

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF TOKYO'S INNER-CITY

Itsuki NAKABAYASHI

Abstract This report aims to research the socio-economic and living condition of Tokyo inner-city area residents in 1980 from the viewpoint of the inner-city problem. The 35 kinds of official data by ward area are selected and analyzed. The results of the analysis are as follows:

1) The inner-city problem of Tokyo is restricted to the inner area around the CBD, rather than in the inner core area, which is characterized by high population density and mixed residential-industrial land use.

2) In the inner core area of Tokyo, a marked decrease in young residential population and the rise of aged population ratio are noticed as an inner-city problem for each self-governing body.

3) The inner-city problem of Tokyo is caused not by the ethnic minority and immigration problems but by the degradation of traditional manufacturing industries and the poor residential environment and housing.

1. Introduction

According to the Government White Paper 'Policy for the Inner Cities' (Department of the Environment, 1977), it is acknowledged that an inner-city problem exists in many cities of Great Britain. The 1977 White Paper identified four basic components of the inner-city problem as follows:

1) The economic decline associated with the contracting industrial base of inner areas and its implications for employment.

2) The condition of the physical environment which is, in general, characterized by decay, deterioration and lack of amenities because of the age of the inner areas of UK cities.

3) Social disadvantage which is noticed by aggrandizement of poor people as well as many of the infirm, elderly and ethnic minority groups.

4) Segregation which characterizes the ethnic minorities and immigrant groups that tend to concentrate in parts of the inner-city (Clark, 1982).

After the phenomenal economic growth of Japan, especially in the 1980's, such

phenomena as the decrease in young residential population and the degradation of manufacturing industries in the inner areas of cities in the UK, hold public attention in Japan. There is some discussion whether or not an inner-city problem exists in Japanese cities. (Okimura, 1982; Kimijima, 1980; Narita, 1980; Sakiyama, 1981; Komori, 1983; KUPI, 1981) This study, therefore, aims to clarify whether or not an inner-city problem exists in Japanese population centers, and to clearly define the nature of the inner-city problem in Tokyo, in contrast to UK cities, through the analysis of the 32 kinds of official data by Tokyo wards area (*ku-ward* area) for this purpose (see Fig.1).

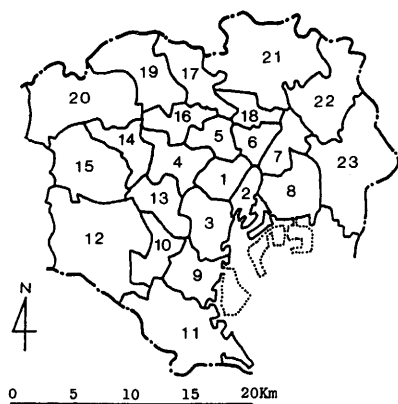


Fig. 1 Location and names of Wards (ku-areas)

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Chiyoda | 9. Shinagawa | 17. Kita |
| 2. Chuo | 10. Meguro | 18. Arakawa |
| 3. Minato | 11. Ota | 19. Itabashi |
| 4. Shinjuku | 12. Setagaya | 20. Nerima |
| 5. Bunkyo | 13. Shibuya | 21. Adachi |
| 6. Taito | 14. Nakano | 22. Katsushika |
| 7. Sumida | 15. Suginami | 23. Edogawa |
| 8. Koto | 16. Toshima | |

2. Growth of Tokyo and Recent Change of Urban Political Thought

The Tokyo metropolitan area spreads far beyond a 50 km sphere, with a present population of more than 30 million. The historical perimeter of Tokyo was only a 5 km sphere in 1923, when the Great Kanto Earthquake occurred. During the period of reconstruction of Tokyo, and since that time, the city grew toward the suburbs and the urban area has increased to a sphere of 10 km by 1945, when Tokyo was destroyed by the air raids of World War II. The peak population of Tokyo proper (the area making up Tokyo's 23 wards) before the end of the War totaled 6.78 million in 1940. The bombing decreased the population to 2.78 million by 1945. The miraculous reconstruction of the Japanese economy led to a rapid growth in population of Tokyo proper as follows: 3.44 million in 1946, 4.18 million in 1947, 4.56 million in 1948, 5.39 million in 1950 and 6.97 million in 1955. During this decade the population increased in the whole area of Tokyo including the central areas such as Chiyoda Ward and Chuo Ward, but the urban area of Tokyo proper did not spread beyond the 15 km sphere until 1955 (Nakabayashi, 1980; Watanabe *et al.*, 1980).

From 1955, Tokyo expanded beyond the 15 km sphere rapidly (see Fig.2). The population of Tokyo proper increased to 8.31 million by 1960 and to 8.84 million by 1965. In 1970, the population of Tokyo proper reached a peak, while the Tokyo metropolitan area continued to spread increasingly toward the suburban areas. For the 1960 census,

the populations of the central areas, such as Chiyoda Ward and Chuo Ward, showed a decrease during the period of 1955—1960. Eight inner wards showed significant decreases between 1960—1965: Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato, Bunkyo, Taito, Sumida, Arakawa and Shinagawa Wards. Moreover, the population of 16 inner wards recorded a decrease between 1965—1970. During the period of the highest economic growth, during the 1960's and 1970's, the Tokyo metropolitan area spread beyond the 50 km sphere which encouraged the expansion of population into outer areas, while also developing a concentration of business into the inner core accompanying the population decrease (Watanabe *et al.*, 1980; Nakabayashi, 1980).

The main policy of urban planning and management, in urban centers in the postwar period, has been the regulation of concentration of both industry and daytime population into the inner-city by the establishment of a green belt, and the leading of decentralization of industries in the 1963 National Capital Region Development Plan. But owing to the unexpected concentration of population and industry, the urban area continued to expand, far exceeding the initial expectation, and the green belt could not be established. In the 1968 National Capital Region Development Plan, the green belt concept was abolished and the suburban development area was established. However, the decentralization of industries and population from existing urban areas to the suburbs continued to be promoted during the 1960's and 1970's.

