

Divided Urban Cores of Tokyo from The View-point of Daily Migration

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I. Introduction – Fundamental concepts –

The urban problems have to be examined under two aspects in large scale. The first aspect is so-called the hard, which consists of buildings, routs, railways, and other various urban facilities. The other aspect is so-called the soft, which consists of flows and accumulations of informations, of values, and of populations, related to the various cultural or socio-economic activities. In fact, many specialists of each disciplines have analysed and studied the urban problems from the view-point of the hard or that of the soft, according to the methods and interests of their specialized disciplines. In the domain of geography, the urban geographers have promoted the positive studies of concrete cities.

The fundamental way of thinking in geography is to ask if there might be some relations between the various natural, cultural, and social phenomena when they happen on the same place or on the same region. That is, the geography is a discipline who doubts about the legitimacy of cutting the regional phenomena which appear as a global entity, and about that of abstractions of some particular phenomena among them, according to the share of each particular discipline. That is the reason why I would discuss the problem not by separating a city into the hard side and the soft side but by examining it by two different view-points.

The first point: in each period, the demands of inhabitants and of socio-economic activities in a certain region have built and developed a city as a physical object, that is, the soft has given the impact on the hard. The second point: the fact of city, which was already built as the hard construction, gives the inhabitants a limit of their living area and provokes to dismember them each other. In fact, this scission between them weakens the citizens' consciousness of solidarity or co-appurtenance which procures the affect belonging to the same city.

The author have, therefore, made an approximate classification of urban area by periods of growth of Tokyo, it means that, at first, he would clarify the first point. It means also that this urban growth should be considered with relation to the modernization of social structures and of the industrialization of economic structures of Japan, because the modernization and the industrialization, symbolized as a private car, a television or a telephone, are by nature not always the parallel phenomena with the urbanization in Japan. In facts, the private cars

are much widely diffused in rural area more than in urban area.

Besides, in Japanese villages where the farms are excessively small, the seasonal migration for work (*dekasegi*) in dead season, as well as the industries in rural area have been so active from the Edo era, that it is very hard to distinguish farmers and non-farmers in so clear categories as in occidental Europe. Shown by the expressions of *kengyô nôka* (pluri-active farmers), *sanchan nôgyô* (agriculture by three “chan”, that is, a grand father: *jî-chan*, a grand mother: *bâ-chan* and a mother *kâ-chan*), Sunday-farmer, etc., the subsidiary job of farmers outside of agriculture is rather popular, and there is not a break of continuity between farmers and non-farmers. The industrialization of village simply means, therefore, that the center of gravity of the inhabitants' revenue is moved from agriculture to industry. But nevertheless they, themselves, are still farmers, not only by their mentality but also by their way of life.

II. Growth of Tokyo

(1) Concentric structure and Sectorial one

We will analyse at first the hard (physical) regional structure of Tokyo. As many study has already shown, a so-called concentric structure and a sectorial structure are remarkably superposed one upon another in this city.

The concentric structure of Tokyo, however, cannot be interpreted in the terms of accessibility and of nearness from center as in the model of north american cities, which is convertible by the land price. It is owing to the fact that Tokyo has a concentric structure which shows the process of urbanization, forming the structure of a shell or of annual rings of tree as that of many European cities¹⁾. In this article, we have indicated the existence of at least three stages of urban growth; the period of Edo when the urban growth was relatively moderate, the first half of 20th century when the modernization and the industrialization made furious, and the period of exceptional economic growth after the second world war especially after about 1960. We can distinguish, therefore, an old zone, a new recent zone and an extended zone in this large metropolis of Tokyo. Of course we can subdivide these zones, but these three zones should be sufficient for the discussion in this paper.²⁾

According to this zoning, the different areas, for example, the residential areas of the rich are formed during each period, that is, in each of three zones. In fact, the simple concentric zones such as central business district and suburbs should be replaced by the old urban core in the old zone, the new urban cores in the new zone, and the sprouts of new

