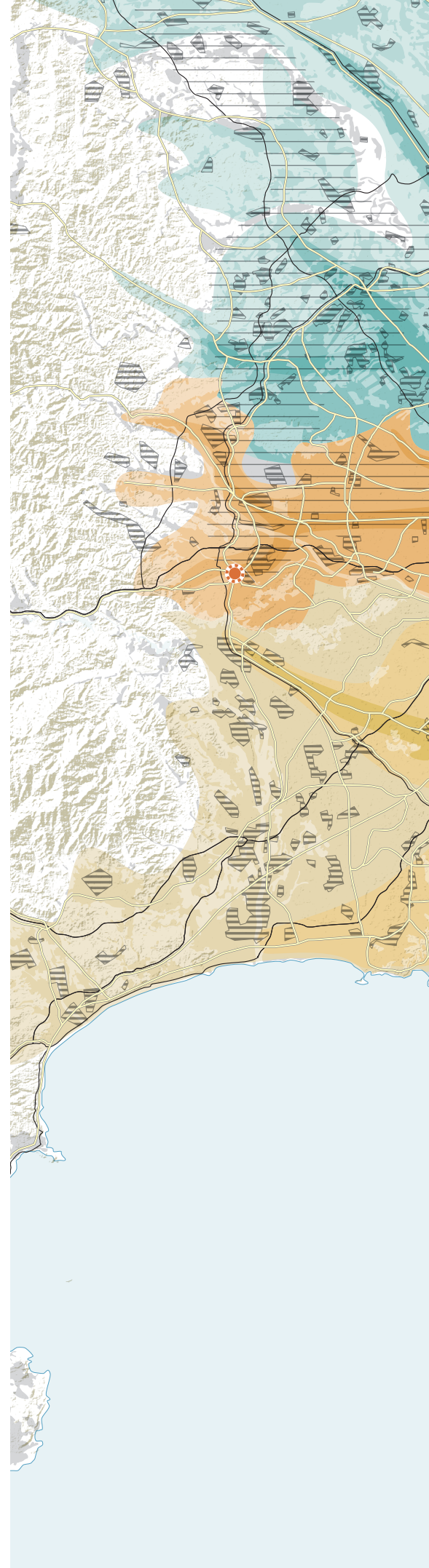
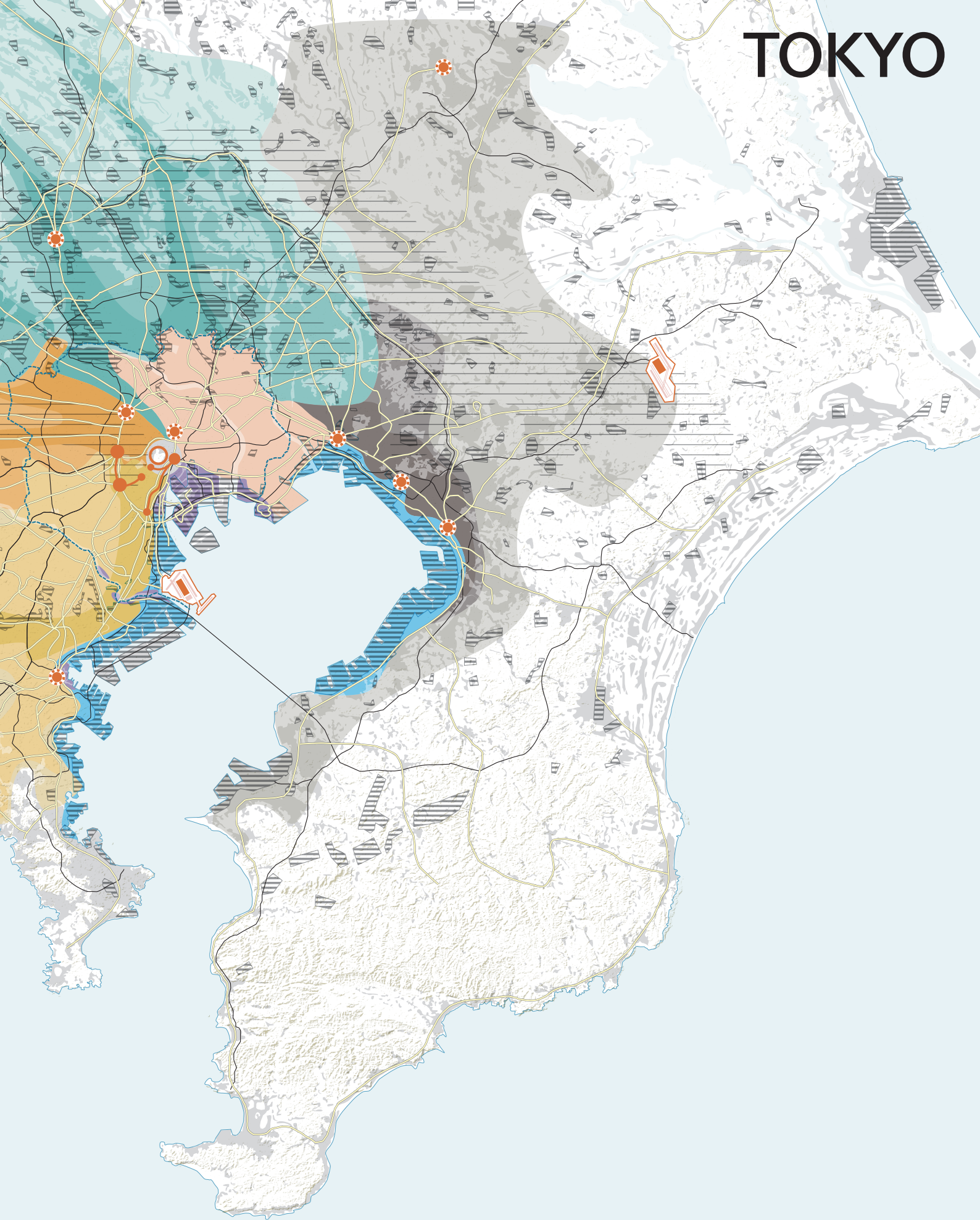




0 5 10 20 km



TOKYO



In Tokyo, I always have the feeling of being both inside and outside the city. What is the reason, why I can only express my feelings about this city in such a blurry and vague way?