In the 1980's, urban policy was altered due to the continued young population spill from the inner-city, and was supported especially by the local autonomy 'ku-ward'. Three local autonomies of Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato Wards, which are located in the inner core of Tokyo attempted to encourage population mobility into their respective areas by the construction of new dwellings, in spite of the high rise in land prices resulting from the concentration of new large office buildings. Figure 3 shows the political features concerning the planned population of each ward, by the index ratio of projected population levels to resident population in 1980. The local autonomies which aim to increase resident population are distributed to the inner area and inner core of Tokyo.

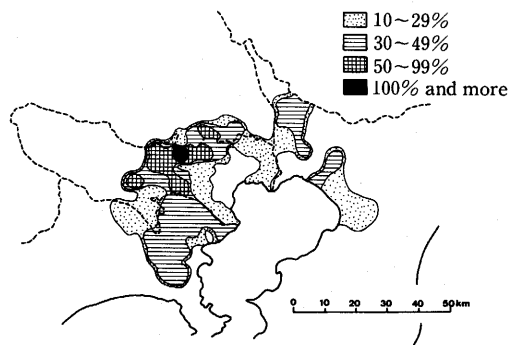


Fig. 2 Distribution of population increase between 1955—60

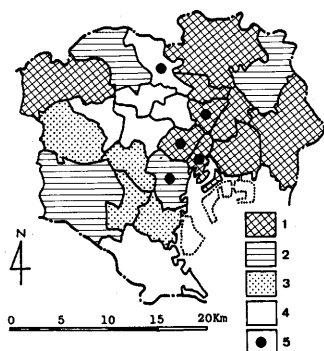


Fig. 3 Planned population relative to resident population of 1980

- 1: planned population more than population of 1980(10% and more / 5 years).
- 2: planned population more than population of 1980 (less than 10% / 5 years).
- 3: planned population less than population of 1980 (more than -5% / 5years).
- 4: planned population less than population of 1980 (-5% and less / 5 years).
- 5: Policy of population increase is formulated by ward government autonomy.

The concerns of these self-governing bodies are therefore, how to stop the exodus, and reverse the trend. As a backdrop to these concerns, there are three features as follows:

1) Each local autonomy was profoundly affected by the strong impact of the inner-city problem of UK cities through the publication of the 1977 White Paper, because it was just the time when the rapid-growth period of the Japanese economy ended by the oil shock of 1976.

2) These central autonomies are afraid of losing inhabitants which will affect all activities due to population decreases and of imperiling their own power base.

3) Especially in the old downtown area, traditional industries such as manufacturing, neighborhood shops and neighborhood services are shown to be declining, accompanying the decrease in resident population, caused by in part the trend for manufactures and the engaging persons in manufacturing, to leave these areas.

3. Is There an Inner-city Problem in Tokyo?

To answer this question, the author has made an attempt to classify the socio-economic conditions in the inner-city of Tokyo. The 32 kinds of official data, which were categorized into the following four groups, were selected.

Group 1 : data concerning the social decline of local communities ;

- 1) Index value of population decrease against the peak population (1980, %)
- 2) Ratio of households decrease (1975—1980, %)
- 3) Index value for wards experiencing daytime population decrease against the peak (1980, %)
- 4) Percentage of population 65 years old and over (1980, %)
- 5) Increase ratio of percentage of population 65 years old and over (1975—1980, %)
- 6) Percentage of households kept only by people 65 years old and over (1980, %)
- 7) Percentage of households existing for 5 years or more (1980, %)
- 8) Decrease ratio of percentage of households existing for 5 years or more (1970—1980, %)

Group 2 : data concerning economic decline ;

- 9) Increase ratio of the total employment (1972—1981, %)

- 10) Decrease ratio of manufacturing employment (1972—1981, %)
 - 11) Increase ratio of commercial employment (1972—1981, %)
 - 12) Percentage of unemployment (1980, %)
 - 13) Rising ratio of land prices (1978—1981, %)
 - 14) Index value of constructed building floor space to the total space of building lots (1976—1980, %)
 - 15) Percentage of constructed building floor space of offices and commerce (1976—1980, %)
 - 16) Increase ratio of annual sales (1970—1979, %)
 - 17) Increase ratio of annual manufacturing outputs (1970—1979, %)
- Group 3 : data concerning the physical environment and housing ;
- 18) Density of population (1980, persons/ha)
 - 19) Density of buildings as ratio of the total floor space to the total area of building lots (1980, %)
 - 20) Percentage of small houses less than 30 m² of floor space (1978, %)
 - 21) Percentage of uncomfortable houses lacking sunshine (1978, %)
 - 22) Percentage of households living in houses below the national minimum standard (1978, %)
 - 23) Percentage of the decrepit houses constructed before 1960 (1978, %)
 - 24) Percentage of houses lacking a fixed bath, kitchen and an inside WC (1978, %)
 - 25) Percentage of unoccupied rooms and houses (1978, %)
 - 26) Percentage of privately owned small lots with areas less than 50m² (1980, %)
 - 27) Percentage of privately owned houses (1980, %)
- Group 4 : data concerning social disadvantage and problem of the minority ;
- 28) Percentage of low income households on welfare (1980, %)
 - 29) Incidence of delinquent boys and girls (1980, persons/ha)
 - 30) Incidence of criminal cases (1980, cases/ha)
 - 31) Percentage of tuberculous patients (1980, %)
 - 32) Percentage of foreign residents including immigrants (1980, %)

The distribution of each data, which is gradated from the viewpoint of inner-city

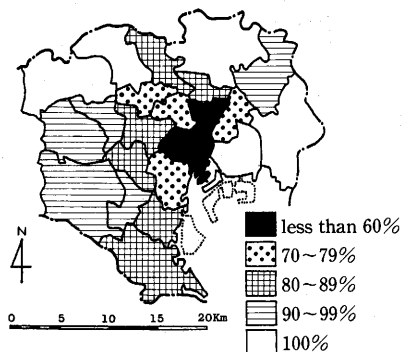


Fig. 4 Population decrease against the peak population (1980)