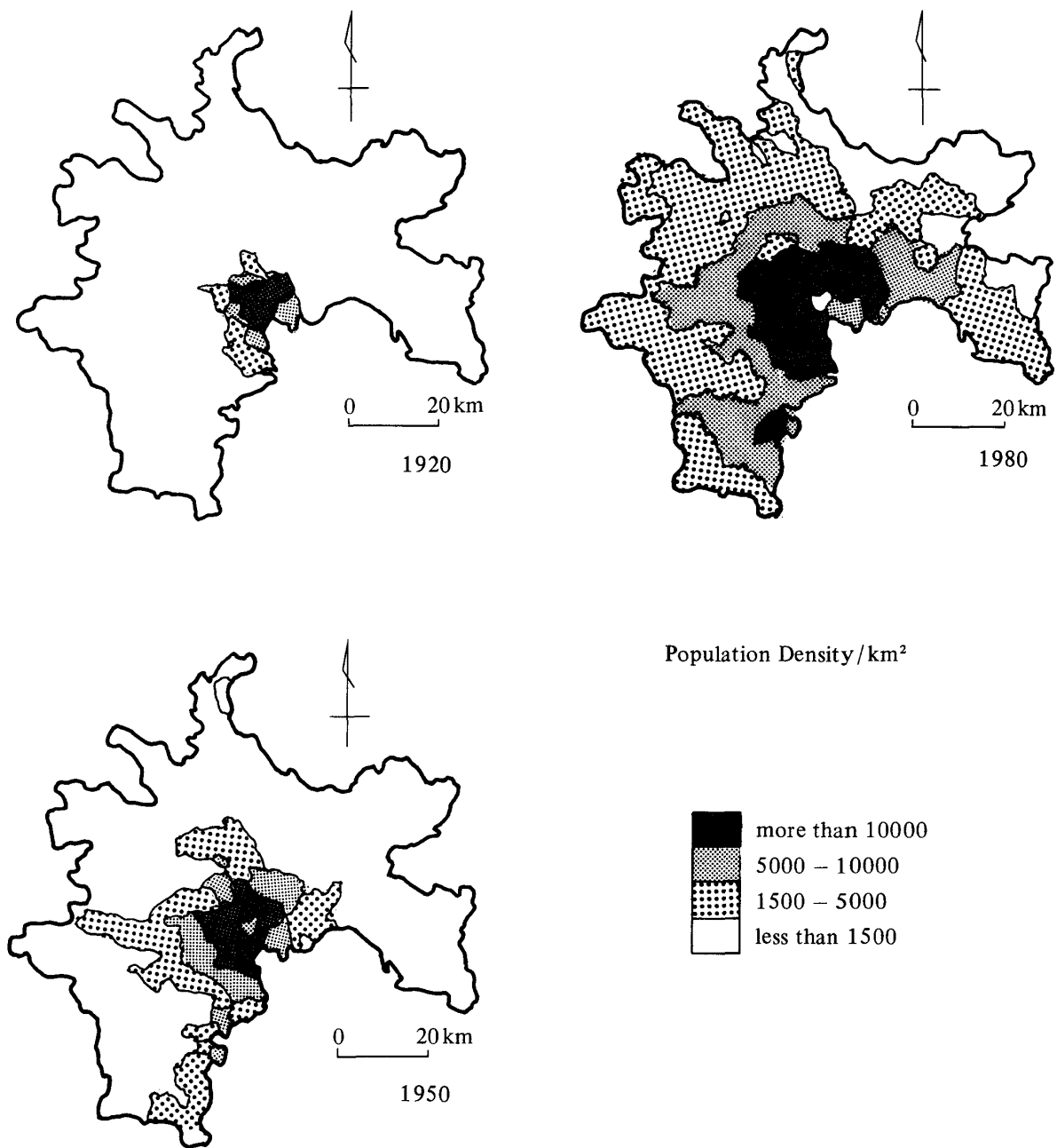


Fig. 1. Urban growth of Tokyo.

urban cores in the extended zone.

As for the sectorial structure, its origin was in the differentiation of the old zone into *Shitamachi* (Low Town) and *Yamanote* (High Town), of which we will examine more details in the following of this paper. But we should note that this structure is intimately related with the network of transport which converge toward the city center³). But except some national railway lines such as Tokaido and Yokosuka lines, most railways coming from the suburbs cannot directly penetrate into the old urban core of the old zone. If we take 7 lines of national railway and 13 lines of private railway companies, which convergent from the suburbs toward the old core, only 4 lines can enter directly into Tokyo station. Of course, the most of these lines are joint with subway network at the junction station, which unite those lines with the old zone, but this frontier of the old zone constitutes an obstacle in terms of time as well as in terms of transport system.

This fact that transport system is cut by the concentric structure, especially between the old and new zones, urges the workers living in the suburbs, particularly in the extended zone, to commute to the new core within their limited sector, not to go to the old core except some commuters of certain category, of high revenue or position, free from time register, etc.

(2) The old zone

As for the whole metropolitan area, it is very difficult to determine the extent of what is called the "metropolis of Tokyo". At the Meiji era (1868–1911), the city of Tokyo bordered on the rural fields. From the administrative, functional and landscape's view-points, the administrative circumscription of Tokyo (*Tokyo-shi*) composed by metropolitan wards (*ku*) constituted so called the city of Tokyo. The old urban zone of Tokyo was less extended than the actual metropolitan wards. Furthermore the territorial configuration of administration, determined in the Edo era, survived yet clearly, where we could find the down-town area of merchants and artisans (*Shitamachi*) and the residential area of warriors, *samurai* (*Yamanote*), to which two centers were corresponding, commercial one and administrative one.

These two centers of Tokyo were found, the one on the alluvial plain of low level (*Shitamachi*), and the another on the dilluvial terrace (*Yamanote*). Though the residential areas of *samurais* of lower classes were tolerably intermixed with those of artisans, the natural relief underlined clearly the social division of the city into two areas. In the commercial and industrial activities of the low city, the type of home business was so prevailing over the modern enterprise type that the merchants, as well as the artisans, worked often at their

home. Most of workers lived under the same roof of their master, whose family worked together in the same enterprise. Even those who migrated to their place of work had only short distance to travel, because they could get a house to let or boarding-house very near. So we could not find the residential areas which could be called as suburbs, just outside of *Shitamachi*. The low city was bordering directly on the humid low alluvial plain of paddy rice field.

On the other hand, we could find many people working in the offices in the administrative center of *Yamanote*. Most of them had to commute to their place of work and their residential area was spread out toward the west on the dilluvial terrace contiguous to the urban core. They appreciated well to live in this area constituted by fields and forests on the terrace, which had less value than the paddy rice fields in agriculture but had the more advantage for living.

(3) New zone

The peripheral rural areas of Tokyo were urbanized at the rhythm of the modernization and the industrialization of city. Modern factories were located on the coastal plain in the direction of Yokohama, on the low and humid alluvial plain at the eastern and northern periphery of *Shitamachi* (The low city). The business center, substantive urban center, was formed at the point of junction of two preceding centers, the commercial and industrial center of *Shitamachi* and the administrative center of *Yamanote*. The distance of daily migration to the place of work, on foot or by tramway, became longer through the development of national railway network, which formed residential areas of western suburbs of Tokyo beyond the circle of Yamanote line of national railway. The improvement of private companys' railway networks in the suburbs make the secondary urban cores be born, attracting commercial and service activities around the junction station with the national railway. Nevertheless, even after the second world war in 1950s, the rural landscape spread widely in the peripheries of actual wards' area of Tokyo, which formed a sort of frontier of the substantive city of Tokyo between its surrounding cities such as Yokohama, Hachi-Ôji, Urawa or Ichikawa. A crowd of employee, mainly constituted of white collars, commuted from the peripheric ward to the administrative center of Yamanote or the business center which we have called above the substantive urban core. The commercial center of *Shitamachi* and the zone of artisans' industries attracted generally those who worked under the living-in system or by commuting in short distance from their home or from their masters' dormitory near-by. Thus, even the workers in *Keihin*, region of south of Tokyo toward Kawasaki and

Yokohama, where modern industries developed lately, were commuting for shorter distance than the white collars of office. At the same time, the arrival of managers' class of large companies and professionals, who had looked for sweet climate and beautiful environment, was the origin of the creation of residential area far from their working place, for example, cities of Kamakura, Zushi or Fujisawa. These cities are connected with Tokyo by express train with the second class cars (actual first class or green cars) of Tokaido or Yokosuka line.

