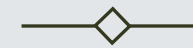




A TALE OF TWO SECTORS:
(UN)JUST GEOGRAPHIES
OF TRANSIT-ORIENTED
NEW TOWNS IN POSTWAR
TOKYO



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***INTRODUCTION:
WHY DO WE CARE
ABOUT TRANSIT
NEW TOWNS IN
TOKYO?***



- Emerging new towns in the global south urged **recent works to revisit new town movement.**
- **Transit-Oriented Development** studies regard **transit new towns as a transitional stage** between garden cities and contemporary practices.
- **Tokyo** has a broadly acknowledged history of building transit new towns with **a unique reliance on private conglomerates.**
- In any language, few referred to Japanese archives and articles to explain **why this history happened** and **how it influences the TOD practice today.**

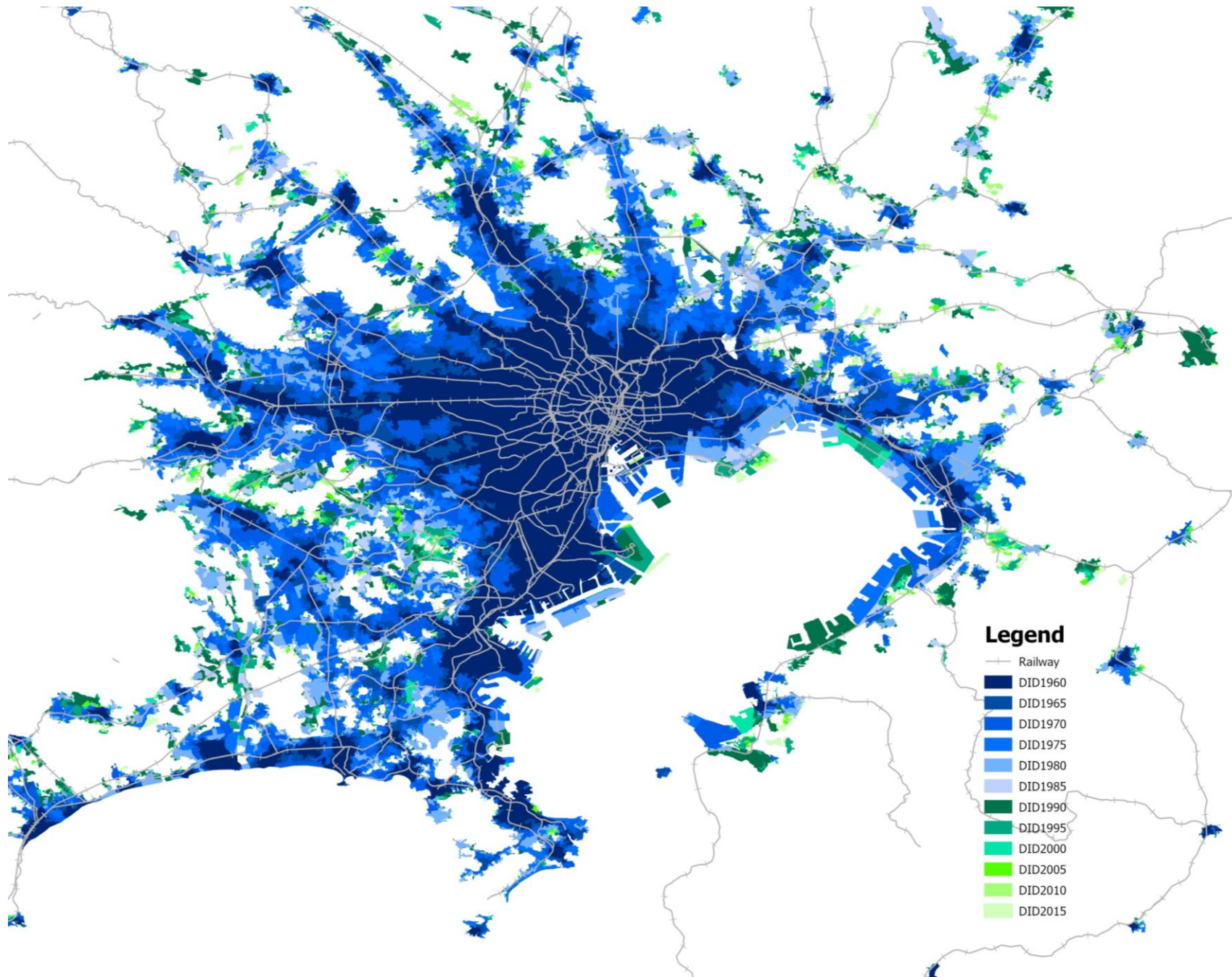
Purpose of Study

- ❖ To better understand why and how transit-served new towns happened in Tokyo for knowledge contribution and international communication.
- ❖ To demonstrate path dependence, power relationship and institutional defense in the TOD practice by private railway conglomerates in Tokyo.
- ❖ To contribute to the scholarship concerning how the roaring private sector influences land use management and social justice in Tokyo in the past and now.

***PROGRESS
SO FAR:
WE DON'T KNOW
YET ABOUT HOW
WAS TRANSIT NEW
TOWNS CREATED***



- I. Transit-Oriented Development
 - I. Mitigating automobile suburbs in the US.
 - II. Seeking international experiences.
 - III. Tokyo as an exemplary case.
 - IV. Assumptions being challenged recently.
- II. Transit New Town in Tokyo
 - I. Planned since the 1960s.
 - II. Developed by public and private sectors.
- III. Asymmetric Goals Matter
 - I. Self-containment never achieved.
 - II. Coexisted with automobiles and sprawl.
- IV. Broadening the Knowledge Boundary
 - I. Why have they ended to be like that?