Kengo Kuma, *Inside and Outside of Tokyo*; 2013

FRAMING THE METROPOLITAN COMPLEX

Tokyo is one of the oldest and largest megacities, having reached one million inhabitants at the end of the 19th century and exceeded 10 million just after the Second World War. From this period of time to the present, urbanisation processes have been producing a territory of nuanced socio-spatial differentiation which this chapter sets out to capture. For this purpose, I examine the Tokyo metropolitan complex, which provides the empirical and conceptual framework for my analysis. This approach differs fundamentally from conventional studies, which usually focus on the core city of Tokyo and evoke imaginaries of a fractured city: a divided capital consisting of the hilly 'high city' of the Yamanote area in the west, and the marshy and earthquake prone 'low city' of Shitamachi and its environs



in the east, a city torn between the past and the present (Seidensticker 1984; Waley 1991; Jinnai 1995; Hohn 2009). Another common strand builds on a narrow and exclusive focus on a middle-class society that exhibits little economic, ethnic or cultural heterogeneity (Lützel 2008; Chiavacci 2010; Fujitsuka 2011; Fujita and Hill 2012), or on the central 23 wards, allegedly representing Tokyo at large (Cybriwsky 1991; Machimura 1992; Sassen 2001; Sorensen 2003; Fujita and Hill 2008; Kikuchi and Sugai 2018). In contrast to these well-known stereotypes, this portrait of Tokyo explores a different way of understanding the city by taking into account both its finely grained urban complexity and its vast dimensions, which are among the main characteristics of the urban region today.

What architect Kengo Kuma refers to in his opening quote is the notion that Tokyo is a boundless megacity and at the same time a familiar neighbourhood: the centre of your daily life, where you live, where your train station is and where your neighbours and corner shops are. This chapter seeks to comprehend these shifting dynamics of the Tokyo urban region by exploring urbanisation processes on a large scale. In doing so, I acknowledge the intricate and interlinked nature of this urban region, which risks being ignored in a narration that focuses on a single process, a narrowly marked-out territory, or a certain phase in history. The various resulting urban configurations shown on the configuration map at the beginning of this chapter are intrinsically related to one another and embedded in the dynamics of regional and global processes. Furthermore, they all have undergone phases of expansion or contraction

over time, and in many cases, they have altered their urban form along with the availability of new technological inventions or changing social norms. In urban configurations related to industrialisation, for example, the industrial sites in the centre are decreasing in size, a process which is directly linked to the new developments along the waterfront around Tokyo Bay, as well as the formation of new industrial clusters in other parts of the region. This portrait focuses on these interdependencies and the way that they manifest themselves in everyday life; it does not consist of a detailed narration of events or an exhaustive interpretation of quantitative data. My aim instead is to draw a holistic picture of the urban region of Tokyo from a new perspective; one that attempts to grasp the characteristics of the different urban areas through their relation to other areas, their histories as well as their present.

There are many ways to characterise Tokyo and, depending on the chosen definition, its area differs significantly in quantitative and qualitative terms. The most common definition includes the 23 inner wards (administrative units), here also referred to as the core area. These wards were established in 1943 and are located in the geographical centre of the urban region. Based on census data, in 2020 9,733,276 people lived in this area, which at 623 km² is slightly smaller than the island of Singapore. These 23 wards form the geographical focus of many studies on Tokyo that concentrate on the central area, the ‘high city’ and the ‘low city’ and the particular characteristics of the different neighbourhoods in this core (Seidensticker 1984; Ashihara et al. 1989; Waley 1992; Jinnai 1995).



The Tokyo Metropolitan Complex extending to the west. Shinjuku Ward, 2012
A dynamic urban centrality. Shibuya Ward, 2017

Another frame is *Tokyo-to*, the Tokyo metropolis, which is one of the 47 prefectures of Japan. The exceptional suffix 'to' (English: capital) differentiates the capital from all other prefectures, which have the suffix 'ken', meaning 'prefecture' or 'province'. In 2020 the Tokyo metropolis numbered 14,047,594 inhabitants in an area of 2,188 km². This administrative district under the Tokyo metropolitan government includes the 23 central wards. Finally, the National Capital Region *Shutō-ken*, also known as the Greater Tokyo Area, includes the prefectures of Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba, Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma and Yamanashi. In 2020 it had a population of 36,500,291 on an area of 36,889,28 km², which is slightly smaller than Switzerland. As we can see, these three definitions of the entity 'Tokyo' show large variations in terms of area and population. Problems arise when these strongly varying entities are compared with other urban areas. For instance one definition of Tokyo is measured against another area, such as Mexico City, using a mere quantitative perspective. While the inaccuracy caused by the inexplicit or unacknowledged use of data applies to many cities, in the case of Tokyo these units vary greatly.

