

Mega-city and Mega-projects: The impact on a Working-Class Residential Area in Greater Tokyo

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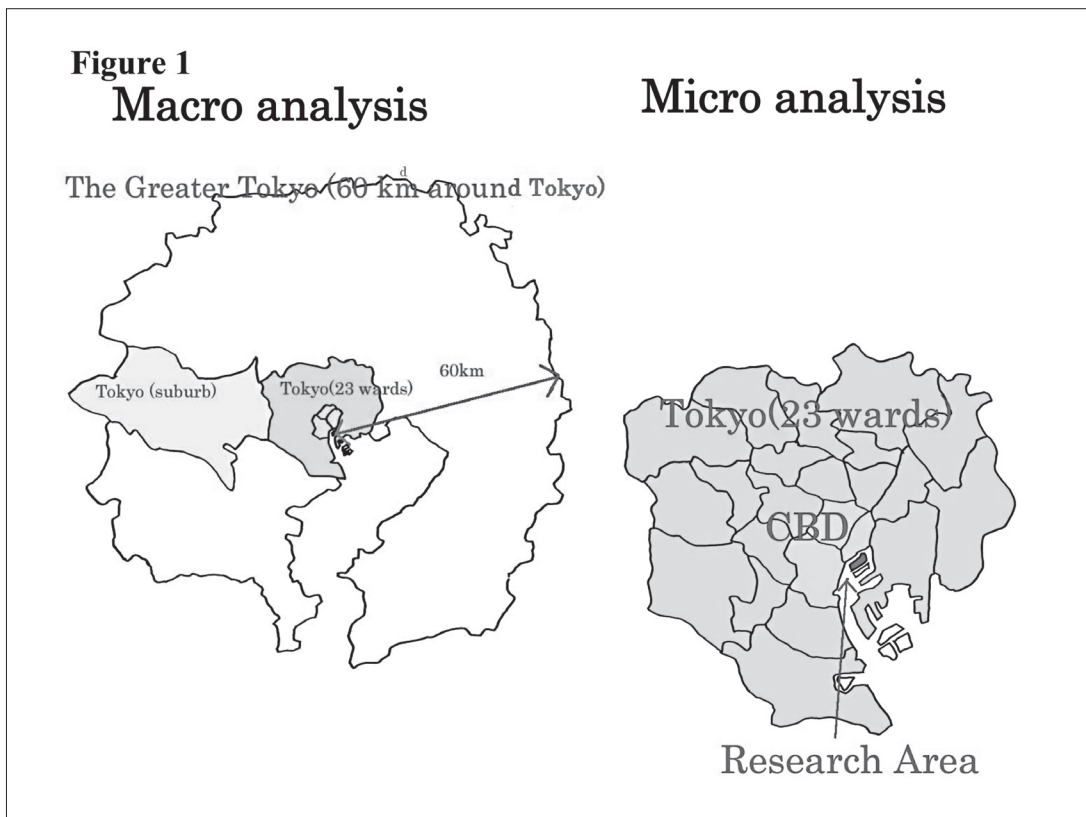
1. Introduction

This study examines the transformation process of a working-class residential area in Greater Tokyo over 45 years based on macro and micro analysis.

In the first half of this article I outline the expansion process of Greater Tokyo by map-sets as macro analysis. On this rough sketch I examine the social meanings of inner and outer mega-projects in the 1980's and 1990's. From a macro perspective I make clear the focus of my research area.

In the second half I discuss the transformation process of my research area in central Tokyo based on micro analysis. I examine how local resources impacted on the changing pattern. Focusing on emergence of the new association specialized local food, I explore the local context of creating a new local identity and collective action.

This research area (Figure 1) is located in the urban center. It was impacted by inner mega-projects in the 1980's and 1990's. The percentage of residents employed by service industries increased, and



business/commercial space expanded. The changing of urban centers in global cities is liable to be explained by the global city's context. It is one way to explain. However in this study I try to explain in other context.