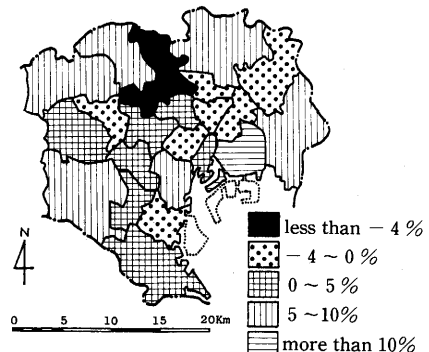


Fig. 5 Ratio of households decrease between 1975—80

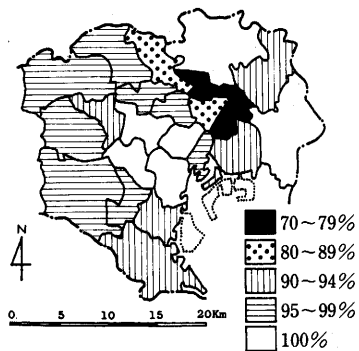


Fig. 6 Daytime population decrease against the peak (1980)

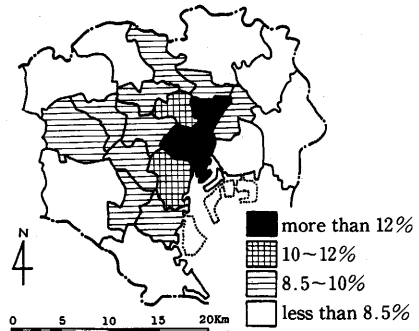


Fig. 7 Percentage of the population 65 years old and over (1980)

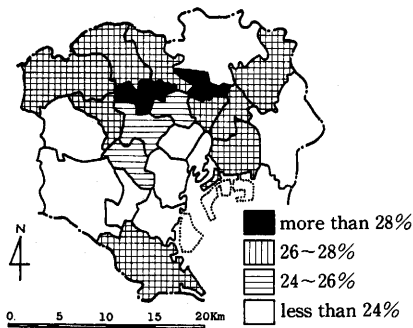


Fig. 8 Increase of the population 65 years old and over between 1975-80

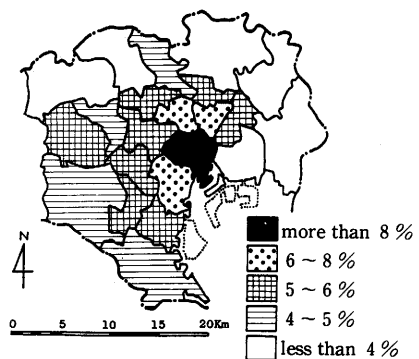


Fig. 9 Percentage of the households kept only by people 65 years old and over (1980)

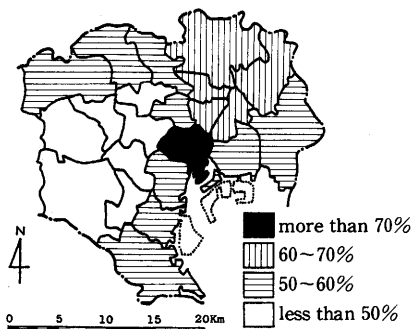


Fig. 10 Percentage of the households existing for 5 years or more (1980)

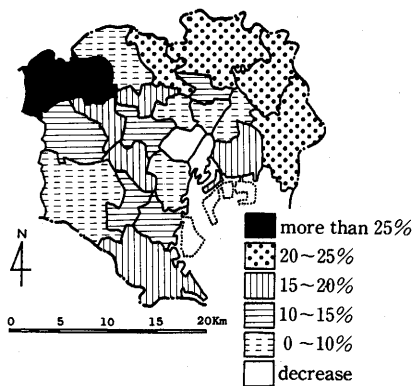


Fig. 11 Decrease of the households existing for 5 years or more between 1970-80

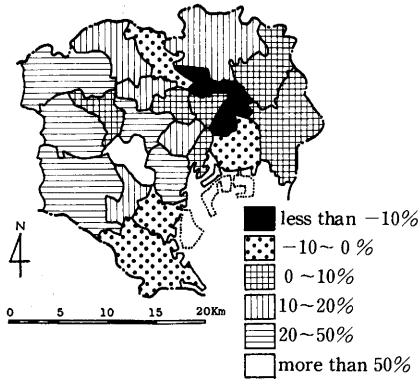


Fig. 12 Increase in total employment between 1972—81

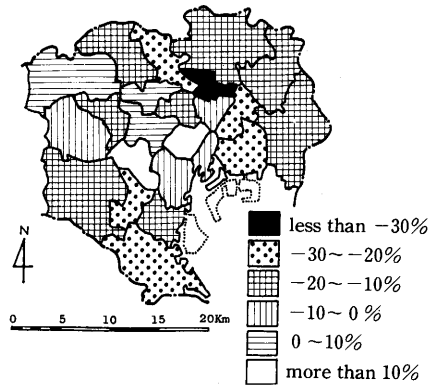


Fig. 13 Decrease in manufacturing employment between 1972—81

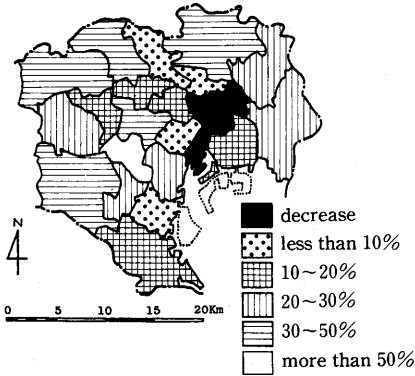


Fig. 14 Increase in commercial employment between 1972—81

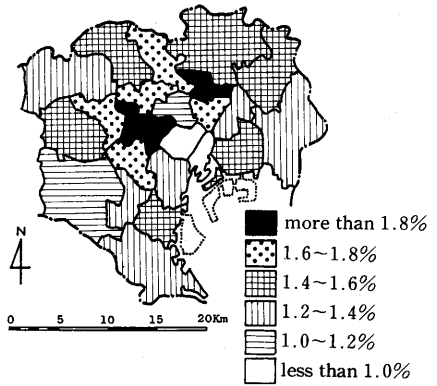


Fig. 15 Percentage of unemployment (1980)

