure, the Kasumigaseki Building, was built. Although full-scale construction of super high-rise buildings had not yet taken place, the era of the skyscraper had begun. The structure and the cityscape of Tokyo have radically changed ever since.

The urban problems with which the TMA was confronted at this stage were as follows:

- (1) routine traffic congestion, noise pollution, and exhaust,
- (2) contamination/pollution of rivers and ocean,
- (3) inflated real estate values and small living space,
- (4) lack of parks and garden areas, and
- (5) considerable amount of untreatable garbage
- (6) violation of the right to sunshine.

In addition to the traditional problem, the new problem, violation of the right to sunshine came to surface. People recognized the importance of the environment through a movement against the construction of petrochemical plant in Numazu City in Shizuoka Prefecture that resulted in a complete revocation. This experience brought about a groundswell of sentiment across the country. In addition, transportation problems, such as long-distance commuting, stress

caused by commuting, and traffic Jam, became incentives to geographers to work on these urban problems.

As for regulations, the Second Comprehensive National Land Development Plan was put forward in 1969; urban policies were being developed for the first time. Also enacted was a New City Planning Law with the revision of the Building Standard Law in the decade from 1965 to 1974. Through these new laws, 1) a system was established that divided locations into Urbanization Promotion Areas and Urbanization Control Areas, and 2) development permits were systematized.

The “dollar shock” occurred in 1971. In the following year, 1972, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka proposed The Japanese Islands Remodeling Theory that has thrown to the people an idea of the national development plan lead to a huge investment in public works^⑧. Scheme of the introduction of the Shinkansen was shown for the first time in this theory. In 1973, the “oil crisis” hit the Japanese economy, ending high economic growth and a period of stable growth began. But prime minister’s scheme was forged ahead and caused severe regional disparity in Japan.

In 1980, a District Planning System was introduced and Land Use Zoning subdivided categories from 8 to 12 to allow better development of residential areas in the city. The Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan and Technopolis Law (Specified Regions Technology Inducement Industrial Development Promotion Law) was enacted in 1978. The Third Comprehensive National Land Development Plan, together with the Fourth Comprehensive National Land Development Plan in 1987, aimed at the rehabilitation of regional capital cities and building the multipolar pattern of national land. This was the time of a confrontation between the urban explosion and the urban policies and planning of the governments, while the situation deteriorated.

The JAEG symposia were held under the topics of “Economic Geographical Problems in the Metropolitan Areas” in 1972 and “On the Mechanism of the Formation of Depopulated Area and Overpopulated Area” in 1974. Also, a book called the *Urban Sprawl Problem of Contemporary Japan* was published in 1978, which elucidated the realities of the urban sprawl, and how the solution to the sprawl should be found out from the viewpoint of securing residents’ rights^⑨.

The mainstream of urban geography has not adopted “big-boned” analysis to solve the urban problem but has only defended its methods and refined its techniques and domain. These could be

attributes that show maturity as a discipline. But the lack of an approach related to the nature of capitalism working on a modern urban problem was a fatal defect. Most of researches tended to concentrate on what was called “theory” but introduction these were actually too stereotyped and powerless to clarify the problem or phenomenon that was worsening and getting more complex.

The concentration of population in the metropolises continued, the urban problem presented the most serious situation. The urbanization front in the TMA extended to 30km and 40km zones from its center that was made possible by a well-organized suburban railway system that played a key role in forming the starfish-shaped urban space (see Figure 4 and Table 2).