The intention of this portrait of Tokyo is to move away from such specific geographical and territorial entities and to focus instead on Tokyo as a space of conceptual exploration. To do this, I use the concept of the Tokyo metropolitan complex for my empirical study. This term originates from Japanese sociologist Takeo Yazaki (1972), who chose it for his study of the regional socioeconomic structure of the metropolitan complex in a circle of a 50 km radius around Tokyo Station. I employ Yazaki's basic idea to define a geographical space that is indifferent to any constructed or political boundaries. I go on to define my unit of analysis as an open area within which all observed urbanisation processes converge and become apparent. One of the key parameters I used to determine my area of investigation is the extent of the built-up area: while it fades out towards the north and north-west as it reaches the mountains, it continues along the coast to the north-east and south-west, creating a blurry edge that the configuration map displays as a crooked line.

Urban configurations in the Tokyo metropolitan complex show strong structural resilience and, at the same time, are continuously undergoing transformation. This leads to a manifestation of the urban that is ever-changing. One of the reasons for this specific mode of urbanisation is that the main infrastructural network was consolidated by the introduction of train lines around the turn of the 19th century, building on established routes to, from and within the city, thus visibly fixing the layout of Tokyo right up to the present. Even repeated moments of rupture, like the political transformation that ended the feudal system in 1868, the devastating earthquake in 1923 and the destructive air

raids and fires at the end of the Second World War, did not alter this layout, but intensified and consolidated the strong attachment of the people to the land. Thus, rather than being attached to built artefacts, the inhabitants of Tokyo attach importance to reference points that carry meaning above and beyond the built environment, such as mountains, temples or sites of rituals. This very specific organising structure can also be described as their intimate relationship to nature and topography (Jinnai 1995: 18), or one that constitutes another layer of urban topology, whereby Nature and urban space are not conceived as opposing forces or antipodes, but as being intrinsically united through urban practices such as worship and the appreciation of Nature and its seasons in the routines of everyday life. As a result, Tokyo is not planned as an alternative to Nature; rather, urbanisation processes are influenced by this topology and follow historical and social relations that are deeply inscribed into the urban territory. Moreover, the key to understanding this mode of urbanisation is the prevailing socioeconomic homogeneity in Tokyo, which impedes the development of particular prominent or marginal urban configurations. Fuelled by a thriving, internationally competitive economy in the 1970s, Tokyo developed into a business centre, as well as one that embraced cultural and technological innovation. Notwithstanding the economic recession starting in the 1990s and the rupturing triple catastrophe of 2011—the earthquake, the tsunami and the nuclear disaster—, Tokyo has continued on its path of dynamic transformation and its production of urban qualities that are not necessarily visible at first glance, but only become evident in a close study of the urban space and the people's everyday lives.



PATHWAYS OF URBANISATION

ESTABLISHING A RESILIENT URBAN STRUCTURE IN TOKYO

The Tokyo metropolitan complex established and consolidated its dominant position within the urban system of Japan over several historical periods. This was not only the result of post-war urbanisation and the urban extension resulting from it, but it has been produced over the past four centuries, making Tokyo Japan's primary centre of economic and political control, capital accumulation and decision-making, as well as innovation. Today, the Tokyo metropolitan complex is by far the largest concentrated urban region of Japan, and home to one-third of its population. While devastating incidents and moments of almost total destruction have fractured Tokyo's history, this periodisation is not defined by major ruptures in the built environment, but rather by changes in society and regulatory systems. Here, I argue, continuous and gradual material transformation is the characteristic feature of Tokyo's urban condition.

EDO AND THE FORMATION OF AN URBAN REGION

In the 15th century the city Edo (today's Tokyo) became the new national capital, replacing Kyoto, which had been the capital for more than 1000 years. In 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu, shogun and military commander, emerged victorious from decades of national disputes and turned Edo into the new political centre, heralding a time during which there were few territorial disputes, yet great cultural development. Over the following decades the Empire of Japan restricted international contact or trade and instead focused on building an intricate and extensive regional bureaucracy, led by feudal lords and headed by the Shogun himself. In this way he established a single hegemonic power based on a general feudal system, the *bakuhau* (*baku* means 'fief'; *han* means 'system'). Due to expanding regional trade networks, customs and practices were spreading across the country, contributing to a sociocultural homogeneity. Against the background of regional extension, the Shogun decreed the edict of 'mandatory presence' (*Sankin kōtai*), requiring all feudal lords to spend alternating years in Edo and, when returning to their fiefdom in the hinterlands, to leave a large part of their households in the city. This law became the Shogun's main instrument of control and at the same time attached the urban elite to the city, as it ensured that they were continuously burdened by the cost of maintaining two residences and were similarly dissuaded from joining forces behind his back. This enforced seasonal travel, however, also contributed to an emerging and continuous exchange between the city of Edo and its peripheral regions.

A new period started when the Emperor regained power though a military coup in 1868. As the Emperor was eager to propel Japan into modernity, this moment constituted the end of the city Edo as a political entity governed by the military regime of the Shogun and marked the beginning of Tokyo as the centre of a new capitalist system based on the industrialisation of Japan. While foreign exchange of any kind had previously been restricted to a limited group of people and had been spatially confined to an artificial island next to Nagasaki south of Japan, Tokyo was now becoming the control centre of a country open to trade and eager to explore new territories outside the Japanese archipelago. Extended study missions to the West led by the political and intellectual elite of Japan brought new ideas back to Japan, including a new law inspired by the Napoleonic model, electrified tramways, and brick and concrete buildings. New products such as beer, oil paintings and Western uniforms arrived in the port of Yokohama and were carried by train to Shimbashi Station, which was only a stone's throw away from the Emperor's castle, the symbolic centre of the entire urban region.