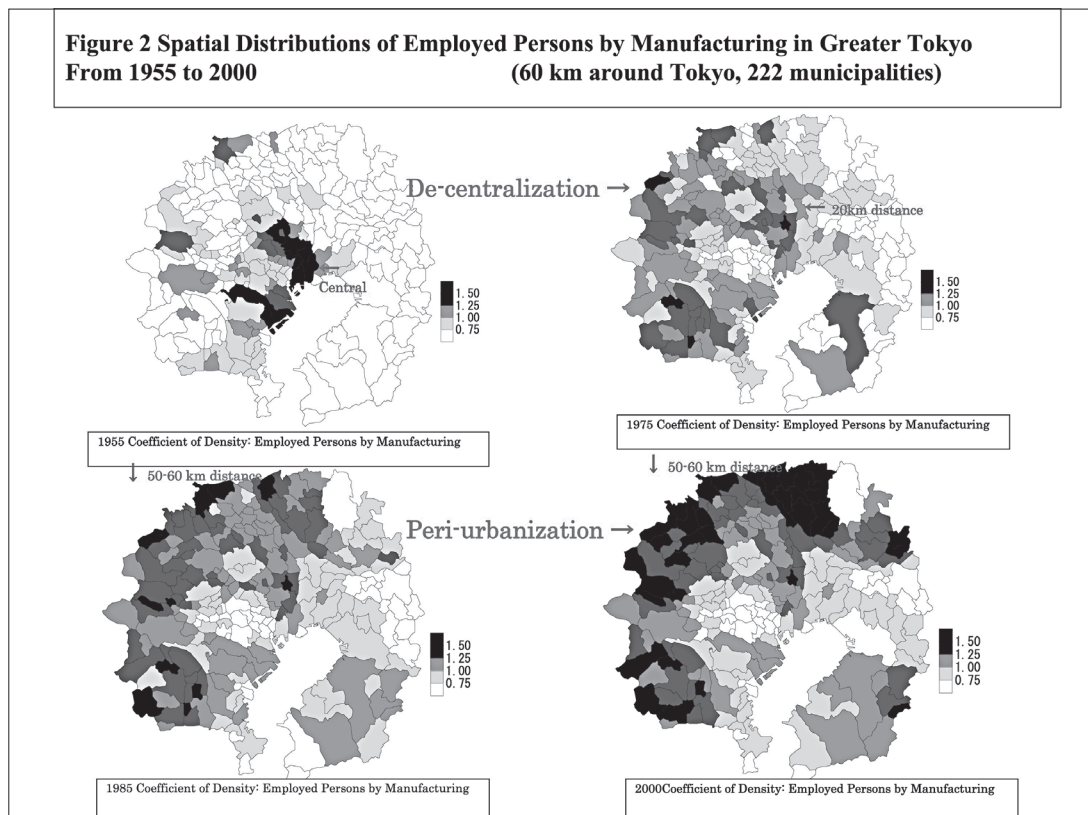
I point out the significance of focusing on local context even in urban centers in global cities, and examine the relation between global context and distinctive local context. This study presents comparative research points for analyzing the transformation process in global cities.

2. Macro analysis : The expansion of Greater Tokyo and the process of functional differentiation of space

2.1 Two map sets

Figure 2 is the spatial distribution of employed persons by manufacturing in Greater Tokyo (60 km around Tokyo). This set shows the changing spatial distribution of the manufacturing working-class residential area for 45 years. Figure 3 is spatial distribution of employed persons by wholesale/retail. They belong to the service sector.

These map sets are based on the National Census data of 222 municipalities. I calculated the coefficient of concentration of employed persons by each industry by each census year after World War-II and reflected them on maps. For this article I select 1955, 1975, 1985, 2000 census years' maps.



2.2 The transformation of industry (manufacturing) space from central to outer ring

For 45 years the concentrated area of manufacturing employed persons shifted from urban centers (see 1955 map) to 50-60 km distance peri-urban areas (see 2000 map). The transformation of industry (manufacturing) space proceeded through two stages. The first stage is de-centralization. The second stage is peri-urbanization. Each process was caused by different factors.

De-centralization 1955-75:

The concentrated area of manufacturing employed persons was located in central urban areas on the 1955 map. But it moved to the 20km distance areas in 1975. De-centralization was prominent during 1955-75.

The reason of de-centralization is the new industrial act was in force in 1959. It prohibited constructing new manufacturing plants in central wards in Tokyo. New manufacturing plants were built outside urban centers. They concentrated in 20km distance areas until 1975.

The new industrial act was a part of Metropolitan plan acts. The rapid economic growth in Japan started in 1960. New plants with the most up-to-date facilities were built in 20km distance areas. The industrial act promoted the manufacturing growth and made Greater Tokyo a powerful manufacturing city.

Tokyo is a historic city which has 400 years' history. Original urban centers were small scale areas. Industry space (manufacturing), commercial/business space, and residential space were originally mixed inside urban centers. Metropolitan plan acts promoted functional differentiation of space. The industrial act divided industry space from urban centers, affecting the base of manufacturing growth in the 1960's and 1970's. At the same time new residential space (new towns in suburban areas) was planned for domestic migrant families to settle in.