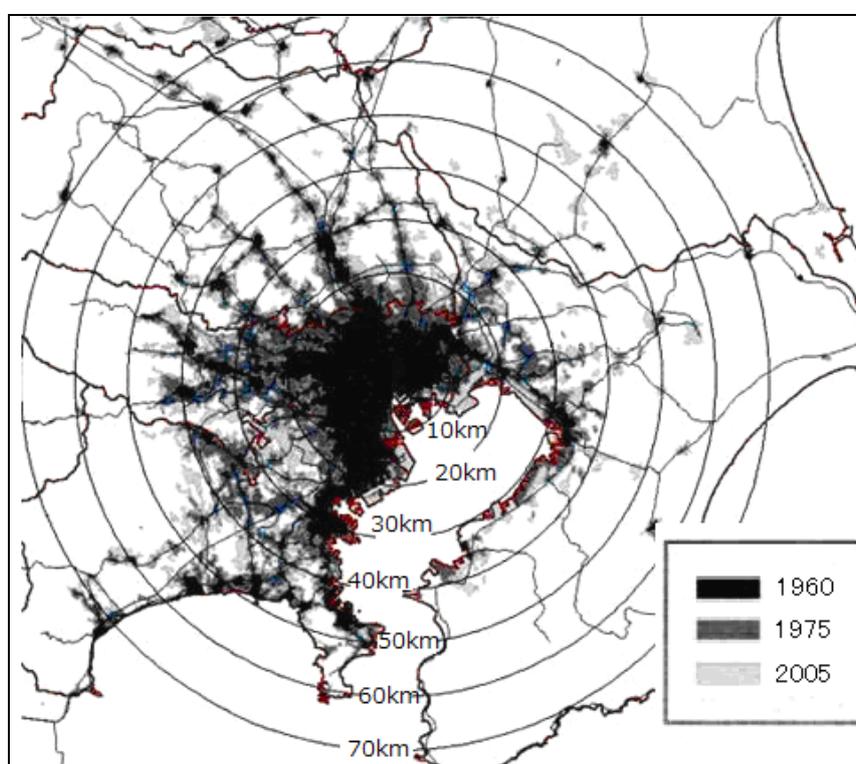


Figure 4 Sprawling Expansion of the Tokyo Metropolitan Area

Source: National Land Numerical Information by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism

In the inner area of Tokyo, the sites of a detached house and a factory that have relatively large lot and good accessibility to transportation have changed into a mid-to-high-rise building: the apartment house what is called “mansion” or the office building. In the suburbs, the large-scale new town projects became active. As a symbol of this kind of project, Tama New Town with about 3,000 ha and a planned population of 342,200 has often been taken up. In parallel with Tama New Town, unplanned small-scale residential areas spread to every corner of the TMA.

Table 2 Population Change of the TMA by Distance Zone and Time Series

(10,000 population)

zone year	1950-55	55-60	60-65	65-70	70-75	75-80	80-85	85-90	90-95	95-00	00-05	Total
Inner Wards	83	48	△ 10	△ 27	△ 27	△ 22	△ 4	△ 2 4	△ 17	7	21	28
Outer Wards	75	86	68	22	7	△ 7	5	5	△ 3	9	14	281
10-20km	24	39	71	59	48	29	22	29	9	12	20	362
20-30km	26	41	80	83	73	33	36	42	24	27	28	493
30-40km	18	26	73	122	121	76	53	53	29	19	18	608
40-50km	8	4	25	39	55	48	35	36	24	11	7	292
50-60km	2	△ 0	6	9	13	12	11	13	12	3	1	82
60-70km	△ 0	△ 2	0	4	7	6	6	5	4	0	△ 2	28
Total	236	242	313	311	297	175	164	159	82	88	107	2174

Source: Census of Japan

Note: • Within 10km area is divided into inner 14 wards and outer 9 wards

• A Gothic figure shows the largest population increase zone of each period.

• △ mark shows the decrease of population

4 Megalopolitanization Urbanization: urban Problems in Economic

Stage of Globalization

This stage is up to the present. It is called the era of megalopolitanization urbanization and is categorized by globalization. An era of contradictions and urban problems is unfolding. The most serious urban problem at this stage was symbolically expressed as the “Tokyo Problem.” But the image of the TMA has been improved by influence of the following trends[Ⓞ]:

- (1) globalization,
- (2) high mobility,
- (3) information and high technology,
- (4) intelligence, sensibility, individuality,
- (5) leisure,
- (6) slowdown in population growth,
- (7) aging society,
- (8) participation of women in public affairs,
- (9) inflated real-estate value, and

(10) inner value.