(4) Extended zones

It is after about 1960 when the city of Tokyo entered into the process of metropolitanization⁴⁾, after having completely urbanized the rural peripheric zones and the boundary zones with its adjacent cities. At first, the smaller and nearer cities to Tokyo were absorbed and incorporated into the residential area as its suburbs, being transformed into small peripheric commercial centers. At the second step, the residential areas were constructed in the suburbs of cities adjacent to Tokyo for the people going to work in the metropolis. That means, it became rather difficult to distinguish these residential areas in the suburbs of adjacent cities from that of Tokyo. In another word, a sort of remote suburbs have grown up in peripheric areas of large metropolis, where we can find a sort of mosaic composed of former small cities absorbed for becoming local commercial centers, their surrounding residential areas, as adjacent cities conserve yet relative independence and their own peripheric zone, and remote suburbs of Tokyo, the central city of the metropolis it-self. We would give this mosaic a name as "extended zone", appeared beyond the old suburbs called "new zone".

At the base of this expansion, we can find, above all, the rapid economic growth, which is even qualified as a "miracle". Through more detailed analysis, there should be pointed out four factors:

- 1) Higher daily migration rate of workers in commercial and service activities through their modernization from home business to modern enterprise.
- 2) Extreme centralization of administrative functions to Tokyo which has created more employment of clerical workers, who have to migrate to live in the suburbs of an adjacent city, far from their place of work, because of excessively rapid growth of land price in old residential areas near the urban core.
- 3) Modernization of transport system with the abolition of streetcar, the construction of urban freeway and the penetration of suburban private companies' railway into the urban core by modifying subway system.

4) Recent tertiarization of Japanese industry after the period of rapid economic growth, accompanied with the proportional growth of number of clerical workers, who often live farther from the place of work than the workers of factories.

III. Dissociation of urban cores

(1) Old zone and old urban cores

The old zone of Tokyo rests yet deeply marked by the historical heritage of regional structure. Thus, in the *Shitamachi* area with high concentration of merchants and artisans working at home, we can find more population movement toward the north-east into Saitama prefecture. In fact, the depopulation of this area was particularly increased after 1960 with the modernization of industries, which is accompanied with the change of workers' condition from the type of home business to the employed to migrate daily for work. This depopulation is also due to the removal of factories toward outside of the metropolitan area itself, partly because of the shortage of land suitable for extending it nearby. Even if some large residential estates have been recently constructed on the former place of the removed factories, the global structure of *Shitamachi* presents a mixture of low dwellings for workers with few green spaces and neighbored by the factories of artisans' type. As the most of these workers have only a short distance to go to the place of work, the daily migrations are less accented here than in other areas.

By the way, the commercial centers of old core, symbolized by Ginza have become a sort of show-window or of information center. It means that they have grown into the commercial and service center of the highest class in Japan which attracts the clients of the top from extremely wide areas extending beyond the metropolis, and of the companies and offices forming nearby the administrative and business center. Generally speaking, most of inhabitants in the metropolis do not visit this center even once a year, and if they do so, it is not to make shopping but sight-seeing there. It is to say that they can not feel the center as their own home city and that the classic notion of the urban core is no more adequate here.

The other constitutive centers of old core, that is, the administrative center and business center, are absorbing the clerical workers' daily migration from the remote suburbs which spread widely like a volcanic mountain foot. They are living in the vast zone extending to the west of Tokyo in Kanagawa Prefecture as well as to the north in Saitama Prefecture and to the east in Chiba Prefecture beyond the *Shitamachi*. Even if the old core is intensified by its growing function of central administration through rebuilding the higher

constructions, this movement is not yet so powerful as to overflow over the adjacent old residential areas, provoking them to be integrated into the core itself. The old residential areas of the *Yamanote* are extending yet widely between this old city core and the new cores of which we will treat in the following. Indeed old houses are renovated and new offices are installed there, but large surface is yet occupied by low houses. The aspect of Tokyo looks more flat and extended, lower than European large cities as Paris, because of these low houses in the old residential areas with their small private gardens.

These old residential areas are so near to the urban core, that is, the land price is so high there that its population is essentially composed of rich people earning high revenue or of old people having lived long since. That is why we cannot find a slum there, contrary to the zone surrounding the central business district of large American cities. By the way, one of the characteristics of the old zone is the presence of large number of unmarried workers between 20 and 30 years old who are concentrated in the houses of worse conditions, but nevertheless with the low rate of criminality and of unemployment.

(2) New zone and new urban cores

One of the characteristics, referred often of the metropolis of Tokyo is constituted by the new urban cores which are disseminated at the junction of old zone and new one of the city.⁵⁾ We found at first the development of new residential areas outside of the old ones, accompanied by the growth of secondary urban cores as Shinjuku, Shibuya or Ikebukuro, where the commercial and service activities were concentrated around the junction stations between suburban railway line and the urban tramway networks. This growth was encouraged by the transport system which prohibited the suburban railway companies from penetrating into the old zone encircled by the *Yamanote* ex-national railway line, forcing commuters to change train there. After 1960, the metropolitanization of the Kanto plain around Tokyo have made the distance of daily migration so long and its cost so expensive, that these "secondary" cores have developed to the "new" urban cores, which have entered into rivalry with the old urban cores. Many offices have removed from the old urban cores to the new cores with their functions of central administration. This naming as "new urban cores" should be justified by the fact that we can find an extreme concentration of so-called white collars.⁶⁾

One of the most distinctive features of the new urban cores is, however, that the residential area of commuters working there is mostly localized within their sector as shown by Figure 2, though the distance of daily migration is rather long. On the other hand, the residential area of workers in the old urban core is spread over almost the whole metropolis.