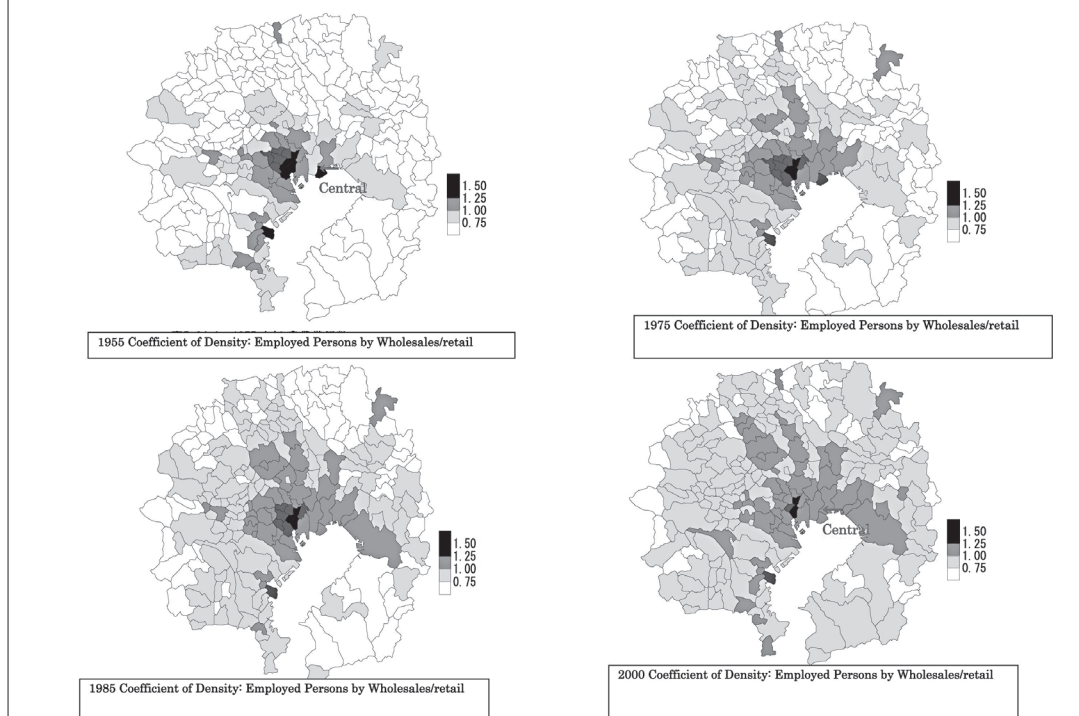
Peri-urbanization 1985-2000:

Manufacturing employed persons started to concentrate in 50-60 km peri-urban areas on 1985 map. This tendency is clearer on 2000 map. I named this second transformation Peri-urbanization. It was caused during 1985-2000.

Mega-projects in the outer ring, for example constructing the new highway belt and traffic network developed the industrial zone at the outer ring. Greater Tokyo expanded with putting manufacturing outside urban centers. Industry space (manufacturing) smoothly shifted from inner to outer inside Greater Tokyo. Greater Tokyo keeps the position of the manufacturing control center.

Mega-projects were carried out in both inner and outer areas in the 1980's and 1990's. These were both sides of the coin for restructuring Greater Tokyo. Both mega-projects developed functional differentiation of space.

**Figure 3 Spatial Distributions of Employed Persons by wholesales/retails in Greater Tokyo
From 1955 to 2000
(60 km around Tokyo, 222 municipalities)**



2.3 The transformation of commercial/business space in central areas

Figure 3 is the spatial distribution of employed persons by wholesale/retail. They belong to the service sector. The core of the concentrated area remains located in the urban center for 45 years. There was no change.

However wholesale/retail in central Tokyo consists of two different types. One of them is traditional local based wholesale/retail. It has roots in pre-modern Tokyo. The other is more up-to-date commercial/business activities. Some of them are related to globalization.

When urban centers were small, functional differentiation of space was not occurred, commercial/business space mixed with industry space (manufacturing). Manufacturing working-class families were customers of traditional local based services. The mixed areas accumulated social resources of manufacturing working-class culture with traditional local based services.

Industry space was divided from commercial/business space during the rapid economic growth in the 1960's and 1970's (the time of de-centralization). The social issue was how the traditional local based services change their direction. Conversion couldn't easily be made for all these areas. It needs a long time to convert in general.

Social resources of local culture impacted on changing patterns. Inner mega-projects carried out in