Based on issues above-mentioned, the basic infrastructure and creativity for new life styles and the economy circulation are necessary to improve the urban problem^⑩. In this context, the administrative agency in general and the local government such as municipality in particular are expected to take rather important initiatives. The administration needs to take major responsibility for industrial management as a main developer. The spatial structure of the TMA was changed dramatically by large-scale urban development and redevelopment projects in the CBD and along the water front near it, as well as the Shinjuku sub-center where super high-rise buildings are clustered. The formation of this new urban core was made possible by further deregulation of urban development.

The corporate headquarters are so sensitive to changing surrounding conditions that they often move for getting a better location on their business^⑪. This is especially true for the corporations which have no their own lot and building. Thus, corporate locations and office building construction are closely related to each other (see Figure 5).

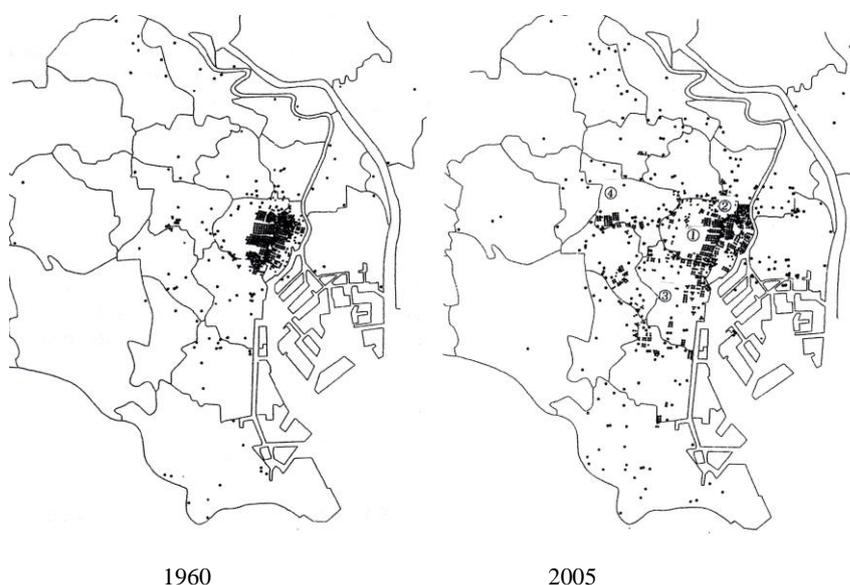


Figure 5 Concentrative Pattern of Major Corporate Headquarter in CBD of Tokyo

Source: *Kaisha Nenkan* Nekkei Shinbun Sha

Note: ①Chiyoda ward, ②Chuo ward, ③Minato ward, ④Shinjuku ward

The geographers focused on life style: the increase of the single-person household for young people and the elderly, as well as the declining birthrate and rising rate of the unmarried, while actualizing a decrease in a national population^⑫. All these problems affected people's behavior

and brought about a diversified urban space. A urban society in which wealth is unequally distributed appeared in Japan and old people in Tokyo who die on their own without anybody knowing about it (called “lonely deaths”) has increased in number. On the other hand, the affluent elderly have migrated to downtown areas, especially waterfront area of the Tokyo Bay, to enjoy the rich culture and to receive a high level of medical care, etc. As a result, a re-urbanization phenomenon has become clear in Tokyo^④. Urban communities in inner city and suburbs were rapidly reorganized, but effective policy to resolve an inequality has not been found^⑤.

The JAEG held symposia on “A New Development of Industrial Structure and Metropolitan Problems” in 1986 and in 1987 on “The Structural Change of the Metropolitan Suburbs: Internationalization and Industrial Structure.” Furthermore it held a symposia called “Tokyo and its World Cityness” in 1995 and on “Metropolis in the Global Era: Focus on the Tokyo Metropolitan Area” in 2008.

Thus the academic interest of geographers converged to the Tokyo Problem as the unipolar concentration of central functions has been reinforced for maintaining the growth of the Japanese economy. However, the corporate headquarters and their deployment of spatial units came to spread gradually though it had concentrated on the very limited place of CBD. Certainly, a corporate location is strongly regulated by the production of the office space.