Even if many had left the city due to the abolition of the mandatory presence decree and the uncertainty after the military coup, people returned when Tokyo offered new amenities and a growing, competitive market. By opening up to foreign ideas and goods, the city and subsequently the country started a process of modernisation. This term explicitly refers here to 'Westernisation,' or more specifically 'Americanisation,' as this process was expressed through the cultural perspective of Americanism (Hanakata 2020: 85). While British technologies were decisive for the development of the infrastructure and German thought has been influential in establishing a city planning system and a military force it was increasingly the American idea of 'modern living' that had the strongest impact in transforming the lived space of Tokyo. Despite this transformation, however, Tokyo's urban structure continued to consolidate the original blueprint of Edo. By the end of the 19th century, train lines were built along the main connecting routes within the city and a basic infrastructural network was established to meet the demands of Tokyo's extending urbanisation. The resulting urban pattern proved to be extremely resilient, as became obvious after a disastrous earthquake hit Tokyo in 1923. The damage caused by the earthquake and the ensuing fire required the near-complete reconstruction of almost the entire city. Despite this overwhelming destruction, however, urban development continued along existing patterns and the material space of the city was reproduced almost seamlessly. The use of urban space was partly intensified by large-scale housing developments in the second half of the

Cat Street, Shibuya Ward, 2012



1920s and 1930s, but there was no fundamental change in the urbanisation pattern and the mode in which urban space was produced. While the earthquake brought about serious disruption in the central manufacturing district of Shitamachi (see section below entitled 'Shitamachi Urbanisation'), the peripheries of the Tokyo metropolitan complex continued to develop along the already established pathway of urbanisation. This seeming contradiction between structural persistence and the adaptive and dynamic capacity of urban space has been a key characteristic of the Tokyo metropolitan complex right up to the present.

PRODUCTION OF TOKYO AS THE PREEMINENT CENTRE OF JAPAN

After the Second World War Tokyo was able to strengthen its primacy within the constellation of urban regions in Japan. This period started under the Allied occupation, which lasted until 1952 and was focused on recovery from the war. Growth-driven development soon restored the industry and economy of Japan, which became competitive on a global scale. With a huge increase in capital volume and technological innovation, also referred to as the economic miracle, living standards rose and created a remarkable consumer culture and national confidence, which was showcased at the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1964. Tokyo had become the centre of what was at the time called a middle-class society, whose members were granted relatively equal access to resources (Murakami 1987).

A decisive moment for the unprecedented sprawl of Tokyo came in the late 1960s, when the government made housing loans easily accessible and owning a single-family home became a common aspiration. Continuously rising real estate prices and worsening environmental pollution in central neighbourhoods around the bay, as well as a growing network of train lines, made housing in the periphery increasingly attractive. Thus, numerous satellite towns with detached houses closely packed together and with front yards big enough for some potted plants sprung up in the south-west and north, providing dormitory towns for the workforce of 'salarymen' (Japanese: *salarīmen*) who had to endure long commutes to their jobs in the central area. In fact, the figure of the salaryman became synonymous with a thriving 'Japan Inc'. This model was shaped around the image of a predictable life centred around a male family breadwinner with lifelong job security and a steadily rising income, while his wife dedicated herself to the home and raising the children. A wealth bubble built up that provided an abundance of goods, new technological devices and skyrocketing real estate prices but also created pressure on individuals to conform to a specific way of conducting everyday

social life. This pressure was reflected in the growing number of people who withdrew from social life, not leaving their room or home, which is also known as the syndrome (Furlong 2008). Furthermore, and also on the flip side of this orderly yet rigid social structure, was the growing presence of subcultures including music, cosplay and other performance arts. By the 1970s, spaces outside the vortices of the main centralities (including Shinjuku and Shibuya) serving the consumer mainstream were produced. These offered an alternative everyday life and responded to the growing desire for a space that offered a nostalgic escape to the past to people confronted with rapid urban transformation (Hanakata 2020: 261; see Chapter 17). For many, a radical retreat from stressful work and city life became desirable and the compulsion to escape grew, particularly among the youth. There were only a few alternative spaces of encounter and interaction, yet they were important for young people.

IMPLOSION OF A REGION

The burst of the economic bubble around 1990 marked the beginning of a growing social disparity between baby boomers and younger generations, as well as geographically between the area in and around the 23 wards of Tokyo and its extended periphery. A contradictory pathway of urbanisation emerged in the interplay between the prolonged economic recession, lasting until the present, and the rediscovery of the urban. With a stagnating economy and declining land prices, young people who were born and raised in Tokyo's peripheral dormitory towns started to move back to the core area. Furthermore, various incentives and policies were implemented to revitalise the area within the prefecture of Tokyo, many of which were based on a close consultation between government authorities and private companies. The deregulation of planning rules supported the transformation of urban space into a source of economic growth: selected neighbourhoods within the 23 wards were designated by the city government to be redeveloped to meet the demand of a globalised workplace with internationally competitive office spaces, luxury apartments and all kinds of amenities (Hanakata 2019: 86).