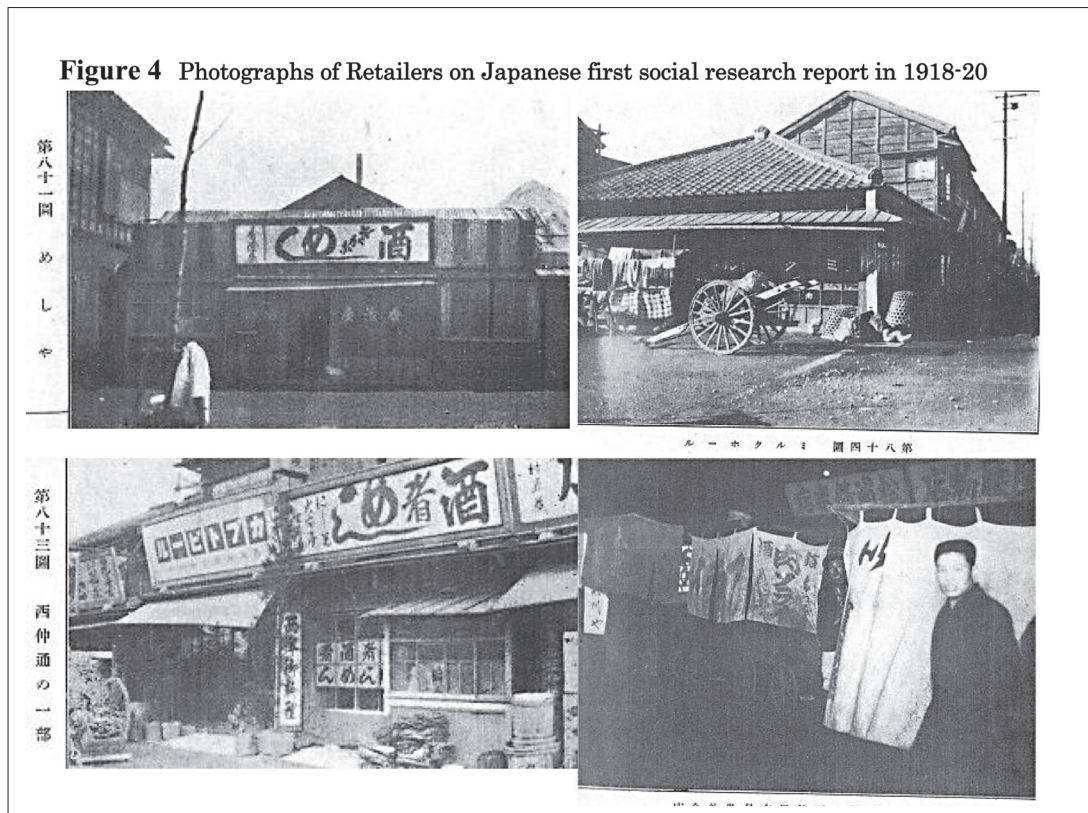
the 1980's and 1990's (the time of peri-urbanization) also impacted on them. Some of them got success, others suffered from getting new direction. On the other side inner mega-projects produced more business/commercial space. They made Greater Tokyo get the new position in global cities' competition by worldwide up-to-date commercial/business activities. Though the core of the service sector kept concentrating in central areas for 45 years, the constitution of service sectors was changing.

I selected the the successful area at waterside to examine the impact of local resources and inner mega-projects on its changing pattern.

3. Micro analysis : The impact of local resources and inner mega-projects on changing pattern

3.1 Research area

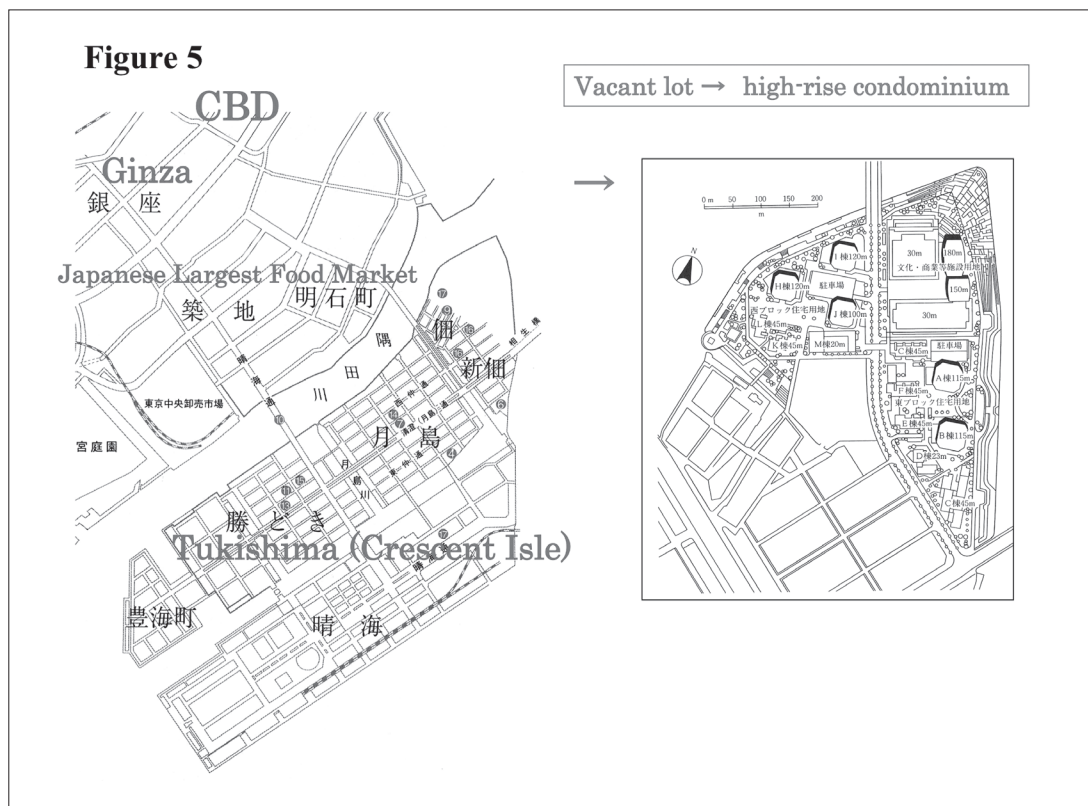
As micro analysis, I explore the transformation process of the water-front inner area called 'Tukishima'. It has an important position on Japanese social research history. Japanese first comprehensive social research was conducted there in 1918-20. This research followed C.Booth's ' Life and Labour of the People of London.' The Japanese Central Sanitary Bureau of the Home Department asked some social science academics to explore skilled working-class families' life. Research team consisted of Professor



Iwasaburo Takano and other social researchers. They compared some working-class concentrated areas in Tokyo, selected Tukishima as the most appropriate for research purposes. They reported not only lives of manufacturing working-class families but also activities of retailers selling daily commodities to local people. Tukishima was characterized by mixed manufacturing/ commercial/ residential uses. They put some photographs of retailers on the report (Figure 4).