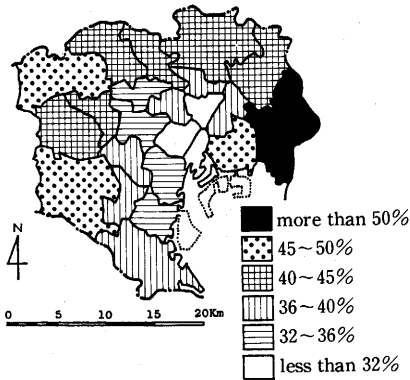


Fig. 16 Rise in land prices between 1978—81

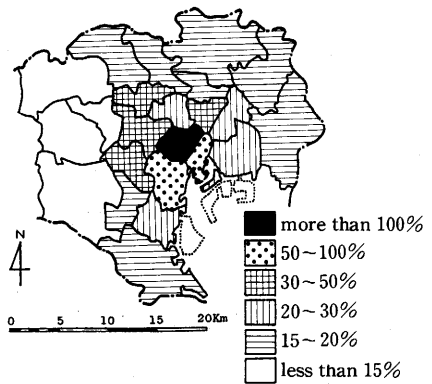


Fig. 17 Index of newly constructed building floor space to the total space of building lots during the period of 1976—80

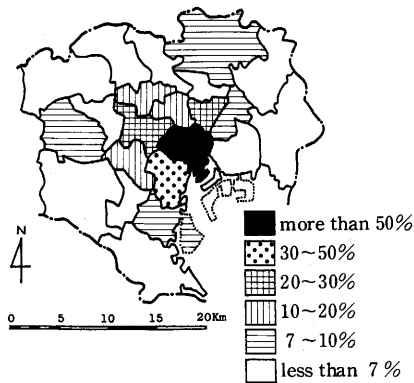


Fig. 18 Percentage of constructed building floor space of offices and commerce during the period of 1976—80

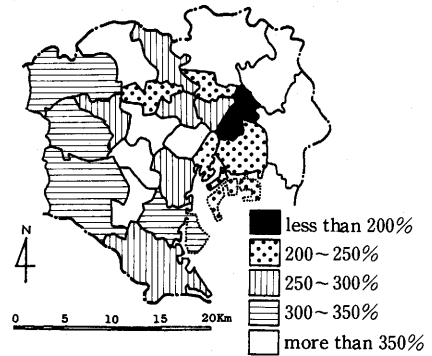


Fig. 19 Increase of annual sales between 1970—79

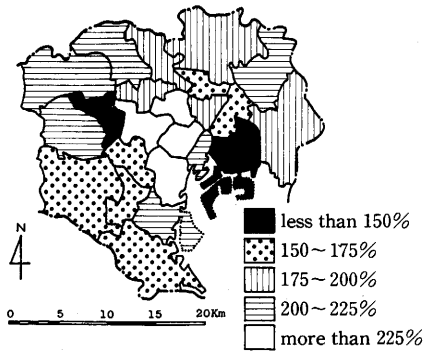


Fig. 20 Increase of annual manufacturing outputs between 1970—79

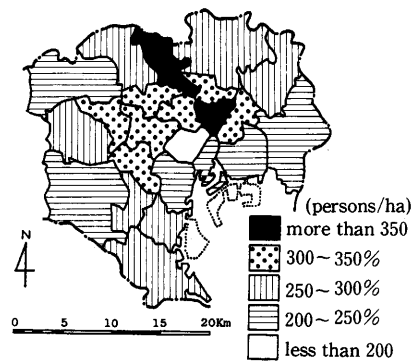


Fig. 21 Density of population (1980)

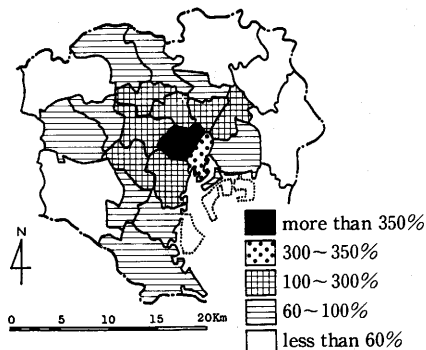


Fig. 22 Density of buildings as ratio of the total floor space to the total area of building lots (1980)

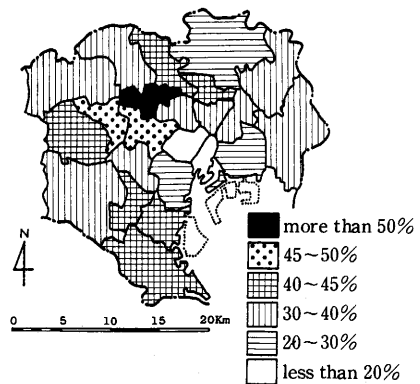


Fig. 23 Percentage of small houses containing less than 30 m² of floor space (1978)

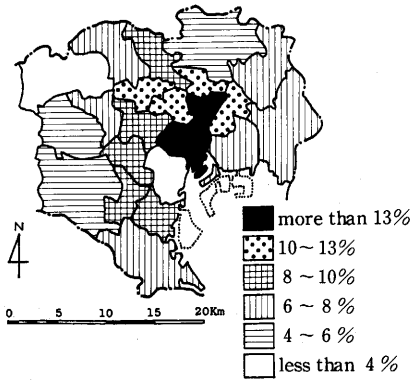


Fig. 24 Percentage of uncomfortable houses lacking sunshine (1978)

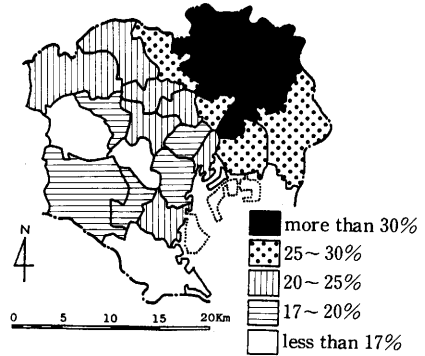


Fig. 25 Percentage of the households living in houses below the national minimum standard (1978)

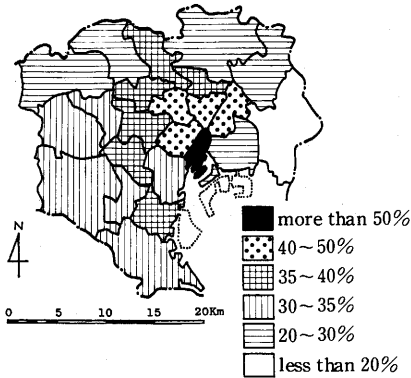


Fig. 26 Percentage of the decrepit houses constructed before 1960 (1978)