 - II. Important for emerging transit new towns.



Greater Tokyo

- Most populous metropolitan area and one of the largest in size.
- Land development and urban growth following transits.
- Private railway conglomerates that do multi-industry businesses dominated the process.

Railway Conglomerates

1. Survived from institutional defense 1868 – 1945.
2. Remained a powerful force in transportation and real estate in postwar Tokyo.
3. Had a major institutional rival: Japanese National Railway but finally became the mainstream

Research Question

1. Why transit new towns happened in postwar Tokyo?
 - 1) Why the metropolitan area kept a relatively low rate of automobilization?
 - 2) Why the responsible entities incorporated transit in new town plans?
 - 3) How these processes institutionalized and shaped transit new towns?
2. Why and how private railway conglomerates influenced the practice?
 - 1) Why private and public new towns coexisted and how were they different?
 - 2) Why both types relied on the service and capital of the conglomerates?
 - 3) How they drew lessons about advantages and limitations of TOD in Tokyo?
3. How this study contributes to theoretically underpin TOD?
 - 1) How the historical institutionalist approach broadens the knowledge boundary?
 - 2) How the narrative bridges theories of previous and following eras in Tokyo?
 - 3) What takeaways are identified for global, especially developing, metropolises?

METHODOLOGY:
HISTORICAL
INSTITUTIONALISM
AND INDUCTIVE
PROCESS TRACING



What is it?

An epistemological approach that answers ‘why’ questions

Institutions

‘The formal rules, compliance procedures, and standard operating practices that structure the relationship between individuals in various units of the polity and economy’ - Streeck and Thelen

Path Dependence

Stability and "stickiness" of existing institutions that create suboptimal arrangements