I introduce the history of Tukishima. In 19 centuries Tokyo City Government reclaimed land from the sea, made it into an industrial island. It was named Tukishima in 1892. Tukishima means Isle of crescent shape (Figure 5). Japanese first Dockyard opened at an adjoining island, and many small manufacturing factories and skilled workers' families concentrated in Tukishima. It is just 20 minutes' walk from the central business district over bridges.

And Japanese biggest wholesale food market opened at the opposite shore. Many food wholesalers and processors also concentrated in Tukishima. Tukishima developed as a distinctive mixed inner area along the waterside in early 1900s.



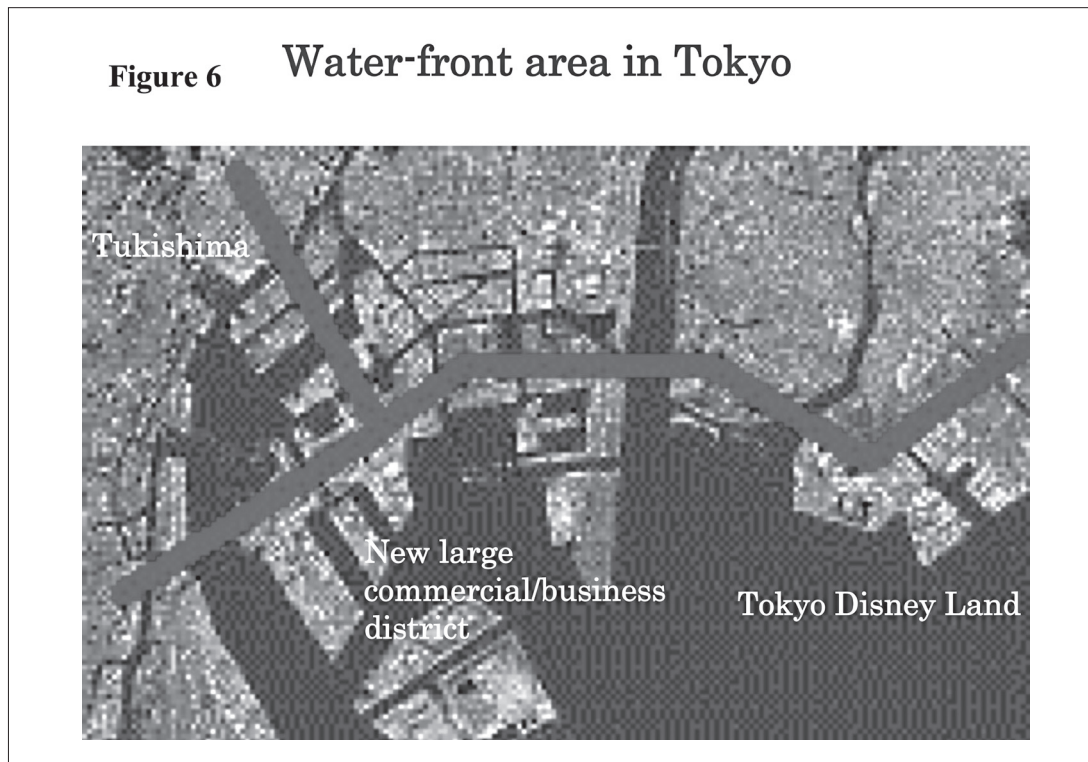
3.2 Inner mega-project in late 1980s

The dockyard moved to outside in 1979, because the lot was too small to extend other enterprises. The mega-project for building super high-rise condominium towers at the vacant lot (9 ha) was started in

1985 by the private sector. It was completed in 1989. The most expensive rent was 4680 pounds per month (131.85m²). Even the lowest rent (55.65m²) was 835 pounds per month.

Residents can enjoy a nice ocean view in their room. Highly-paid urban professionals live there, because this area is very close to CBD. The project spot was gentrified. (Arisue 1999, Sonobe 2001). The super high-rise condominium was a special-feature project in the early stage of water-front development in the 1980's.