Concurrently, Japan's unstable economy led to the fundamental restructuring of the labour market which put an end to the past model of lifelong security of employment. The number of part-time jobs increased as well as the number of people not in education, employment or training (Bloomberg 2014). Despite attempts to decentralise power structures and various functions since the 1970s, including the idea of relocating the national government, a centripetal movement towards the core of Tokyo has revived since the 2000s, increasing the concentration of people and economic

activities, not only on a regional but on a national scale. One critical element in this dynamic is the reliance on traditional face-to-face communication, which is still practiced in business today. In practical terms, this requires that any form of exchange needs to be performed in the physical space of Tokyo.

In this critical socioeconomic situation, Tokyo was once more confronted with a disaster: in March 2011, the Tohoku earthquake, the tsunami and the nuclear meltdown in northern Japan reminded people yet again of Tokyo's fragility. While it appeared to be a turning point for the city and the people at the time, surprisingly, Tokyo's territorial structure again remained unchanged and everyday life continued as usual. This can be seen as a token of the strength and resilience of the urban pattern that had been built up over the previous century. At the same time, however, this series of catastrophes also revealed that the government was arguably too rigid and unyielding to respond to the crisis in an effective and responsible way.

A great hope for change was expressed in the time before the Tokyo Olympics of 2020, with the expectation that the Games might create a catalytic effect similar to that of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The global pandemic, the postponement of the Games and a complete absence of spectators in 2021, however, limited the effectualness of the event. At the same time, it brought about new developments, in particular by stimulating the city's efforts towards digitisation (Hanakata 2022; Hanakata and Bignami forthcoming, Bignami et al. forthcoming).

Over this entire period, we can detect the gradual renaissance of the urban through a demographic shift from the peripheries to areas in the core where new housing typologies have been introduced. This development has also begun to destabilise the long-standing balance within the urban region by creating an uneven distribution of people, amenities and services between the centre and the periphery of the Tokyo metropolitan complex. As a result, the growing ageing population in the peripheral neighbourhoods, for example, has been transforming everyday life in former dormitory towns by posing new challenges to local communities and governments. While some services and infrastructures, for example the need for childcare, have become redundant, new needs for medical or social care and new requirements for mobility services and more local services (as people are longer commute to the city centre) have increased. Processes of shrinking and degrowth are therefore no longer an issue to be faced in the future but are already shaping the city's current organisation.

PATTERNS OF URBANISATION

The Tokyo metropolitan complex consists of several urban configurations, each representing a specific urban condition that is based on particular historical events and anchored at different times of Tokyo's historical pathway. Each of them captures an urbanisation process with a distinct driving force; yet they are highly interdependent and the boundaries among them are often blurred. In order to differentiate these configurations it is necessary to develop a very nuanced understanding of everyday practices, of the different individual conceptions of Tokyo based on experiences in different locations and of people's relationship to the land. These nuances can be captured by examining what I call urban differences: productive instabilities in a relatively socioeconomically homogeneous urban region. The analysis of urban differences, therefore, provides the analytical lens for capturing the nuanced variations that characterise Tokyo's urban condition (Hanakata 2020: 15, 314; Hanakata et al. 2022).

ARCHIPELAGO OF CENTRALITIES

A key element in the urban configuration map of Tokyo is the archipelago of centralities. This configuration is located within the 23-ward area and comprises key functions such as the local and national government, and the central business and commercial districts. This urban configuration forms a spatially discontinuous but functionally interlinked geography of main regional centralities and decentralised yet functionally important islands of specialised regional centralities. The basis of this archipelago was formed during the Edo period (1603–1868) when the main gates to the city were located in the places that today form the loop of main regional centralities. They were consolidated around the turn of the 19th century when the first railway stations were built in these places. By 1925 they were connected by an electrified tramway, later replaced by a railway line that is today known as the Yamanote loop line. During the previous century, the main individual centralities underwent a dynamic transformation, as some declined and others grew in importance, as well as qualitative changes as, for example, when a former centrality of business also become a cultural centrality, as in the case of Roppongi, close to Shibuya in the south. On a national scale, this archipelago of different functions and spatial qualities has become one amalgamated centrality that constitutes the monocentric urban structure of Japan with Tokyo at its core.

As places of encounter and exchange, the centralities in Tokyo today have specialised functions and distinct urban qualities. They all show

an increase in the density of the built environment in comparison with their immediate surroundings. They are all infrastructural nodes of varying extent and importance. They are centres of work, destinations for commuters and places of transition and interchange. They all have an impact on the urban development beyond their own boundaries. For the main regional centralities, this includes, for example: Shinjuku as a regional political centre and the largest commuter station; Shibuya, a fashion, tech and media centre and a major transit hub for people travelling from and to the south-west; Marunouchi, a financial and business centre of great significance to the national economy while on a daily basis it is only of interest to people who work in the area or who transit between the eastern region and the centre (Hanakata 2019). The specialised regional centralities include, among others, Ueno, an important hub for the north-east and link to the Shitamachi area (see next section); Ikebukuro, with a similar function linking the core and the northern area; and Yokohama, the city's main port town in the south-west.