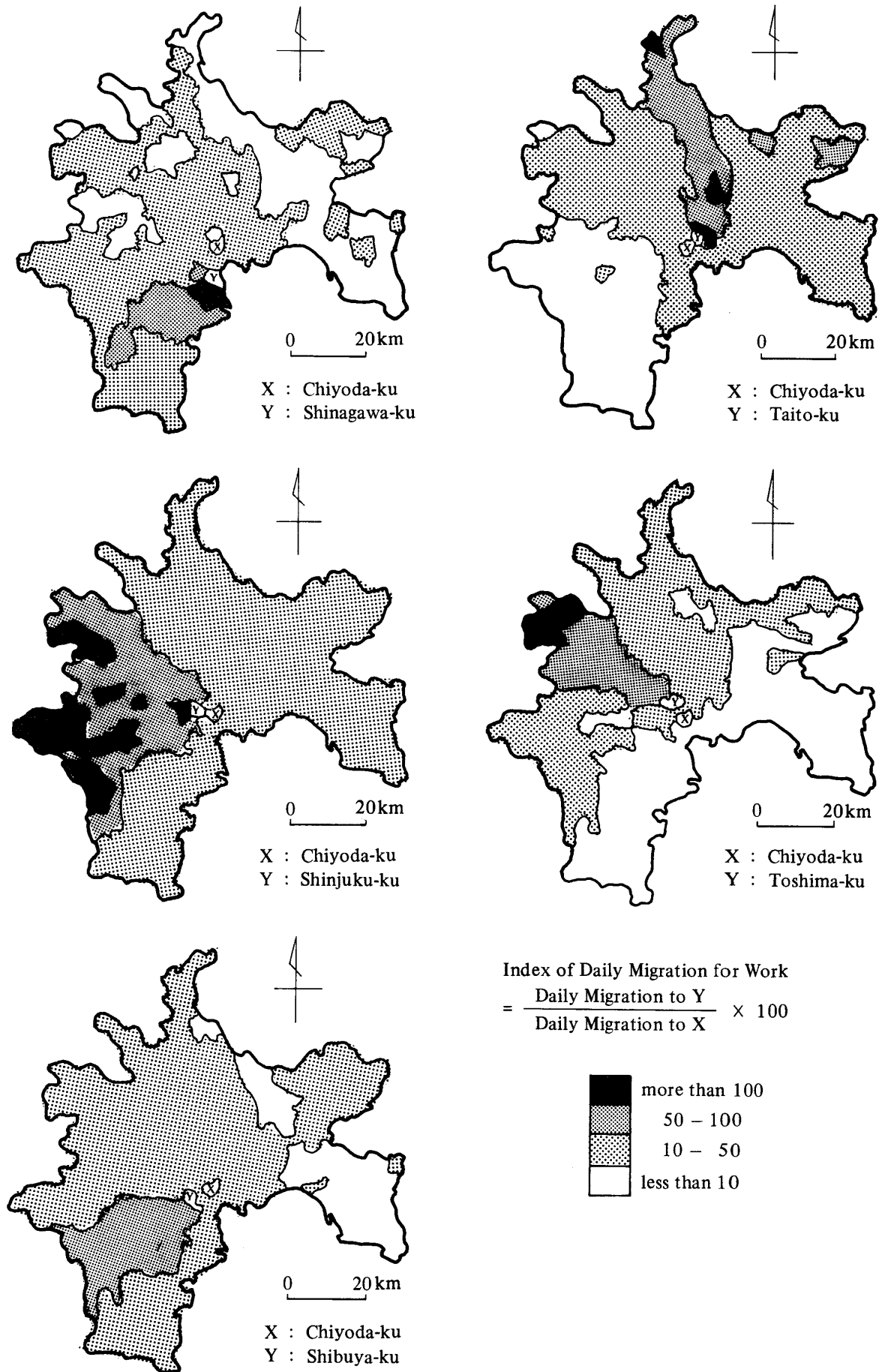


Fig. 2. New urban cores' territory from the view-point of daily migration.

We can say in this sense that although the old urban core constitutes the real heart of metropolis, the new urban cores form the sectorial centers, serving as outposts for the old one. The areas of daily migration toward each new core are forming a sort of independent sectors, though they might partly cover each other. Another feature of the new cores is that they have relatively similar functions, located apart by several kilometers each other. The industrial areas in the new zone, especially in the north-eastern alluvial plain and in the coastal plain to the south for Yokohama are attracting also their proper commuters. They form, in this sense, minor centers for the sector of daily migration.

Individual houses with small garden have covered over wide surface of residential areas of the new zone, mainly developed on the alluvial terraces, which are dissected by small valleys, where many urban facilities such as schools or hospitals have been constructed.⁷⁾ Recently, many small neighbourhood shopping centers are born around some suburban railway stations, some of which have grown up into a commercial and service center of the higher level as Kichijoji, though their service functions are yet weak in compared with the new cores.

Many wooden houses in this new zone are already to be rebuilt, even if they are of recent construction. Furthermore, the transfer of a heritage from a generation to another is often the chance of redistribution of real estates. For example, it is not rare to see a residence of 300 m² replaced by three small individual houses with small garden, or yet by a four storied building divided into 20 apartments.⁸⁾ It is for this reason that this new zone has more and more anomalous architectural aspect, as crowded as the residential areas of the old zone. Or we can say that temples, public gardens and other urban facilities are offering the historical green spaces of relatively large scale in the old zone, but on the other hand, that the green space in the new zone is constituted by the private gardens of individual houses, which are becoming smaller through the reconstruction. This degradation of green space will be one of the serious problems for the residential environment in this zone.

The population of this new zone are in majority of middle or older age. They are generally getting higher revenue, even if their houses are becoming smaller through the reconstruction. Because it takes about 30 minutes from their residence to the junction station and plus more 30 minutes till the place of work in the old urban core, the daily migration is possible from there to the old core but very few are traversing the old zone to the another side beyond the old core itself.

(3) Extended zone

Even before the metropolitanization, in the periphery of new zone, there had been located various urban facilities of large scale, such as power station, airports, cemeteries, prisons, hippodromes or military bases, extended very quickly after about 1970. Afterward, universities or factories which needed large space have removed from the old zone to this extended one. Then there have developed what we named "danchi" in Japanese term, the residential estates which consist of various kinds of houses to rent or to sale of the type of collective apartments or of individual residences planned by a private company or by a public authority. But the most part of this extended zone has been occupied by the individual residences which are built without refined city plan on the place of former agricultural fields or woods. Because the public facilities such as a primary school, a hospital, a library or other cultural establishment have not followed this rythme of expansion of the residential areas, the quality of life in the extended zone is in the extremely poor conditions.