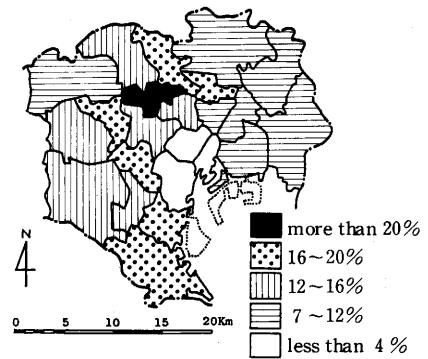


Fig. 27 Percentage of houses lacking a fixed bath, kitchen and an inside WC (1978)

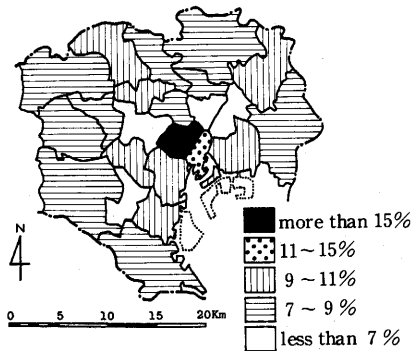


Fig. 28 Percentage of unoccupied rooms and houses (1978)

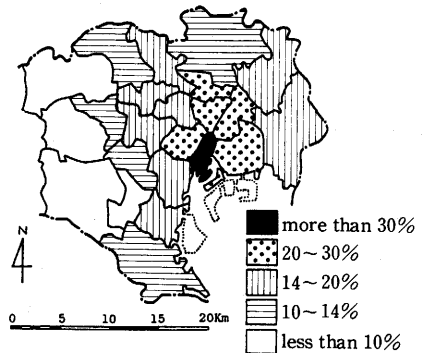


Fig. 29 Percentage of privately owned small lots with areas less than 50 m² (1980)

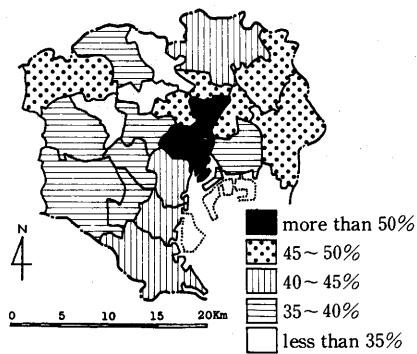


Fig. 30 Percentage of privately owned houses (1980)

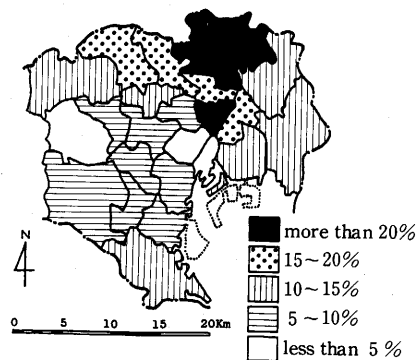


Fig. 31 Percentage of low income households on welfare (1980)

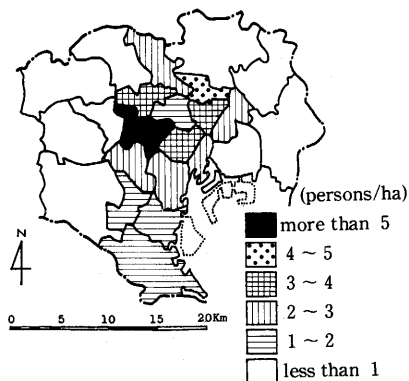


Fig. 32 Incidence of delinquent boys and girls (1980)

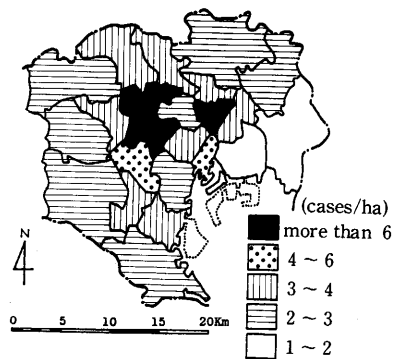


Fig. 33 Incidence of criminal cases (1980)

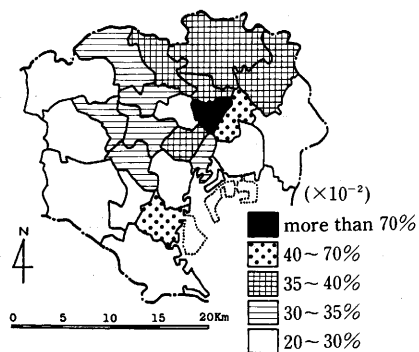


Fig. 34 Percentage of tuberculous patients (1980)

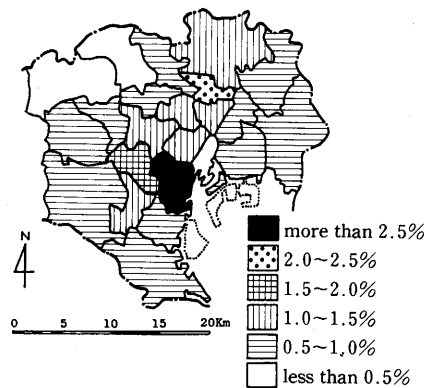


Fig. 35 Percentage of foreign residents including immigrants (1980)