SHITAMACHI URBANISATION

Adjacent to the interlinked main centralities to the north-east is the area of Shitamachi urbanisation. During the formation of an urban region in the Edo period this was the commercial and manufacturing centre of the city, where merchants and craftsmen lived and conducted their business. Today, Shitamachi (Japanese: *shita*: underneath, low; *machi*: town, village) conventionally refers to a place characterised by traditional craftsmanship and associated with the past and thus serves as an antipode to modern Tokyo. In the 1970s the first wave of deindustrialisation started in the area of Shitamachi urbanisation. Faced with the growing environmental pollution from the numerous small factories, residents protested against the deteriorating quality of life. In response, a series of policies was implemented by the city government to restrict industrial activities in the area. Thus, over the past century, the area has declined in importance within the city as a place for production and business. Today, the urban configuration incorporates a mixture of residents, functions and building types. With its remaining grid street layout, which was originally modelled on the ideal Chinese city (see Hanakata and Gasco 2019: 21), it is quite distinct from other parts of Tokyo, which display a more organic urban development pattern that often follows the topography of the area.

However, a growing number of big residential developments is currently changing the atmosphere and scale of the urban landscape and in stark contrast to the old, small-scale urban structures. They symbolise the gulf emerging between the nostalgic image of Shitamachi and the reality of

everyday contemporary life in the area. I therefore use the term Shitamachi urbanisation critically, to problematise the conventional negative connotation of Shitamachi as a lowly and mundane city. Moreover, I use the term to capture a new kind of urban living, specifically tied to those who moved into this area from areas further out, which is increasingly shaping the urban condition in the area today.

TŌKAIDŌ AND YAMANOTE URBANISATION

Large parts of the urban fabric of Tokyo are today covered by a seamlessly woven carpet of low-rise buildings. The urban configurations of Tōkaidō and Yamanote urbanisation, which stretch westwards from the archipelago of centralities, are defined by the homogeneous morphology of two to three-storey detached houses, all tied together by an extensive network of commuter train lines. These houses were produced over the last hundred years and represent both the idea of modern urban living and the reality of detached, mass-produced houses in a megacity. They are largely populated by the nuclear families of salarymen, as explained above, whose breadwinner endures long hours of daily commute to central areas for work. This socio-economic as well as morphological persistence is also captured in the comparatively developed concept of 'laminar urbanisation' (see Chapter 15).



Salaryman, commuting to central area.
Train junction Noda City, Chiba Prefecture, 2012



Yamanote urbanisation, laminar layer of detached houses expanding to the west. Tama Ward, 2014



Shitamachi urbanisation, mixed functions and several generations of buildings along the rectangular street grid. Taito Ward, 2012



In the case of Tokyo, commuter train lines, mostly laid out in the early 20th century, serve as a structural backbone and as means of supplying goods and services to people and organisations. During the 1920s and 1930s the residential areas in the west of Tokyo were assigned a certain prestige: people seeking a second home or trying to escape from the increasingly busy city here found remote and quiet places at a convenient distance to the centre and close to the mountains (Hanakata 2020: 148). During decades of massive urban growth, these areas provided homes for the exploding population that was unable to find or afford a home in the centre. Today, train stations serve as both commuter hubs and important service points for all daily needs: shopping centres are combined with car parks; cramming schools are conveniently placed next to train exits and entertainment facilities are surrounded by restaurants and bars. In the case of Tōkaidō and Yamanote urbanisation this creates an evenly extending landscape, rhythmically structured by train stations and marked by an increase in activities and the density of buildings towards central areas.

The differences between the two configurations are minimal. The Tōkaidō area is linked to a linear extension of smaller, regional centralities along the coast, extending to the south-west from the central area. Yamanote urbanisation consists of the area west of the core that aligns with the Musashino Plateau, which has provided an elevated and earthquake-safe area for wealthy residents since the Edo period. It stands out for being devoid of any significant centralities or major employment centres. Both urban configurations are today affected by economic restructuring processes that challenge the model of life-long secure employment and the single-family home as the main aim in life. With an increasingly ageing population left behind as many younger people move to more central areas, many questions need to be raised about the future of this densely inhabited urban area (see Koizumi and Wakabayashi 2015: 357).

PATTCHIWA-KU URBANISATION

The urban configuration of Pattchiwa-ku urbanisation extends to the north of the core area. It is relatively heterogeneous in its appearance and internally differentiated by various logics, rhythms and temporalities which are themselves determined by agricultural activities, residential areas, logistic hubs, transport infrastructure and industry. It is more than just the result of spillovers and urban sprawl, being produced by a spatial overlay of different logics of urbanisation wherein the new logics have not eradicated older ones but added up to form the dispersed pattern that covers the territory today. The simultaneity of different, largely independent urban layers without a prevailing dominant logic is

also captured in the comparatively developed concept of 'multilayered patchwork urbanisation' (see Chapter 15).

Historically, the area was largely agricultural land traversed by the Nakasendō route which linked Kyoto with Edo. In 1894, railroad tracks were built along this route to secure an efficient transport of agricultural goods to Tokyo. Additionally, large-scale military and defence infrastructures were built to support Japan's growing military activities in the region during the 1920s and 1930s for lack of available space elsewhere in the region. This fragmented land use was exacerbated when land-holdings were restricted to a maximum size of 2 ha by the Allied Powers that occupied Japan after the Second World War in an attempt to break the power of large property owners. The National Capital Region Development Plan for the larger region from 1958 proposed the creation of a green belt in this area, but this idea was never realised. The area reserved for the green belt was soon settled by the growing population of Tokyo, adding another layer to this territory. To date, the area's connectivity forms a key for all the various urbanisation logics that are juxtaposed here. While large-scale infrastructural projects continue to be mounted and new industrial sites are set up, the people who moved here between the late 1960s and 1980s have reached retirement age and the number of commuters from Pattchiwa-ku to the core area is rapidly declining. This has laid bare the lack of local amenities and services necessary for daily life in this area, while new services catering to the requirements of an ageing population are urgently needed. Simultaneously, people spend more time in the area and are beginning to invest in building communal activities and networks. The different layers remain dynamic, yet they are largely isolated from each other and form a landscape of clearly distinguishable morphologies and practices.