As the preceding urban facilities of large scale have not absorbed well the labour forces since their origin, there are so few jobs in the extended zone that most of population should go to work toward the direction of urban cores. Though some of them might go to work in the old core, the place of work of the rest is very often one of the new cores or the former cities which were absorbed and changed into a small adjacent center by the metropolitanization among the extended zone, because it takes at least 30 minutes more from there to the old core than from the residantial area of new urban zone. We can find very often that workers in a well planned estate of individual houses are commuting to the old core, and that those commuting to the adjacent center are often living in an estate of public apartment houses to rent.⁹⁾

Most of the population of the extended zone is generally composed of young couples with their small children. But unmarried adults and aged people are living very few here whom we can find much more in the old zone. The daily life of many family members seems to be so independent from the old core of the metropolis that they are living in the very limited area in the extended zone. Even for the rare occasion to buy high grade goods, those whose revenue is at the lower level should be satisfied with the adjacent cities. Those who can enjoy their higher revenue would go shopping sometimes to the new cores or till to the old core, but even for this category, except the daily migration for work, their daily life itself rests enclosed within a corner of the extended zone.

Further more yet, except those who work in the old core, even the workers who can get every day out of this extended zone, are living within the sectorial limited area of one of the

new cores. They can only have a rare contact with those in another sector, or even less contact with those living another side of the old core. For example, Asakusa, one of the old center of *Shitamachi*, seems to be in the same sphere as Kamakura or even Nikko about 100 km north from Tokyo, for those who migrate every day from Hachioji in the western extended zone to Shinjuku. Then Gotanda, one of the southern new cores seems to be very far in another metropolis for those who are working in the old core but living in Fujimi, one of the residential area of the north-western extended zone.

A serious problem of the family life in these extended zone is the separation which provoke the diversity of spheres of activity for each members of a family. Those who have to go far to the place of work in the urban core, should sacrifice more than 12 hours by day to work and commute. The municipality of their residence seems to be a simple bedroom for them. It is reasonable that this situation is explained by an English word made in Japan, "bed-town". On the other hand, house-wives are inhabitants for 24 hours by day and their attachment for the residential municipality is much stronger than their husbands who are always travellers from their residence to the place of work. The family members cannot get a common consciousness of the home municipality but some separated ones.

IV. Inhabitants under dissociation of urban cores

What kind of life is prepared to the actual inhabitants of Tokyo by this hard complex of concentric and sectorial structures?

i) The first point, which we have analysed in this paper: the birth of small divided sectorial urban areas, in each sector defined by the new urban cores, or by the dissociation of cores. It means that those whom we call the inhabitants of Tokyo do not belong to the large metropolitan or urban area of Tokyo but to one of these divided sectorial urban areas, such as Shinjuku, Kinshicho, etc., and it indicates that they have hardly a chance to enter into another area out of their dependent area, or even never for their life. Further more, they have neither friends nor acquaintances there. Under this situation they cannot get any affection nor remembrance for other divided sectorial areas of Tokyo.

Even if the dissociation of the urban cores has not clearly appeared, it's because there exists the old urban core composed of some commercial, business, or administrative centers, where the strongest and highest, political and economic functions in Japan are concentrated, which gives it an air to be the center for all population of the metropolis of Tokyo. But for most of the population, the old core is another town out of their daily life. In comparison