At this stage of globalization, the number of foreign affiliated companies increased from 2,599 in 1986 to 3,099 in 2009, though its number reached 3,315 of the peaks in 1997 and then turned to decrease at a national level. But, its number has continuously increased from 1,097 in 1986 to 2,293 in 2009 in the Tokyo space (see Table 3) ^⑥.

At the time of bubble economy, the conditions of housing, transportation, and the environment were getting worse under soaring land prices because almost all of large corporations and big banks made desperate efforts to the investment in real estate and in the speculative capital operation, and to financing the housing market. As a result, Japan rushed into an asset-inflated economy, or what became known as the “bubble economy.” Because of this, the liquidity of capital rose and speculative land purchases took off. The “fever” created by the bubble crushed all kinds of urban policies, as well as the idea of city planning. It is natural that unplanned and confused land use and cityscape would emerge in almost all areas of Tokyo, even though sophisticated urban policies and plans were put forth during this period^⑦.

Table 3 Locational Characteristics of Foreign Affiliated Companies

Year	1986		1997		2009	
Ward	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Minato	389	15.0	646	19.5	760	24.5
Chiyoda	301	11.6	472	14.2	496	16.0
Chuo	156	6.0	274	8.3	241	7.8
Shibuya	57	2.2	151	4.6	186	6.0
Shinagawa	36	1.4	120	3.6	148	4.8
Shinjuku	54	2.1	108	3.3	140	4.5
Ward Total	1087	41.8	2066	62.3	2293	74.0
National Total	2599	100.0	3315	100.0	3099	100.0

Source: *Gaisikei Soran* Toyo Keizai Shinposha

Recently, the geographical study on the urban problem has decreased. This is because urban problems were not taken as seriously as they had been, given the changing situation: a long-term economic recession followed the bursting of the economic bubble and the national population that began to decrease in 2009. As well, inter-regional mobility fell to low levels and land prices in almost all cities became 1/10th or less compared with the time of the bubble. The conditions for re-urbanization and gentrification were settled, and owing to the world cityness, Tokyo became a city where the charm overflowed. But socio-economic polarization and areal disparity lead to the formation of dichotomous society within the Tokyo space in which new urban problems related with changing lifestyle and leading industry sectors. Also it is necessary to point out that the TMA has been shrinking spatially in the 2000s.

In fact, Tokyo's status in Japan has constantly been reinforced in all aspects. Regarding the area of land, population and GDP of the TMA have already mentioned in Introduction. In addition, the TMA accounts for 47% of bank deposit, 53% of loans, 96% of stock trading value, 28% of industrial product shipment value, 40% of wholesaling value, 63% of corporation headquarters with a capital of more than 10 billion yen, 87% of foreign-affiliated companies, 30% of office workers, 70% of information and service employees, 44% of university students, 86% of the sales

volume of internet-based services and 70% of the sale volume of telecommunications services to national total.

Table 4 Formation of Mega-banks and Concentration of their Head office on Core of Tokyo

~1965 First Stage	~1985 Second Stage	~2010 Third Stage	Deposit
Tokyo B (Chuo) Mitsubishi B (Chiyoda) Sanwa B (Osaka) Tokai B (Nagoya)	Tokyo B (Chuo) Mitsubishi B (Chiyoda) Sanwa B (Osaka) Tokai B (Nagoya)	MitsubishiUFJ FG (Chiyoda,2006) Tokyo-Mitsubishi B (Chiyoda, 1996) UFJ B (Chiyoda, 2002)	193tril. Yen
Daiichi B (Chiyoda) Nihonkangyo B (Chiyoda) Fuji B (Chiyoda) Japan Industrial B (Chiyoda)	Daiichi-Kangyo B (Chiyoda,1971) Fuji B (Chiyoda) Japan Industrial B (Chiyoda)	Mizuho FG (Chiyoda, 2000)	154tril. Yen
Sumitomo B (Osaka) Mitsui B (Chiyoda) Kobe B (Kobe) Taiyo B (Chiyoda)	Sumitomo B (Osaka) Mitsui B (Chiyoda) Taiyo-Kobe B (Chiyoda,1973)	Mitsusumitomo FG (Chiyoda, 2001) Taiyo-Kobe-Mitsui B(1990) → Sakura B(Chiyoda, 1992)	112tril. Yen
Daiwa B (Osaka) Saitama B (Urawa) Kyowa B (Chiyoda)	Daiwa B (Osaka) Saitama B (Urawa) Kyowa B (Chiyoda)	Risona FG (Osaka, 2003) Kyowa-Saitama(1991) →Asahi B (Chiyoda, 1992)	40tril. Yen
Hokkaidotakushoku B (Sapporo)	Hokkaidotakushoku B (Sapporo)	Failure(1997)	