Water-front areas were comprehensively developed by various bodies in the 1980's and 1990's. For example Tokyo Disneyland opened in 1983. Tokyo Metropolitan Government made the water-front development plan (448ha) in 1988, and opened new large business/commercial district on the reclaimed island in the 1990's. Some inner mega-projects promoted a new tourist belt along the water-front which attracts international and domestic tourists. As two new subway lines were opened through Tukishima, it was re-made into the water-front developed belt. (Figure 6)



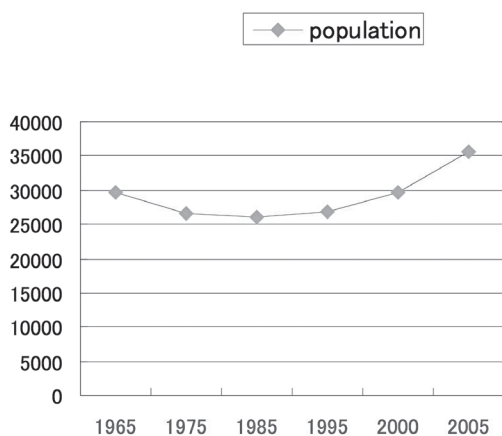
3.3 The transformation from mixed area to service industries dominated area

Table 1 is Population in Tukishima. It increased after the late 1980s. The first new subway line opened in 1988. It affected the population balance.

Table 2 is ratio of employment person by industry in Tukishima. The percentage of working-class

Table 1 Population in Tushima

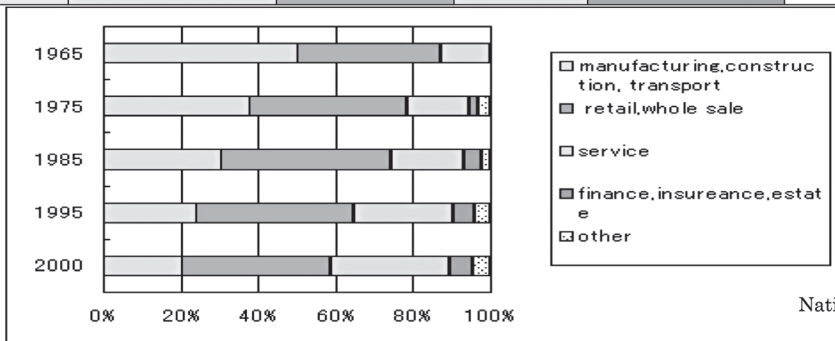
year	population
1965	29554
1975	26709
1985	25968
1995	26796
2000	29709
2005	35668



National Census

Table 2 Ratio of employed person by industry (%)

	manufacturing, construction, transport	Wholesale/ retail	other services	finance, insurance, estate	other
1965	47.3	35.0	12.0		
1975	36.9	40.0	16.2	2	3.2
1985	30	44.0	18.9	4.2	2.5
1995	23.9	40.9	25.4	5.9	3.9
2000	20.4	38.2	30.8	6.1	4.5



National Census

(manufacture, construction, transport) to service sector (wholesale/retail, other services) was almost the same in 1965. But the percentage of service sector population dominated in 2000. Tukishima changed to service industry workers dominated area.

Table 3 is the constitution of service sectors in Tukishima. In 1965 many retailers sold daily commodities to manufacturing working-class families. Those retailers belong to traditional local based service industries. But the constitution of the service sector has changed. Eating/drinking establishments grew rapidly at Tukishima in the 1990's and 2000's. Most of the new ones were 'Monja-yaki' restaurants.

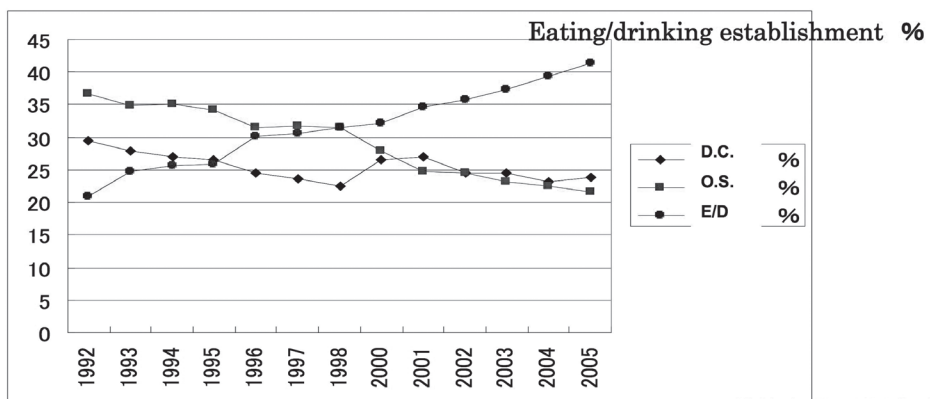
'Monja-yaki' (Monja) is a special local food in Tukishima. It looks like pizza-pie. It used to be a common afternoon snack for working-class children.

Tukishima became famous for Monja in the late 1980's. A lot of tourists visit there to eat it at lunch time, And they also go sightseeing and shopping in the water-front commercial/business district after lunch. Tukishima became a popular tourist spot which even school trip students and international tourists visit.

Water front mega-projects impacted on the transformation of Tukishima on one side. However I explain how local resources impacted on the transformation process of Tukishima in other side. I

Table3 The constitution of service sectors in Tukishima

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Daily commodity %	29.4	28.0	26.9	26.6	24.5	23.6	22.6		26.6	26.9	24.5	24.6	23.2	23.9
Other service %	36.6	34.8	35.0	34.2	31.4	31.8	31.6		28.0	24.8	24.5	23.2	22.5	21.7
Eating/drinking establishment %	20.9	24.8	25.6	25.9	30.2	30.6	31.6		32.2	34.6	35.7	37.3	39.4	41.3



Nishinaka Street Retailers' Association Material

conducted in-depth interviews with 15 Monja restaurants' female owners in 2006 and 2007.