KŌHAICHI URBANISATION

To the east of the Tokyo metropolitan complex agricultural land and small settlements cover the territory. Agricultural life and commuters to the core area for work dominate the daily routines in this urban configuration, characterised as Kōhaichi urbanisation. The term can be loosely translated as 'hinterland', and on the map it describes an area that is economically dependent on the production and flow of goods from the fertile grounds of Tohoku and Hokkaido in the north to sites of consumption within the Tokyo metropolitan complex. The railway network in this area was developed relatively late, and until the Second World War it connected only the waterfront area around the bay and its industrial sites. Stops along this route developed into smaller regional subcentres after the war and gradually matured into new centralities for work. While the

flow of agricultural goods and local livelihoods depend on these centralities, the area as a whole is deeply rooted in the practice and life of farming, which creates a strong contrast between this area and others within the Tokyo metropolitan complex. The construction of Tsukuba University in the early 1970s created the first larger centrality and it became an important centre for employment. In the same way, Narita International Airport created a new centrality in this area. It was built on and around imperial property in 1972 and its construction was met with fierce protest at the time. To date, the airport remains relatively small and isolated. Since the late 1990s, infrastructural investment by the Tokyo metropolitan government has led to infrastructural upgrading in the area of Kōhaichi urbanisation. This has extended the reach of the centre to commuters and made the area attractive, particularly for young families looking for relatively spacious housing.

WATERFRONT AND PERIPHERAL INDUSTRIALISATION

Processes of industrialisation and deindustrialisation have been inextricably linked to the development of Tokyo since 1868, at the dawn of our modern time. Within the Tokyo metropolitan complex are two dominant urbanisation processes linked to industrialisation and deindustrialisation: waterfront urbanisation, defining the urban configuration around Tokyo Bay, and a belt of peripheral industrialisation from the north-west to the north-east. They each have their own pathway and development logic but have evolved in close relation to each another. The pattern of waterfront urbanisation is formed by almost seamlessly adjacent industrial plants with access to the bay, reaching from Bosō Peninsula in the east to Miura Peninsula in the south-west, including the international freight port of Yokohama, and thereby framing the configuration of Tokaido urbanisation to the south. In contrast, peripheral industrialisation is much more dispersed and in fact is overlaid with the configurations of Tokaido, Yamanote, Pattchiwa-ku and Kōhaichi urbanisation, forming a broad and scattered arch in the west and north of the Tokyo region.

Waterfront industrialisation began along the benches of the Kanda and Sumida rivers with the erection of various kinds of manufacturing sites that were gradually industrialised at the beginning of the 20th century. Larger industries dependent on seaborne raw materials were established between the port of Yokohama and the centre of Tokyo, or what is today known as the Keihin Industrial Zone. Spurred by Japan's colonial expansion in the first part of the 20th century, these industrial sites rapidly expanded and continuous land reclamation created an extensive network of canals and islands connected by bridges and partly by railway lines.

After the Second World War, industrial production continued to grow in the area as Japan became a leading export economy. The backbone of this production was a flexible network of specialised small and medium-sized enterprises that were able to quickly adapt to new technologies and products: bigger industrial plants were surrounded by smaller subcontractor companies that were integrated with private residences, creating a highly mixed-use urban environment. With the oil crisis and growing environmental concerns in the 1970s leading to the restriction of industrial sites within the core area, waterfront industrialisation started to shrink as bigger plants relocated to the periphery or translocated to countries with lower wages in Southeast Asia.

As described in the Pattchiwa-ku section, peripheral industrialisation started with the construction of large infrastructural sites in the 1920s and 1930s, fuelled by the growing war industry. When Tokyo experienced another

dramatic population increase after the war and the economy was growing fast, the first industrial plants relocated to the periphery, where large plots were still available. A more significant shift, however, started when environmentally polluting industrial sites were banned within the core area. At the same time, new creative industries related to the production of anime and video games led to a pattern of closely spaced industrial functions linked to urbanisation processes in the western part of the region. Not needing large infrastructural inputs, these sites consisted of tight networks of primary firms and subcontractors working in closed but flexible collaborative arrangements.

Today, both urban configurations are undergoing another rapid transformation and are faced with different challenges. While the pattern of waterfront industrialisation becomes more and more porous and is interspersed by new developments (see section below entitled 'Manshon urbanisation'), many areas of peripheral industrialisation are confronted with a gradual decline in the workforce that lives nearby. At the same time, however, new research and development centres are being set up around Tokyo Bay and, with wages rising in neighbouring countries, the first Japanese companies, including Honda Motors and Casio, have begun to relocate their production sites from countries overseas back to Japan.

MANSHON URBANISATION

Manshon urbanisation is the most recent urban configuration. Located around the bay of Tokyo, the emergence of this configuration is directly linked to the contracting dynamic of waterfront industrialisation: as large-scale industrial sites become vacant due to the relocation or closure of factories and are now available for high-rise, mixed-use developments. Located relatively close to the central area and well connected to highways and the public transport system, they are particularly attractive to young people moving back to the city from commuter towns or other prefectures. These new residents introduce new demands and habits to the area and are looking for big apartments or car parking spaces.