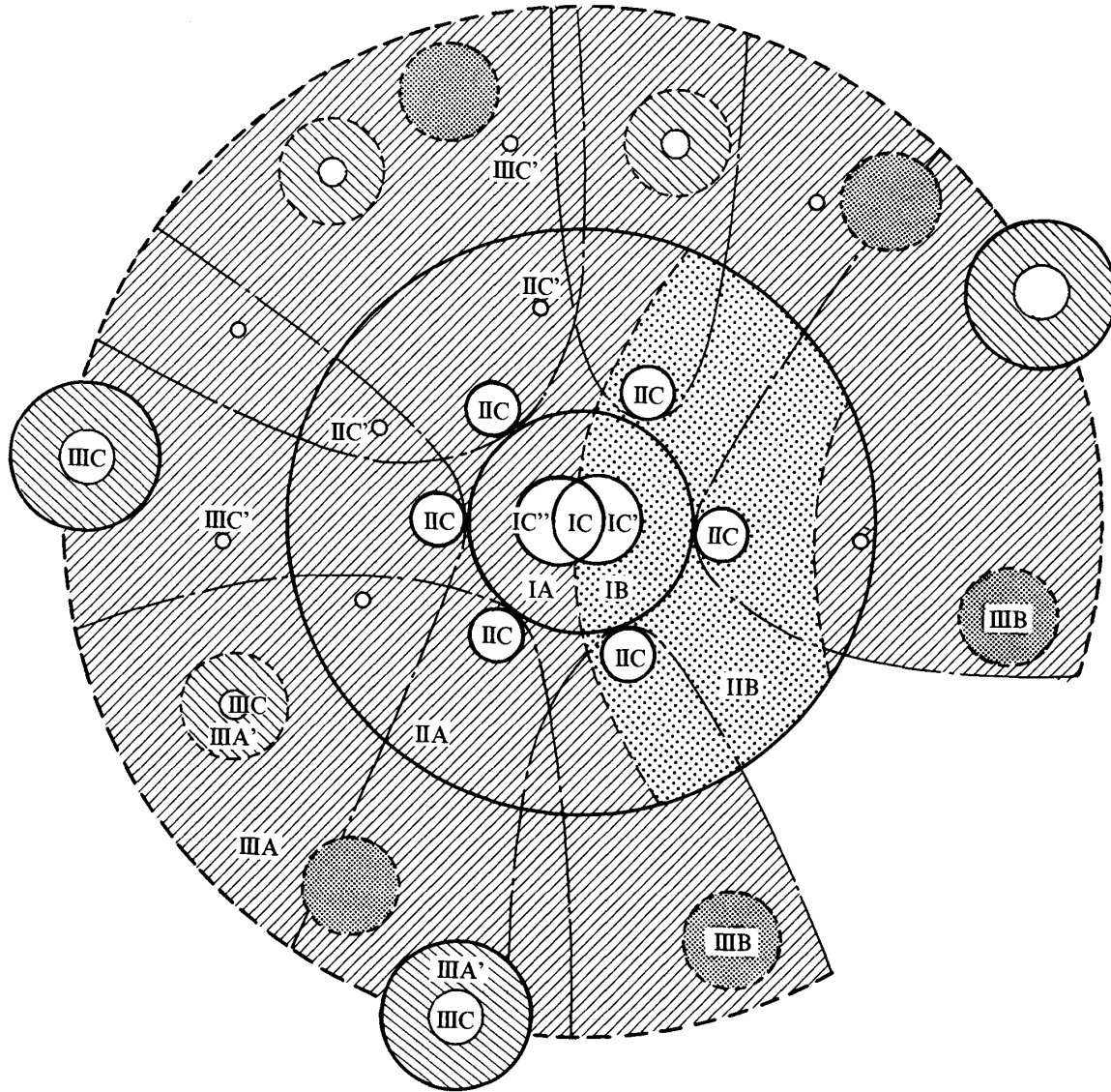


Fig. 3. Summarized Urban Structure of Tokyo



- - - - - Divided Sectorial Urban Area for New Urban Core (IIC)
- I Old Zone: A; Residential District (*Yamanote*) B; Industrial District (*Shitamachi*)
C; Urban Core (C; Business, C'; Commercial, C''; Administrative)
- II New Zone: A; Residential, B; Industrial, C; Urban Core (C'; Small Shopping Center)
- III Extended Zone: A; Residential, A'; Residential for Adjacent or Absorbed Cities
B; Industrial, C: Urban Core of Adjacent or Absorbed Cities.

with the new cores, each of which gather the daytime labor force from the sectorial area which it dominates, the old core gather the daytime labor force especially white-collars from the whole metropolitan area. It is doubtful that this old urban core could give its visitors from the suburbs and affective consciousness being in their own town. It should be noted that this old core is the place of work in the daytime for the male adult population employed in the offices, that is, the foreign and indifferent world for the female population and also for the population of younger or older ages.

ii) This phenomenon is related to the second point, that is, the scission of daily life areas of each member of the same family. A husband goes to work in an office of the old urban core or of the nearest new core, his wife and their young children are staying almost within the limit of primary school area, and the high school pupils are generally living in another area which depends on their school district. The living areas of ones and those of others do not cover well each other. The husband is indifferent to his municipality of residence, on the other hand the wife lives without relation with urban cores. A family, though under the same roof, cannot hold the common sentiment to live in the same city.

Thus, in the facilities for sports or cultures which were built by a suburban municipality, the activities of club are divided according to the groups which are organized by housewives or aged people for daytime, by children for afternoon, by young people for evening. As for the father of a family, they hardly participate any activities and those who are active do so at most on Sunday. Even for the upper class living in the extended zone, the transport system makes the urban cores so far that they have to decide to go to the *kabuki* theater by family with the same courage as to go to the opera in Paris, or as those living in country-side would go to the *kabuki* in Tokyo. Those who can enjoy the social and cultural environment of urban cores are only the commuters themselves or the few inhabitants yet living in the old zone.

iii) The third point is the fact that, for these 20 years, cement and steel are rapidly fixing the landscape of Tokyo. Edo-Tokyo continued its renewal of constructions through repeated fires during Edo period, destruction of *samurais'* residences by Meiji government at the end of 19th century, large earthquake of 1923, and American bombing during the second world war. Wooden houses were continuously rebuilt in each stage, which gave the landscape a certain elasticity. But now higher constructions in concrete in the old or new urban cores have fixed or are fixing the landscape.

Even now, if we look over the old zone from the top of Kasumigaseki building, we will find that individual houses of one or two storeys with small garden occupy yet the vast space of the old urban zone and that restaurants, tearooms, shops etc. of low height are crowded

even in the urban core, especially in its commercial center, of which the landscape is always modified by the frequent reconstruction. We can say, therefore, that the landscape of the old zone is under the transition from the old low houses familiar to the old generation toward the high-storeyed building to which most of the younger generation especially in the extended zone are indifferent.

iv) At last, it is better to discuss about the mentality of people in relation to the urban environment in Japan. The other day, most of urban people were born in the country-side, having an idea to return there one day with their fortune. Shortly speaking, the life at Tokyo was for them something of passenger, feeling strongly their house in city as a temporary residence. Or even now, a house to rent and an apartment of the high public collective buildings are also a temporary shelter for its inhabitants¹⁰). In fact, encouraged by the governmental policy of accession of the ownership of an individual house with garden, the inflation of land price has taught them that the individual house will be the only patrimony which they can leave to their descendants. It seems certainly strange that, even if the individual house of low density is not a type of urban residence, the aim of citizens' life is thus becoming to own it. It is paradoxically proved by the fact that many participants to the movements of inhabitants concerning with the environment or quality of their urban life are the owner of the individual house. It means that those living in a rented house do not take part in the movement because their dwelling shelter is so provisional that they are indifferent to their environment and that they do not feel themselves as a citizen of Tokyo but a simple passenger.

The main problem may be that it becomes more and more difficult to find those who have consciousness as a citizen of Tokyo and living there.

This paper was read originally in Japanese at the Franco-Japanese Symposium on "Quality of Urban Life" on May 29, 1987 at Tokyo, of which the French proceeding, "La qualité de la ville" edited by Augustin BERQUE, was published in November 1987 by Maison Franco-Japonaise at Tokyo. But this paper is not a simple English Edition of that proceeding, but a synthesized paper of "Le centre-ville et la banlieu de Tokyo du point de vue des migration" (pp. 177–186) and "Réflexions à partir du texte de Guy Burgel" (pp. 195–201), accompanied with some new figures.

This paper is dedicated to Professor Kiuchi, founder of the Department of Human Geography, University of Tokyo for his 77th anniversary (*kiju*).