3.4 Emergence of the new association specialized local food

Originally traditional local based retailers have their association. I call it the old association. 139 shop-owners belonged to it in 2006. This organization is conservative and not flexible. The president was 78 years old in 2006.

Increased numbers of Monja restaurants promoted the emergence of the new association which specialized in local food. It was organized in 1997. 53 restaurant-owners belong to it out of 63. 22 owners are female. 38 owners belong to both associations.

The new one is active in conducting an advertising campaign. It joined hands with travel agencies to get school trip students and water-front tourists to come there. It stands at the key position to connect local resources with the effect of inner mega-project developments along the waterside.

Increasing scale and organizing were key-points. How was collective action produced?

3.5 Monja evolution – Raising the worth of local resources

Monja is local resource. It was cultural capital of the working-class. But the original was a cheap and simple snack for working-class children.

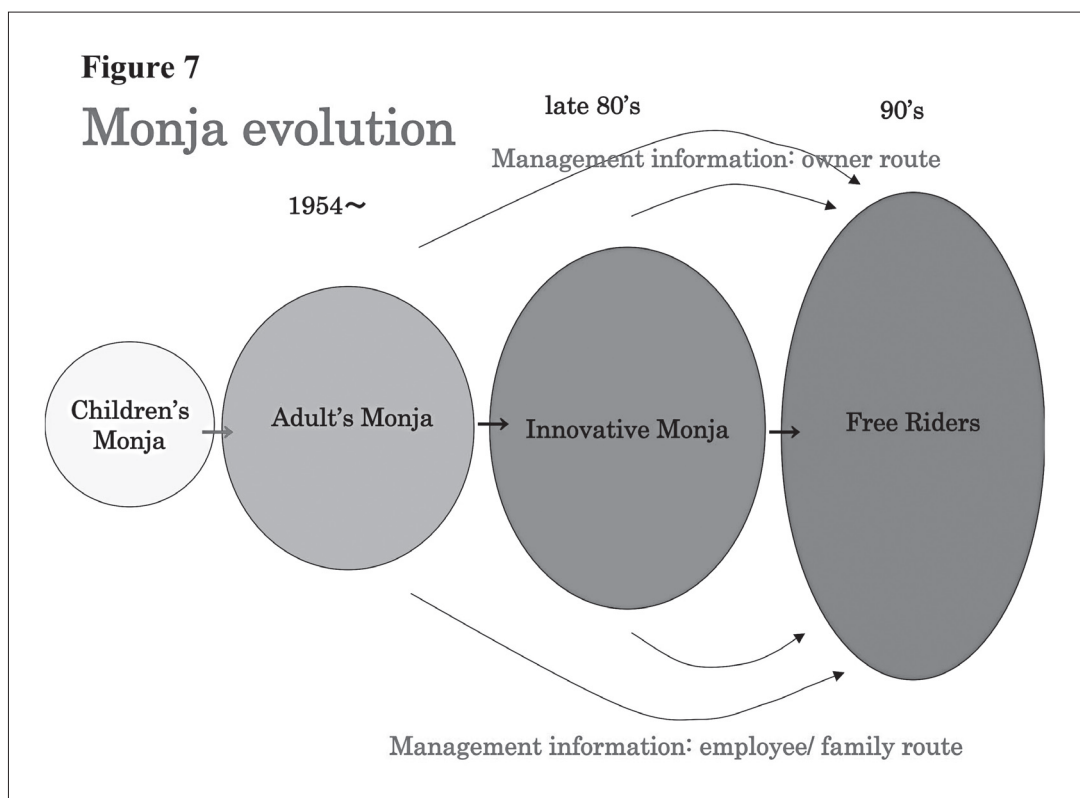
I found 4 stages in Monja evolution, children's Monja, adult's Monja, innovative Monja, participation of free riders (Figure 7).

The first stage is children's Monja. It was just a simple snack for children. Before 1954 children ate Monja at cheap sweets shops. These shops were usually run by old women at their terrace house entrance. It was a pleasure for children to eat it with friends. Almost all children have common experience of this in pre-modern Tokyo working-class areas.

The second stage is adult's Monja. In 1954 a war widow opened the first Monja restaurant for adults. Her son is the current president of the new association. There were just 4 or 5 Monja restaurants in the 1970's. They keep traditional taste.

In 1979 the dockyard moved outside. The constitution of service sectors came to change. New restaurants opened one by one. In the late 1980's one of the new owners created innovative Monja, because her restaurant was located at an un-busy street, she had to take some measures. She was born in Tukishima. Though she has a close network there, some neighbors blamed her for deviating from traditional taste. But she was successful. Some food magazines introduced her modern taste. Innovative Monja attracted new visitors. Monja in Tukishima became more famous. She is the current vice president. This is the third stage.