Source: *Nihon Kinyu Meikan* Nihon kinyu Tsusinsha.

Note: •Deposit: the total volume of deposit in 2009.

•The bold-faced type is a in existence mega-bank.

Of them, financial function has been taken up as one of the highest level central management functions[®]. Geographer's concern was converged on flow of funds in relation to the rise and fall of the cities. Especially the formation of a huge pyramid type organization through M&A of big banks and its projection to space has been positively researched[®]. As shown in Table 4, there were 16 city banks in Japan. The number of them has decreased to 3 major city banks plus 1 which are called a mega-bank now, though one bank is rather small. Only 8 out of 16 banks had their head office in Chiyoda ward, though all 3 major mega-banks came to locate their head office in Chiyoda ward. Cities other than Tokyo have completely lost this important economic function in their regional economies. This is not the only the illustration of the concentration of economic

function on the Tokyo space, a similar trend can be seen in all other leading sectors of the economy. This clarifies some spatial aspects of the mechanism for forming the centralization of Japanese politico-economic and social system in which Tokyo situated on the top of huge urban hierarchy in Japan^⑩. Thus, urban problems caused by overcrowding have been left without being solved.

5 Conclusion

The populations of cities in Western countries are not as large and they have not experienced such rapid growth as Asian cities have recently. An essential difference between cities in both regions is whether or not the cities developed based on city planning. Of course, there were well-planned ancient cities in Asia, too. But in most contemporary cities in Asia, unplanned urbanization has been the norm. Tokyo is not an exception. But owing to continual improvement, even if it was only partial, Tokyo has gradually become a city where problems are few. This explanation leads us to understand why the term “urban problem” is not in the *Dictionary of Human Geography*, as I pointed out earlier in my introduction.

In the formative process of the Tokyo Metropolitan Area or urbanization at the time of nationalization, metropolitanization at the time of internationalization and megalopolitanization at the time of globalization, can be recognized and the characteristics of each stage are clear. The prices of land and housing soared until the economic bubble burst in the 1990s and have fallen sharply to 1/10th the prices when the bubble was at its peak. Because of the progress of social polarization, there still remain some urban problems, though their seriousness has weakened. The Tokyo urban problem has not come into question compared with the situation before the 1990s. For example, the depopulation of the central part of the city, urban sprawl, the deterioration of commuting conditions, and the growing difficulty of acquiring a residential house have greatly improved. But residential floor spaces and the area of parks per person are very narrow. Congestion in rush hours, though improved by introducing four track train lines, etc., has remained unsettled.

An important topic for geography is whether an effective analytical tool and a research framework can be constructed. Recently, geographers have changed views on urban affairs, coming out in each country with research collaborations and academic meetings, as well as

sharing experiences of urban problems in their countries. So, in the near future, a common research framework and methodology that explains urban problems more effectively will be proposed.

The Tokyo metropolis expanded spatially into the suburbs, and farm villages have almost disappeared within the 40-km zone. Moreover, the Tokyo space has begun to shrink spatially and became more compact after the absolute amount of housing exceeded the demand at middle of the 2000s. The central management function has still produced a gigantic CBD and the re-urbanization phenomenon in downtown Tokyo has appeared and is promoting gentrification of the inner areas, the water front area of the Tokyo Bay is one of the examples.