Table 1 Gradation of socio-economic conditions by area

Area	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.		
Group 1	1.	○	○	△	△	○	△	×											×	×	×		×		
	2.	△				△	△	×	△					△		○	○	△					△		
	3.	×		×	×		○						×				△	○			×		×		
	4.	○	○	△	△	○		×		×	×	△	×							×	×	×	×	×	
	5.	×	×	×		△	△	△	×	×	△	×		△	×	○	△	○	△	△	△	×	△	×	
	6.	○	○	△		△	△		×											×	×	×	×	×	
	7.	×	×		△		△				△		△	○	○	○	△								
	8.	○	○	△		△	△	△					△					×			△	×	×	×	×
Group 2	9.			×	×		○	△	△	△	△	×	×		×	△	△	○		×					
	10.	×			×		○	○	△	△	△	×	×		×	×	△	○	○	×	×	×			
	11.	△	○		×		○	○	△			×	×				△	△	△	×	×	×			
	12.	×	×		○	×	△					×	△	△		△	△	○							
	13.	○	○	△	△		○		×	△		×	△	△		△					×			×	
	14.	×	×	×						△	△	○		○	○		△	△	△	△	○	△	△	△	
	15.	×	×	×					△	△	△	○					○	○	△	△	△	○	△	△	
	16.	×	△		×		○	△	△	×	△	×				△			△	×		×	×	×	
17.	×		×	×	×	△	△	○	△	△	△	△	○			△	△	△							
Group 3	18.	×			△	△	△						△	△		△	○	△							
	19.	○	△	△	△	△	△					×	△		△	△	△	△		×	×	×	×	×	
	20.	×	×	×	△			×	△	△	△			△	△	○	△	△			×				
	21.	○	○	×		△	○	△				×			×	△	△	△		×	×				
	22.					△	△	○	△			×		×	×		△	○			○	○	△		
	23.	△	○			△	△	△	×					△	△		○	△	△	×	×	×	×	×	
	24.	×	×	×					△	△			△	△		○	△	△							
	25.	○	△		×		×	×	△	×						△							△		
26.	△	○			×	△	△	△	×	×				×		△	△		×						
27.	×	×		△		×	△	△	△	△	△	○	△	○	○	○	○	△	△						
Group 4	28.	×	×			○	△							×		△	△	△	△	○					
	29.	△			○	×	△	×			×		×	×	×	△	△	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	
	30.		△		○	○	○	×				×		△		○								×	
	31.	△		×		×	△	×	△	×	×	×			×		△	△		×	×	△	△	×	
	32.	△	×	○	△	△	△	×	×	×	△	×	△	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	△	×	×	

Area code 1 – 23 : Names and locations of wards are shown in Fig. 1.

Data code 1 – 32 : Data sets of four groups are shown in the body of chapter 3.

Notes: Various marks mean the gradation of each data ; ○ means the most problematic condition and △ means the secondary problematic condition ; space means the average and × means the non-problematic condition on the viewpoint of inner-city problem.

Table 2 Features of inner-city problem areas

Area	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.
A	○	○	△	△	○	◎	◎		△	△	△		△	△	△	○	○	○		×	×		×
B	×		×	×		△	◎	○	△	△	○			○		△	○	◎				△	
C	△	○	×	○	○	○	○		△		△	×	△	△	×	◎	◎	○		×	×		×
D	△	△	△	○		◎	○	×	△	△		×	○		×	○	○	◎	△		△	△	×
E	·	△		·	·	◎	◎		△	·	△		·	△		○	○	◎		×			×

Area code 1 — 23 : Names and locations of wards are shown in Fig. 1.

A : Social decline of local communities

B : Economic decline

C : Blight of physical environment and housing

D : Social disadvantage and the minority problem

E : Inner-city problem areas of Tokyo in 1980

Notes: Various marks mean the gradation of the inner-city problem. The gradation is shown by the marks: ◎, ○, △, ·, ·, ×. ◎ means the primary problematic areas and × means non-problematic areas.

problem, is shown in Fig. 4 — Fig. 35. According to the gradation of each data, the area where the socio-economic condition is relatively problematic can be arranged as shown in Table 1. By each group of data, these data can be compiled into four basic indices of socio-economic conditions using the method of overlay for each data by area. Moreover, the overlay analysis of these four basic indices confirms the generally problematic areas which make up the inner-city problem (see Table 2).

Social decline of local communities

The conditions of social decline of local communities are distributed as shown in Fig. 36. Accordingly, the most problematic areas are located in such old downtown areas as Taito Ward and Sumida Ward, which are characterized by the mixed land use of manufacturing, commerce and dwellings in the style of dwellings attached to business. The secondary problematic areas are located in both the traditional manufacturing districts such as Arakawa Ward and the central areas of Chiyoda Ward and Chuo Ward.

The remarkable features of these areas are noticed by the large decrease in resident population and the high increase in the ratio of an aged population caused by the exodus of the young. Moreover, many who have re-located are people who have lived and working in the heretofore mentioned at least 20 years. These communities having been sustained for generation, are losing the social and economical contributions of the young, and as a result are dying as social units.

Economic decline

The distribution of economic decline is shown in Fig. 37. Arakawa, Sumida, Kita, Koto and Ota Wards are identified as the relatively problematic areas in regard to economic decline. The financial condition of industries in these areas has shown a steady decline in recent years. It is noticeable that not only the residential population but also the daytime population is inclined to decrease in these areas. The decline of manufacturing

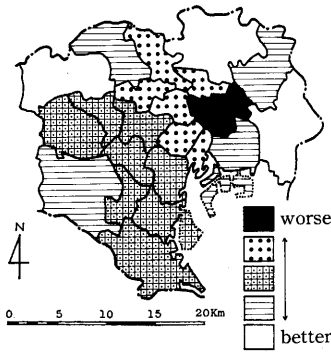


Fig. 36 Social decline of vividness in community

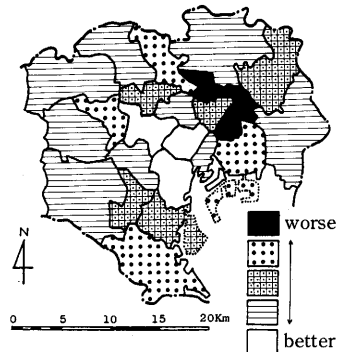


Fig. 37 Economic decline

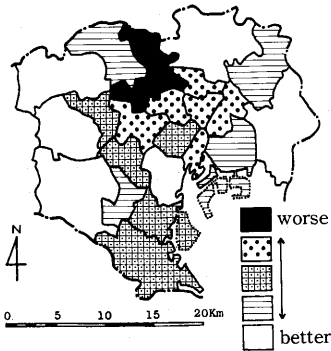


Fig. 38 Decline of physical environment and housing conditions

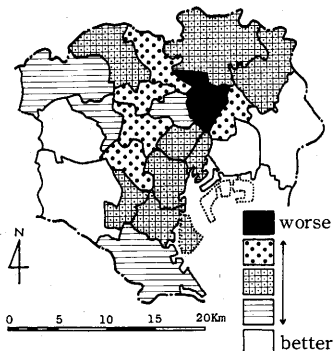


Fig. 39 Social disadvantage and minority problems

concerns in these areas has caused a reduction in the need for related commerce such as many residents depend upon for their livelihood. In contrast to the above inner areas, the inner core of Tokyo, such as Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato Wards, looks to keep the economic activities in spite of the severe decrease of population, because the population decrease of the inner core is resulted in by the vividness of national economic activities.