Notes

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人口移動からみた都心分解

— 要約にかえて —

田 辺 裕

1. 基本的な考え方と概念

都市問題は、大きく分けて二つの面から検討しなければならない。第一の面は建築物や道路、鉄道、各種の都市施設などいわゆるハードな部分であり、第二の面はさまざまな文化的、社会経済的な活動にかかわる住民、情報、価値の流動と集積などいわゆるソフトな部分である。実際、各分野の専門家は、都市をそれぞれの専門分野の関心と方法にしたがって、ハードな面からあるいはソフトな面から分析、研究してきた。地理学の分野でも、都市地理学者達が具体的な都市の実証的研究をすすめてきた。

地理学の基本的発想は、同じ場に、同じ地域に起こる自然的・人文的・社会的なさまざまな現象は、たがいになんらかの関係があるのではないか、という点にある。すなわち地理学は、総合的な存在である地域現象を個別学問の分担にしたがって分割することあるいは一部の要因を捨象することに疑問を提出する学問である。したがってここでは、都市をハードな面とソフトな面とに分割して別個に理解するのではなく、次の二つの点から議論してゆくことにしたい。

まず第一に、それぞれの時代における地域の住民や社会経済活動の要求が、建造物としての都市を建設し、成長させてきたこと、すなわちソフトがハードに与えたインパクトであり、第二は、出来上がってきたハードな構築物としての都市が、住民の生活圏に限界を与え、住民相互の生活圏の分裂を引き起こしているという現実である。実際その分裂が、同じ都市に帰属しているという住民の共属意識あるいは連帯意識を弱めている。

したがって、ここではまず、東京大都市圏の成長をごくおおまかにまとめ、第一の点を明らかにし、日本における社会構造の近代化と経済構造の工業化のなかで、この都市成長をとらえることにする。都市化の概念には、しばしば近代化あるいは工業化を含めることがあるが、日本においては、自家用車であれ、テレビ・電話であれ、近代化のシンボルではあるが都市化とは本来別のものであって、事実その普及は都市より農村に著しい。

また日本の農村は、極度に零細な農民からなっており、江戸時代から農閑期の出稼ぎや農村工業が盛んであったから、西欧的カテゴリーで農民と非農民とを厳密に区別することは不可能である。兼業農家、三ちゃん農業、サンデーファーマーなどの言葉が示すように、農民の非農業的職業への就業はむしろ一般的であって、農民と非農民の差は連続的である。農村の工業化は、単に農民が収入の重心を農業から工業にうつしたのみであって、かれらは意識的にも、

また生活様式においてもなお農民であり、農村の工業化は必ずしも都市化ではないのである。

2. 東京における地域構造の特徴

まず第一の東京におけるハードな地域構造についてであるが、すでに多くの研究が示すように、東京にはいわゆる同心円の構造と扇形的構造とが顕著に重なり合っている。

ただし東京における同心円の構造は、都心からの距離を重要なパラメーターとした、都心への近接性、利便性など地価に換算しうような北アメリカ型の圏構造によっては、必ずしも理解できない。それは、東京の地域構造が、多くのヨーロッパの都市と同様の、歴史的な成長過程を示す貝殻構造、あるいは年輪のような同心円となっているからである。ここでは、都市成長の比較的緩慢であった江戸時代から、近代化・工業化の激しかった二十世紀前半をへて、世界でも例を見ない経済的高度成長を経験する第二次世界大戦後の、少なくとも三段階の年輪を指摘し、それぞれを旧市街・新市街・拡大市街として区分した。旧市街をさらに二段階に区分することもできるが、ここでは簡略化した。

この地域区分にしたがえば、たとえば高級住宅地区は、それぞれの時代ごとに、すなわち三地帯の市街それぞれに成立していることになる。実際、都心と郊外などの単純な同心円ではなく、旧市街の都心と新市街の都心、拡大市街に成長しつつある新たな都心の萌芽は、もはや真の都心とか副都心・副々都心などと命名するにはふさわしくない機能をもってきている。

次に扇形的地域構造は、起源的には旧市街における山の手と下町とに由来している。とくに注目すべき点は、その扇形的発展が、荒川、江戸川方向への下町の拡大、武蔵野台地への山の手拡大、さらに沖積地を越えた千葉県台地への山の手住宅地進出や多摩川や鶴見川低地への工場の進出にみられるように、東京周辺の地形（台地と沖積地）、水田を重視してきた日本の農業などと対応していることである。また湘南地方など温暖で自然条件のすぐれた地域に高級住宅地区が形成されていることも事実である。もちろんこれらの事実によって、東京に見られる扇形的地域構造が、自然条件によって決定されているとは主張できない。実際、近年の土木技術の進歩は、中小河川の低地を台地の土砂で埋め、とくに拡大市街における地形と扇形的地域構造との対応関係を希薄にしてきた。

また扇形構造が、都心を中心とする交通ネットワークと関係していることも、すでにおおくの研究者が指摘してきたことである。ただし、東京における交通システムは、東海道線、横須賀線など一部を除いて、基本的には郊外と旧市街の都心とを直結していない。郊外から都心に向かう鉄道を、旧国鉄線が7線、私鉄線が13線とすれば、その内国鉄の4線のみが直接、いわゆる快速サービスによって旧都心に乗り入れているに過ぎない。もちろんその多くが地下鉄への乗り入れによって、路線としては都心に直結しているのであるが、同心円構造の年輪の

ひとつである旧市街と新市街との境界が時間的にも交通システムとしてもひとつの障害になっている。

江戸時代の徒歩から旧市街時代の市電、新市街まで拡大した当時の郊外電車、そして拡大市街時代の快速電車や郊外電車の延長と地下鉄乗り入れが、各時代に対応した交通システムであった。たしかに市電から郊外電車への転換は、東京の新市街の成長と対応していた。しかし現在の拡大市街時代においては、郊外から自分のセクター（扇形地域）内の新都心までしか通勤できない交通システムとなっており、かろうじて地下鉄の乗り入れによって、一部のエリートが旧都心に通っているだけである。ましてや、旧都心を通過して向こう側の、他のセクターや新都心まで通勤することは非常に困難である。このように、東京の交通システムは都心の分解を促しており、少なくとも、東京をひとつの都市として統一する力に欠けているといえることができる。