The fourth stage is participation of free riders. As many visitors came, some retailers changed their business to that of Monja restaurant. They were something like free riders, because they adopted this business to make easy gains. But free riders were beneficial, because the increase of their numbers



promoted the organization of the new association, and let them undertake collective action.

Monja evolved through 4 stages. This is not the original taste. Local people raised the worth of local culture, and connected modern taste with visitors from outside.

3.6 Free riders and information

Most free riders had no experience of running eating establishments. How did they get management information? I found there were two routes, owners route, and employee/family route. Both early starters and late starters are in the neighborhood network. Late starters became rivals of early starters. The former felt uneasy to be free riders, they tried to lighten these feelings. One owner directly asked early starter to work in their restaurant to gain skills. One female owner did so, and worked for one year in a chilly kitchen. The most usual case was to ask early starters to employ their son or daughter to get the skill of managing. Their family knew each other. Their children were childhood friends. Early starters found it difficult to refuse this proposal. Late starters utilized local network relationships, and got managing skill this way. Local networks increased the number of free rider Monja owners.

3.7 The impact of local resources on changing patterns

The evolution of local cultural resource and local networks contributed to the increase of Monja owners.

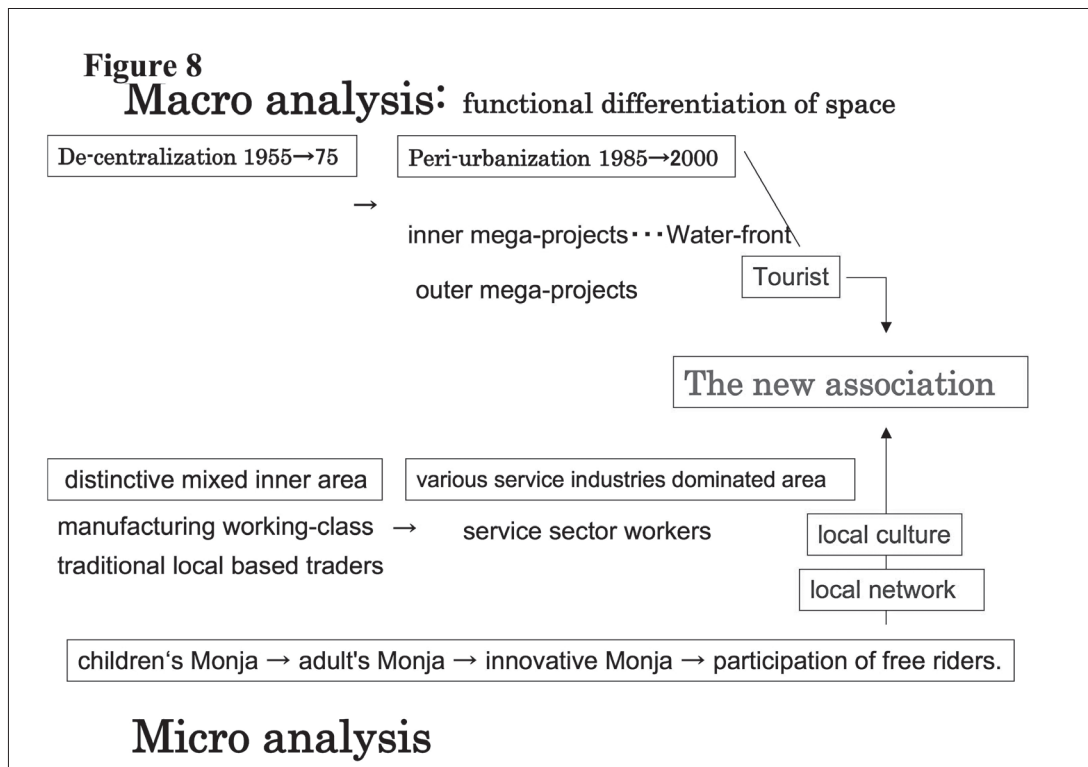
Their increase promoted the emergence of the new association. It is the key organization which connects local resources with the impact of inner mega-projects (Figure 8). This is the transformation process of Tushima from a mixed area to a service sector dominated area.

4. Conclusion: thinking of local identity from both sides

In the first half of this study I discussed that inner and outer mega-projects promoted the functional differentiation of space in Greater Tokyo based on macro analysis. The social issue was how the traditional local based services would find new direction in the former mixed area in urban centers.

In the second half I discussed the transformation process of the mixed area based on micro analysis. Local cultural resources and local networks were the base of the emergence of a new organization. To adjust to social change, local people put new worth into original local resources. They created a new local identity 'Monja town' based on the original. They concentrated their power for collective purpose. They may survive for decades to come depending on this new local identity.

Many tourists visit Tushima and water-front areas. They want to enjoy not only the up-to-date water-front commercial districts, but also a nostalgic atmosphere for recalling old lost Tokyo. The taste of local food in Tushima satisfies their need. Visitors from outside Tokyo want to taste the traditional local identity for a short time. They aren't satisfied with mere functionally differentiated commercial/business space. On one side globalization is promoted, but on the other side locality is reevaluated on new



arrangement of local resources.

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