Blight of physical environment and the condition of housing

Figure 38 shows the distribution of the blighted areas. Toshima Ward and Kita Ward are identified as the most neglected areas, where both the high density of population and the agglomeration of poor housing exist, such as high percentage of narrow houses, private furnished tenement houses and rentals houses lacking a fixed bath, kitchen and an inside WC.

As secondary blighted areas, Chuo, Minato, Bunkyo, Taito, Sumida and Arakawa Wards are identified in Fig. 38. Except for Chuo Ward and Minato Ward, these areas are located around the CBD area and are characterized by both the agglomeration of small

rentals houses combined with factories, shops and offices and the rather high density of population in spite of the gradual population decrease. The living space per capita tends to increase, as a direct result of the population decrease in the style of reduction of family size. Nevertheless, the population density is kept relatively high and the overall living conditions continue to remain relatively low. In contrast to these inner areas, the physical environment and housing condition of Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato Wards, making up the inner core of Tokyo, are characterized by the high density of buildings which makes the physical environment for single dwellings worse, and the relatively high percentage of unoccupied rooms and houses reflects the rises in land prices for dwellings. The physical environment and housing condition of the inner core are relatively better than that of the inner area, because the economic activities are healthy in the inner core and the concentration of business and management functions result in the construction boom of offices as urban renewal, accompanying the rapid decrease of population and the high rise of land prices at the present time.

It is recognized that the blighted area in respect of physical environment and housing condition has tendencies to spread out of the above inner area, while the blighted spots remain in the inner core.

Social disadvantage and problem of the minority

In comparison to the social decline of local communities, the economic decline and blight of the physical environment and housing, it is rather difficult to measure the gradation of the social disadvantages and the minority problem by official data. Japanese census data of foreigners, which is adopted in this study, cannot hold same significance to Tokyo as the immigrant and ethnic minority problem in UK cities and others. It is generally recognized that immigrants and ethnic minorities constitute no significant addition to inner-city problem in Japanese cities, unlike such groups in European and American cities. However, the number of immigrants from South-east Asia is likely to increase in the future and with this gradual increase problems are likely to occur for this segment of the population.

Figure 39 shows the distribution of social disadvantage and ethnic minority, including foreign residents, compiled from the above five data (see Table 1). This reveals that Taito Ward and Arakawa Ward are noticed as primary problematic areas, and Sumida, Kita, Toshima, Shinjuku and Shibuya Wards are identified as secondary problematic areas. It is noteworthy that all of these areas are also located in the neighborhood of the inner core and that some of these, such as Shinjuku, Shibuya and Toshima Wards are recognized as the main subcenter of the Tokyo Metropolis. In contrast to these inner areas, the inner core areas of Tokyo maintain the soundness and quality of the overall socio-economic condition.

4. Inner-city Problem Areas of Tokyo in 1980

Through the overlay analysis of the four components mentioned above, the inner-city problem areas of Tokyo in 1980 can be generally identified as shown in Fig. 40 (see Table

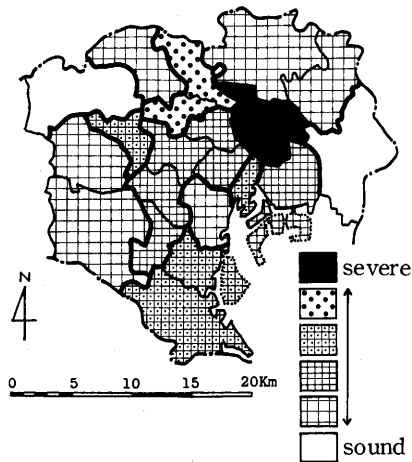


Fig. 40 Inner-city problem areas in Tokyo

2). As the most problematic areas of the inner-city problem, Arakawa, Taito and Sumida Wards are noted and Toshima, Kita, Nakano, Shinagawa, Chuo and Ota Wards represent secondary problematic areas. The notable features of the primary problematic areas can be described as follows:

1) Arakawa Ward is characterized by economic decline with subsequent social disadvantage and minority problems. The economic decline is due to the shrinking of manufacturing, a high percentage of unemployment and low investment for facilities and buildings of commerce and service. The condition of social disadvantage and the minority problem is significantly related to the high percentage of foreign residents and minorities and the high incidence of young delinquents.

2) The characteristics of the inner-city problem in Sumida Ward are observed on the economic decline and the social decline of the community. In this area, as well as in Arakawa Ward, the shrinking of manufacturing and trading is so significant that not only the local residents, but also the daytime population has steadily decreased. In regard to the social decline of the community, the resident and daytime populations reduction has caused a rise in the mean and old age of the resident population. The decline in manufacturing is largely responsible for this trend in this area as well.

3) Taito Ward is characterized by a social decline in community and a social disadvantage and minority problems. It is marked with a decreasing population and a rise in the percentage of aged residents. The latter is noticeable in respect to the high percentage of both low incomes households on welfare and tuberculous patients and the high incidence of criminal cases.

The features of secondary problematic areas are as follows:

4) Toshima Ward is characterized by not only the poor condition of physical environment and housing, such as agglomeration of poor tenement houses, but also a tendency towards social decline and disadvantage such as an increase of aged population, a highness of incidental ratio of criminal cases, and so on.

5) Kita Ward is also marked with the poor condition of the physical environment and with industrial degradation.