Given the rich cultural resources and the existence of institutions with advanced medical technology, affluent people, including seniors, are migrating to urban Tokyo, and these newcomers are changing the downtown from a place of work to a place of living. From other viewpoints, Tokyo is becoming a place of single-person households. The declining birth and rising unmarried rates, the growing proportion of elderly people, the sense of alienation, the “lonely deaths”, and so forth bring about new urban problems and the construction of barrier-free urban space is becoming one of the largest public concerns in Tokyo. All these should not be always confined to the urban problem.

Notes

- ① Witherick, Michael & Carr, Michael. 1993. *The Changing Face of Japan*. Hodder & Stoughton. p. 108. As other references on this, Klaassen, L.H. et al. 1981. *Transport and Reurbanization*. Gower Publishing Company. Berg, L. Van den. et al. 1982. *Urban Europe Vol. 1: A Study of Growth and Decline*. Pergamon Press and Clark, David 1996. *Urban World, Global City*. Routledge are given.
- ② First stage of urbanization when the productive activity of a corporation is done within the country and the sales of its products is for the domestic markets. Second stage of urbanization when the productive activity of a corporation is done within the country, but the sales of its products is for export. Third stage of urbanization when the productive activity of a corporation and the sales of its products shifts to overseas. This is the stage of global shift characterized by the foreign direct investment and the behavior of multinational corporation.
- ③ Johnston, R.J. et al. 2000. *The Dictionary of Human Geography 4th Edition*. Blackwell.

- ④ Yada, Toshifumi and Kitamura, Yoshiyuki together with about 100 young academics established a research group on the regional structure of Japan in 1975. A large number of graduate students in those days participated in this academic activity and most of them became the professor of the university afterwards and has contributed to the development of not only economic geography but also general geography and social sciences. Although a lot of results were achieved for about 10 years, 6 volumes were published as a series of *Nihon no Chiiki kozo (Regional structure of Japan)* from Taimeido Publishing Co. in Tokyo for the period of 1977 and 1988 that was the foremost achievement of this academic group. Of them, volume 1 : *Chiiki no Gainen to chiiki kozo (Concept of Region and Regional Structure)* in 1988, Volume 4: *Ryutsu Joho no Chiiki Kozo (The Regional Structure of Distribution and Information)* in 1979, Volume 5: *Jinko Ryudo no Chiiki Kozo (Regional Structure of Population Mobility)* in 1979, Volume 6: *Shotoku Shikin no Chiiki kozo (Regional Structure of Fund and Income)* in 1988 are especially good references to understand urban problem in Japan. The author co-edited Volume 6.
- ⑤ Not a priori research but an inductive positivistic research on urban problem was advanced. Since the urban problem is extremely various, the research outcomes by this approach also become various. The research from this viewpoint has begun with Abe, Kazutoshi. 1973. 'A Study of Economic Management Center of Major Cities in Japan' *Geographical Review of Japan* 46(2): 92-106. The research on economic, social and cultural phenomena translated onto urban space made clear various urban problems appeared in a specific area within a metropolis.
- ⑥ The JAEG has held the symposium taking up a symbolic urban problem of each stage of economic growth as common theme. Then, to capture the nature of urban problem, it was effective to arrange its theme chronologically.
- ⑦ Kiuchi, Shinzo (et al.). 1964. *Nihon no Toshika (Urbanization of Japan)*. Kokonshoin.
- ⑧ Tanaka, Kakuei. 1972. *Nihon Retto Kaizo ron (The Japanese Islands Remodeling Theory)*. Nikkan Kogyo Shinbunsha.
- ⑨ Moritaki, Kenichiro(ed.). 1978. *Gendai Nihon no Toshi Supuroru Mondai (Urban Sprawl Problem in Contemporary Japan)*. Otsukishoten.
- ⑩ Sassen, Saskia. 2012. *Cities in a World Economy Fourth Edition* SAGE, and Fujita, Naoharu. 1995. 'Recent Trends in the Spatial Reorganization of the Metropolitan Tokyo' In Yuji Murayama and Guoqing Du (ed.) . *Cities in Global Perspective: Diversity and Transition*. College of Tourism,

Rikkyo University with IGU Urban Commission:531-538. presents the degree of the corporate concentration on Tokyo and its relative evaluation based on global viewpoint.