Three moments have been particularly formative for the development of this configuration: (1) the abolition of a height restriction for residential buildings in 1970; (2) the planning policy that introduced 'urban renaissance areas' in 1986, which provided developers with incentives and exceptions to planning regulations so they could build large development projects in certain areas (Hanakata 2019: 85); and (3) a change in the zoning plan in 1988, which created conditions for the construction of housing and the installation of new building uses in the industrial areas along the waterfront. Together, these changes paved the way for the construction

Agrarian Landscape. Ibaragi Prefecture, 2009



High-rise mixed use waterfront. Yokohama, 2014



of new mixed-use mega developments and residential apartment towers, called *manshons* in Japanese. Such developments accommodate as many people as an entire traditional neighbourhood. Projects like the Ōkawabata River City (1989), Shinonome Canal Court Codan (2005) and Kawazaki Lazona (2008) are examples of developments that have been built on former factory grounds. Their names allude to the waterfront as a newly discovered asset and their English or Italian name respectively are meant to suggest a modern and spacious living environment. The construction of large-scale housing projects in the area was galvanised by the preparations for the Tokyo Olympics 2020 and the development of the Olympic Village on Harumi Island, just next to the Ōkawabata River City, with the development of 21 new residential building blocks adding 5,650 new apartments to the housing market in 2020, equivalent to 30 per cent of the annual housing supply within the 23-ward area (Realestate Japan 2018). The postponement of the games, however, led to a large cut in revenue as the new apartments could not be released onto the market as scheduled, but had to be retained until 2021 and the end of the Games.

Manshon urbanisation reflects a re-evaluation of the core area as a space for living. However, many of these new developments remain spatially cut off from the rest of the city by highways or water bodies that previously formed the edge of the industrial zone, thus forming isolated islands of activities and social life. In many respects, this configuration displays another dimension of a periphery that increasingly struggles with a shrinking and ageing population.

DIFFERENTIATING AN URBAN MEGAREGION

Over the past 150 years Tokyo has experienced a changing history of repeated, devastating destruction followed by periods of extreme growth as well as decades lost to economic stagnation. The core of this development and central element on the map is the archipelago of centralities, a network of nodes with different functions and qualities. These centralities anchor the vast urban configurations extending into the urban periphery (Tōkaidō and Yamanote, Pattchiwa-ku and Kōhaichi urbanisation). The related pattern of connected centralities and processes of expansive urbanisation was consolidated over time, particularly at moments of reconstruction (after 1868, after the earthquake of 1923 and after the Second World War). They form what is today the dominant national centre of the Tokyo metropolitan complex.

As has become clear in this portrait, and through the analysis of these urbanisation processes in depth and in relation to each other, the various and contrasting urban qualities of the Tokyo metropolitan complex are defined by everyday practices, continuously fostered relationships to the environment and the position of communities in their localities and in the city at large. In theoretical terms, this has led to the production of nuanced differences on the ground through the concrete engagement of people with particular urban qualities, the negotiations among different interests that collide in this megacity region and the hardships inflicted by recurrent destruction of the built environment.

In the 20th century Tokyo's urban structure was continuously and consistently rebuilt and consolidated. Large-scale, top-town planning efforts like the idea of a green belt introduced in the late 1950s were rare and did not change the overall pattern of development. Instead, Tokyo's urban development was determined by the construction of railway lines early on, which became the organising structure of urbanisation that triumphed over several moments of disruption at the end of the 19th century, in 1923 and 1945, and during critical phases of urban growth, particularly in the 1920s, the 1960s and the 1970s. Extending in tangential lines from the centre, these railways formed the basis for a continuous expansion and densification of the urban configurations that are anchored in the core of the city and extend to the periphery. This development has been guided by physical infrastructural networks and its quality has been determined by people's relationship to the urban environment and sustained by persistent tenure conditions and people's close attachment to land. The resulting structural resilience of Tokyo has become a key quality of its urban condition today.

After a phase of continuous outward migration, with new satellite towns being built in the 1960s and 1970s, first in the west and gradually also in the north of Tokyo, the protracted economic crisis starting in the 1990s marked the emergence of a new paradigm of urbanisation and a renewed centripetal movement towards the core of the city. The introduction of new housing types, continuous deindustrialisation and a gradual demographic shift that is creating an ageing population are expediting the renaissance of the urban, resulting in increasingly dynamic urban areas, particularly within the configuration of Kōhachī urbanisation and around Tokyo Bay. These shifts have started to create a new dynamic within the urban region and to alter the conditions in the core as well as in the geographical peripheries. This is exemplified by the emergence of Manshon urbanisation and the dynamic of industrial sites in the region. In the map, this is captured by using higher colour intensities in the centre, emphasising the concentration of activities in the core area of the city.

More recently the persistency of urbanisation patterns has been demonstrated when the triple catastrophe of earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disaster hit the north-eastern coast of Japan in March 2011. What turned out to be a fatal concurrence of natural catastrophe and human failure did not change the pathways of urbanisation of Tokyo. While the lives and livelihoods of many people have altered, in hindsight this disruptive moment appears to follow the pathway of previous disruptions, which put the city on hold only momentarily. Valiant attempts to revive Japan's economy and Tokyo's urban development, as was the case in preparing the city to host the Olympic Games, fade away or bounce off a lethargic bureaucratic apparatus and entrenched social conventions (Hanakata 2022; Bignami et al. 2023). However, even if the general structure and patterns of urbanisation remain the same, subtle dynamics within and between the urban configurations continue to shape the landscape of urban differences in Tokyo.