It must be noted that not only the above five areas but also the other areas with

inner-city problem are distributed throughout the inner area neighboring the CBD of Tokyo. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the inner area, which is characterized by a high population density despite a population decrease and the coexistence of dwellings and industries, is more problematical than the inner core. The common feature of such areas can be summarized by stating that these areas are distributed in the inner area neighboring the CBD, where traditionally manufacturing and trading of daily goods were clustered. Degradation of traditional industries in Japan, as well as in other developed countries, is certainly one of the causes of the inner-city problem (Elias and Keogh, 1980; Gripaios, 1977). Japan is, however, different from other developed countries in that there are few inner-city problems with regard to social disadvantage, minority problems and immigrants at least as of 1980 (Peach, 1975).

On the other hand, it does not mean that there are no problems in the inner core such as in Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato Wards. For these self-governing bodies, it is serious problem that both the noticeable decrease of young and mean resident population and the relative increase of aged population may decline the various services for residents and finally, especially for Chiyoda Ward, may be unable to be organized as a basic self-governing body. There are the contrasting features of socio-economic condition in the inner core of Tokyo. One is the feature of economic prosperity as a showcase of prosperous Japanese economy, and the other is the feature of decay of the local inner-city society and autonomy resulting from this growth.

5. Conclusion

At the outset of this brief study, I had the question "Does Tokyo have an inner-city problem?", and the conclusions of this study are summarized as follows:

1) In Tokyo, the inner-city problem is notable in the inner area neighboring the CBD, where mixed residential-industrial land use is characterized by the dwellings combined with traditional manufacturing and trading. The most significant problem is the degradation of these industries and the subsequent loss of economic strength, which loses these areas a vitality to support the local economic activities of these neighborhoods.

2) As regards the population decrease, there are two established viewpoints. From the standpoint of physical environment and housing, it has been too dense in the past to live comfortably. The improvement in housing conditions makes it necessary to decrease the resident population to a certain degree in the inner area of the metropolis. On the other hand, from the standpoint of self-governing power, the large decrease in population is a serious problem for local governments, such as in the case of Chiyoda Ward at the inner core of Tokyo.

3) The inner-city problem area in Tokyo may be less problematic than in other developed countries, because the Japanese economy is more active than others, at least at the present time. However, it is true in Japan that many cities sustained by industries such as steel, shipbuilding and so on, are more problematic than Tokyo. Not only in those industrial cities but also in the inner area of Tokyo, the inner-city problem may become serious unless the structural change of manufacturing industries is promoted success-

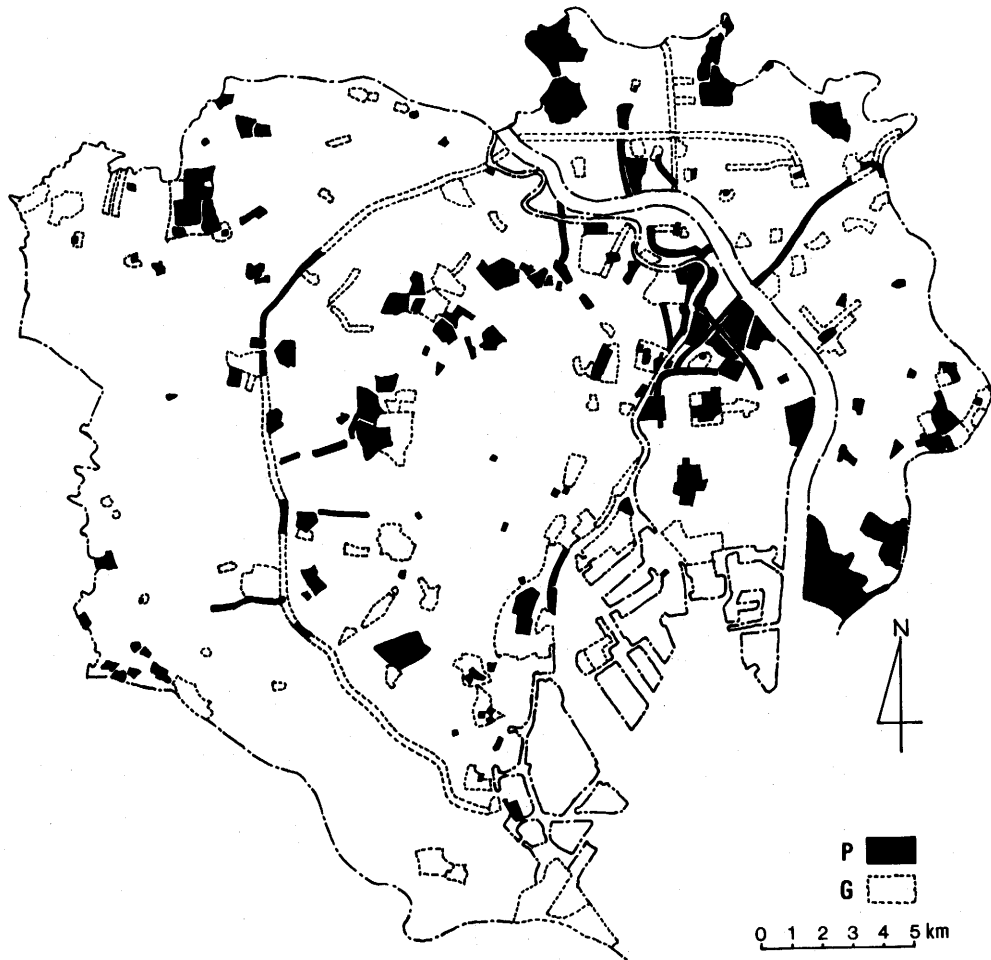


Fig. 41 Strategic projects of urban renewal scheme in Tokyo
 P : Promotion area of urban renewal project
 G : Leading area of urban renewal project

fully.

4) Concerning the physical environment and housing, the promotion of urban renewal and housing projects is most necessary for the inner area. It must be the most important strategy of urban management to improve the physical environment and housing in these inner areas to blend local industry and residents. Figure 41 shows the draft scheme of urban renewal and improvement strategy for Tokyo proper. These strategic projects are distributed in and outside of the inner area, rather than in the inner core of Tokyo (TMG, 1985).

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(* in Japanese, ** in Japanese with English abstract)