- ① Florida, Richard. 2005. *Cities and the Creative Class*. Routledge.
- ② The strategic importance of Tokyo has risen with the progress of the globalization for the big financial combines (Zaibatsu) affiliated large corporations. Shinjuku sub-center, a space newly created to solve unfairness between the Tokyo based big financial conglomerates (Zaibatsu) and the other city based ones. Therefore, the Osaka based corporations mainly occupy the space in this area. In addition, to respond to the rising demand for the office space by the foreign affiliated corporations the Makuhari New Center and the Yokohama MM21 were constructed in the 1990s.
- ③ Kagawa, Takashi. 2011. 'The Separation of Parents and Their Adult Children in an Aging Society Below Replacement Fertility: A Case Study of Senri New Town in the Northwest part of Suita City, Osaka Prefecture' . *The Human Geography*. Vol.63,No.3, pp.1-20.
- ④ Tomoko Kubo and Yoshimichi Yui. 2011. 'Diversification of the Condominium Supply in the Central Tokyo: Supply Strategies of "Compact" Condominium' *Geographical Review of Japan Series A* 84(5): 460-472. and Ryo Koizumi et.al.. 2011. 'New Dimensions of Housing Acquisition in the Tokyo Bay Area: Skyscraper Condominium Residents in Toyosu' *Geographical Review of Japan Series A* 84(6):592-609 serve as good references.
- ⑤ Wayne, K.D. Davis and Herbert, T. David. 1993 *Communities within Cities An Urban Social Geography* Belhaven Press.
- ⑥ The numbers of Foreign Affiliated Company are based on the list of *Gaishikei kigyō Soran (The Bulletin of Foreign Affiliated Companies in Japan)*; Toyo Keizai Shinposha.
- ⑦ Fujita, Naoharu. 1993. 'A Viewpoint of Economic Geography on "Tokyo Problem"' *Sundai . Historical Review* No.87, pp.19-43.
- ⑧ Gordon, L. Clark, Dixon, D. Adam and Monk, H. Ashby. 2009. *Managing Financial Risks* Oxford University Press, Gordon L. Clark and Wójcik, Dariusz. 2007. *The Geography of Finance*. Oxford University Press, Leyshon, Andrew. and Thrift Nigel. 1997. *Money Space* Routledge, Klagge, Britta and Martin Ron. 2005. 'Decentralized versus centralized financial systems: is there a case for local capital markets?' *The Journal of Economic Geography* 5(4):387-421 etc. are the good references to this point. Five of the city banks of Japan used to occupy top 10 of the world banks ranking list in *Fortune* Magazine in the 1980s and 1990s.

- ④ Fujita, Naoharu. 1995. 'Corporate Space and Emerging New Spatial Order in Japan'. *Geographia Polonica* Vol.66,pp.65-86.
- ⑤ Florida, Richard. 2009. *Who's Your City?* Vintage Canada.

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- [4] Fujita, Naoharu(ed.). 2001. *Tokyo: Kyodai Kukan no Shoso (Tokyo: Some Aspects of a Mega-space)*. Taimeido.
- [5] Fujita, Naoharu. 2011. '1990 年之后东京大城市圈的空间重构 (Analysis of the Spatial Reconstruction in Tokyo Metropolitan Area since 1990)'. *城市观察 (Urban Insight)*. Vol.11, No.1, pp.111-118.
- [6] Knox P.L. and Taylor P.J. 1995. *World Cities in a World System*. Cambridge University Press.
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- [8] Rimmer, J. Peter. 1986. 'Japan's World Cities: Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya or Tokaido Megalopolis?'. *Development and Environment*. No.17,pp.121-157.