3. 都心分解と住民

このような同心円構造と扇形的構造との複合したハードな東京が、東京の人々に用意した生活とは、どのようなものであろうか。

第一に指摘したい点は、いくつかの新都心の成立あるいは都心分解にもなってセクター別の小都市圏（かりに命名すれば分都市圏）が誕生していることである。これは、東京都民と呼ばれるひとびとが、東京大都市圏にではなく、新宿とか錦糸町などの分都市圏に帰属していることを意味しており、自分の属する分都市圏以外の地域には滅多に、あるいは一生に一度も足を運ばない土地となっていることを示している。ましてや他の分都市圏の土地への愛着や思い出などが育つはずもなく、そこには友人も知人もいないことになる。

欧米の、とくに北アメリカの都市に関しては、中心性を扱う際に、都心と周辺を対比させ、旧市街に住む社会的弱者と周辺に住む上流階層の存在を指摘することが多い。しかし東京の場合には、極端に高い地価が、社会的弱者が都心に居住することを不可能にしている。企業の側も、低い所得の労働力を必要とする現業部門を地方に移転させ、高い地価に見合う中枢管理業務を都心において、高給の管理・事務職員を集めている。東京で現在進行している現象のひとつは、旧市街周辺部の低層住宅街の高層化であり、これがしばしば社会的弱者の都心からの追い出しとして問題となっているのもこの事実と符号している。

この都心分解が明瞭に意識されないのは、一部のエリートの通勤する旧都心が存在し、あたかもそれが全東京都民の都心であるかのごとく見えるからである。新都心が、主として自分の支配するセクター内から昼間労働力を集めているのにくらべて、千代田区を中心とする旧都市は、たしかに富士山麗のように広い裾野から昼間労働力を吸収しており、その中枢管理機能は

極めて強力である。しかしこの旧都心でさえも、訪れる人々に自分の町であることを意識させるかどうか疑問である。とりわけ注目すべきことは、この旧都心はおもに事務的職業に従事する成年男子人口が昼間時に働く場であって、女子人口や幼年・老年人口にとってはさらに関係のない、よその土地である。

このことは第二の点に関係する。すなわち家族構成員それぞれの日常生活圏が分裂していることである。父親は旧都心あるいは新都心の事業所に通い、主婦と学童・幼児はほぼ小学校区程度の圏内で生活し、高校生は、多くの場合、学区制度に従った別の生活圏を作ることになる。お互いの生活圏はたがいに重ならず、父親は居住地の市区町村に無関心である一方、母親は都心に無関係に生活しているから、家族が同じ家屋に居住しながら、同じ都市に住んでいるとする共感を持ちえないのである。

たとえば郊外の地方自治体が作った文化会館や体育館などで行われるクラブ活動は、昼間の主婦・老人、午後の学童、夜の若者と分かれ、都心に通勤する父親のクラブはほとんど見られず、たまに存在しても日曜日に行われる。また郊外に居住している上流階層にとっても、旧都心はあまりにも遠く、家族で歌舞伎などを鑑賞するには、ニューヨークでオペラを鑑賞するくらいの、あるいは観光客が地方から上京するくらいの決心を必要とするほどである。これもここで述べている生活圏の家族間の分裂と関係している。都心の社会的文化的環境を常時享受できるのは、そこに通勤するエリート自身か、旧市街になお居住している住民だけとなってしまい、拡大市街に居住する主婦や若い労働者は、公民館や文化会館などに巡業してくるコンサートなどで我慢することになる。

第三に指摘した点は、ここ20年来、鉄鋼とセメントによって東京の景観が固定されつつあることである。江戸ー東京は、江戸時代の何回かの大火、19世紀末の明治政府成立による武家屋敷の崩壊、1923年の関東大震災、1945年の大空襲などによって、都市の構造物がたびたび一新され、木造家屋は随時立て直されて、景観に柔軟性を与えていた。しかし旧都心および新都心における家屋の高層化とコンクリート化は、景観を急速に固定化している。

もちろん現在でも、旧都心の霞ヶ関ビルから見下ろすと、なお1・2階建の庭付き住宅が旧市街にひろく広がっており、都心と呼ばれる地域でも、低層の商店・レストラン・喫茶店等がひしめきあい、しばしば改築されて景観が変化していることに気づくのである。その意味では、東京の景観はまだ流動性があるといえよう。

最後に、わが国の都市住民の都市環境についての意識について触れておきたい。かつて多くの都市住民は、地方に故郷を持ち、いつかは故郷に錦を飾るのだとする意識をもっていた。つまり都市での生活は一時的なものであって、都市の住宅が仮住まいであるとする意識が強かつ

た。現在でも、都市住民にとって、賃貸住宅や高層の共同住宅はやはり仮住まいである。なぜなら彼らは、政府の持ち家政策によって、庭のある一戸建て住宅こそが家庭であると教えられ、また地価の高騰によって、一戸建て住宅が子孫に残せる唯一の財産であると教えられてきたからである。一戸建ては、本来の都市的居住形態ではないにもかかわらず、都市居住者が一戸建てを持つことを生涯の目的とすることは奇妙なことといわざるをえない。町並みや住宅の環境に関していわゆる市民運動を起こす人々の多くが一戸建て住宅居住者であることが、これを逆説的に説明している。つまり仮住まいの住民にとって、自分の住宅環境は仮のもの、強いて言えば他人の環境であって、強い関心を引くものではないからである。

都心に近い高層住宅や賃貸住宅に住む人々は、他人の都市に仮住まいしているにすぎないという意識をもっており、他方、拡大市街の一戸建て住宅に住む人々は、時には片道二時間以上の通勤を強いられて、かれらの家族とは異なった生活圏をもっている。このような状態では、都市住民が都市の主人公であると言うことは出来ない。そのうえ、わずかに残っていた旧市街の低層住宅や店舗併用住宅の住民も、現在、急速に郊外へと転出しつつある。東京のもっとも大きな問題は、この都市に主人公がいなくなるということである。