Critical Junctures

Abrupt and punctuated turning points triggered primarily by exogenous forces

Incremental Change

Gradual and endogenous change processes

Inductive Process Tracing

Tracing historical events and processes for building theory

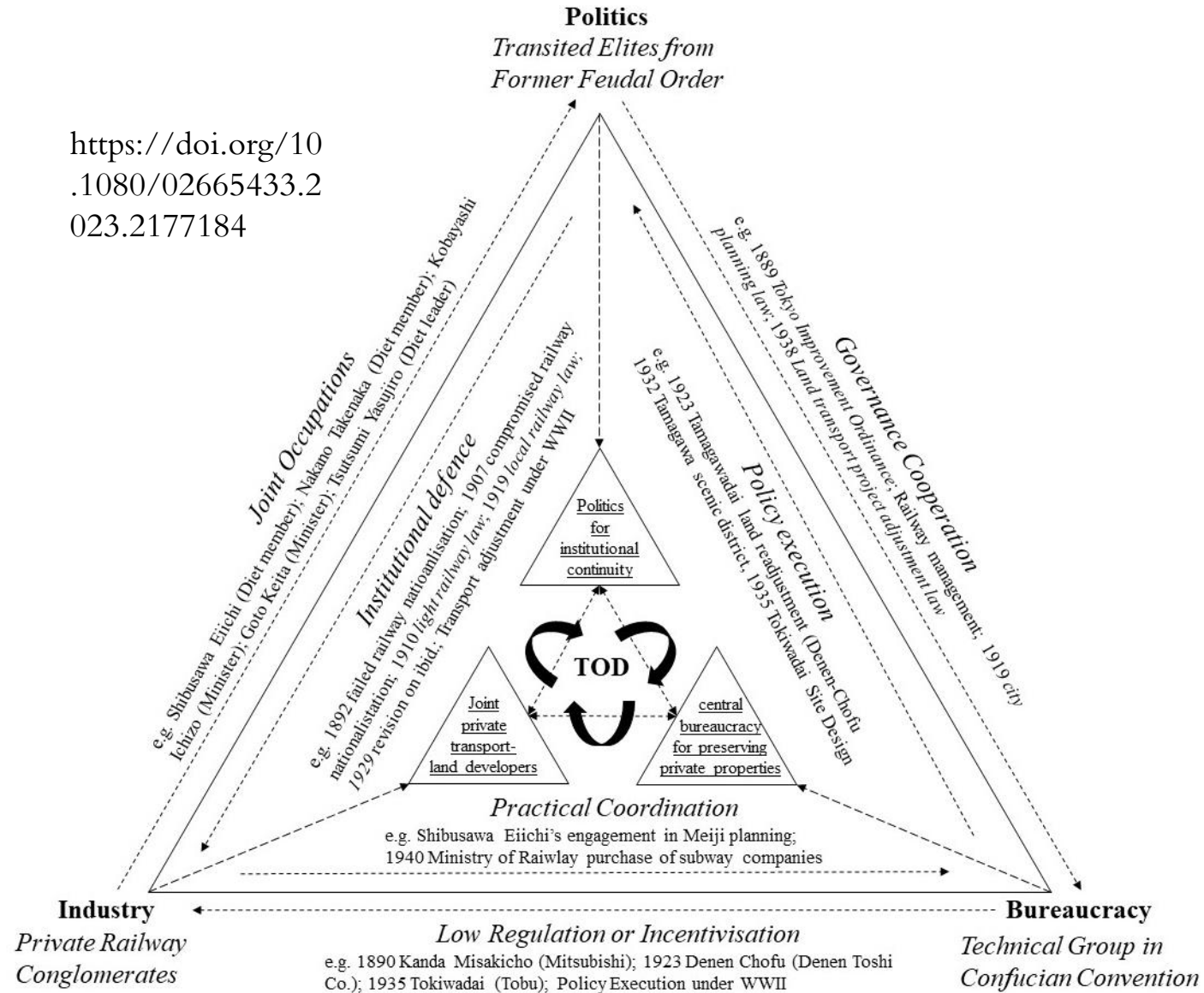
TRANSIT NEW TOWNS IN JAPAN:

PATH DEPENDENT INSTITUTION MET POSTWAR GROWTH

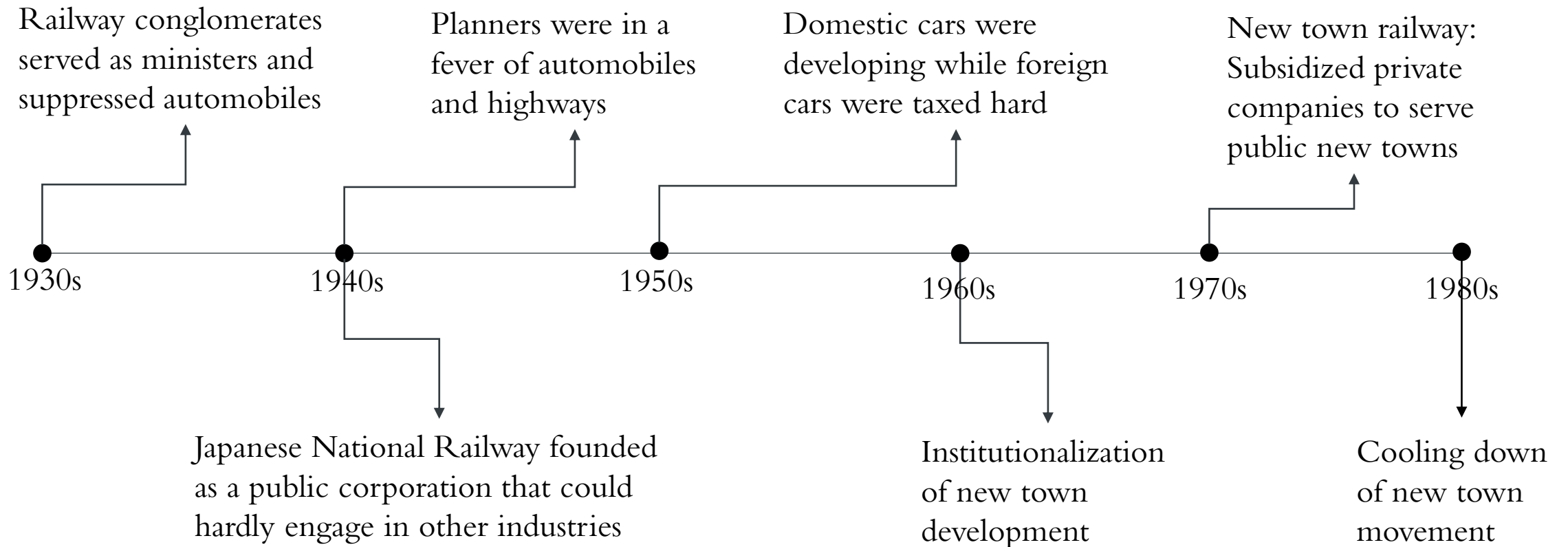


A Prelude: TOD and the Iron Triangle

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2023.2177184>



Mid-20th Century Events



Large-scale New Town

NewTownKo	Year	Size (ha)	Ownership	Planned Population	Transit
<u>Tama Denen Toshi</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>3,208</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>322,922</u>	Private
<u>Tama New Town</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>2,853</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>305,630</u>	<u>Subsidized private</u>
Tsukuba Science City	1968	2,696	Public	106,200	N/A
Chiba New Town	1969	1,930	Public	143,300	Private
Kansai Science City	1970	1,844	Public	145,770	Public and Private
Senboku New Town	1965	1,557	Public	180,000	Public- Private
Kohoku New Town	1974	1,341	Public	220,750	Public
Seishin New Town	1971	1,324	Public	116,000	Public
Senri New Town	1960	1,160	Public	150,000	Public- Private
*. Definition of New Town = Greenfield plans with household > 1000 or Population > 3000 and Size > 16					
*. Large Scale Town = Size > 300					

Two Neighboring New Towns

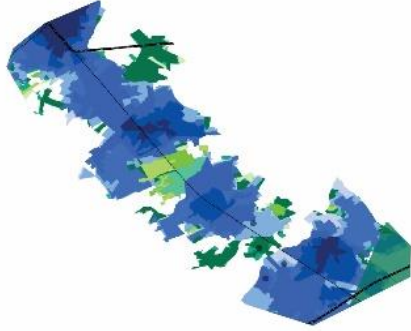
TAMA NEW TOWN

Entity	Public Authorities
Theory	Learned from British new towns
Land	Land adjustment in the center
Instrument	surrounded by new housing schemes
Masterplan	Statutory plan
Transit	Odakyu and Keio Lines
Land use	Residential commuting bed towns
Funding	Public funds and subsidies
Property	Loosely near transit infrastructure

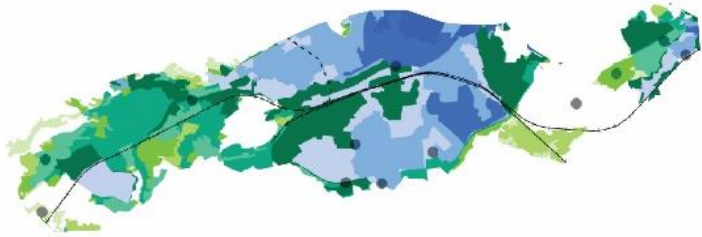
TOKYU TAMA DENEN TOSHI

Entity	Tokyu Railway
Theory	Contiguity of Japanese garden estates
Land	Agglomeration of numerous land
Instrument	readjustment schemes
Masterplan	Private visionary plan
Transit	Tokyu Line
Land use	Residential commuting bed towns
Funding	Private funds
Property	Concentrating towards the stations

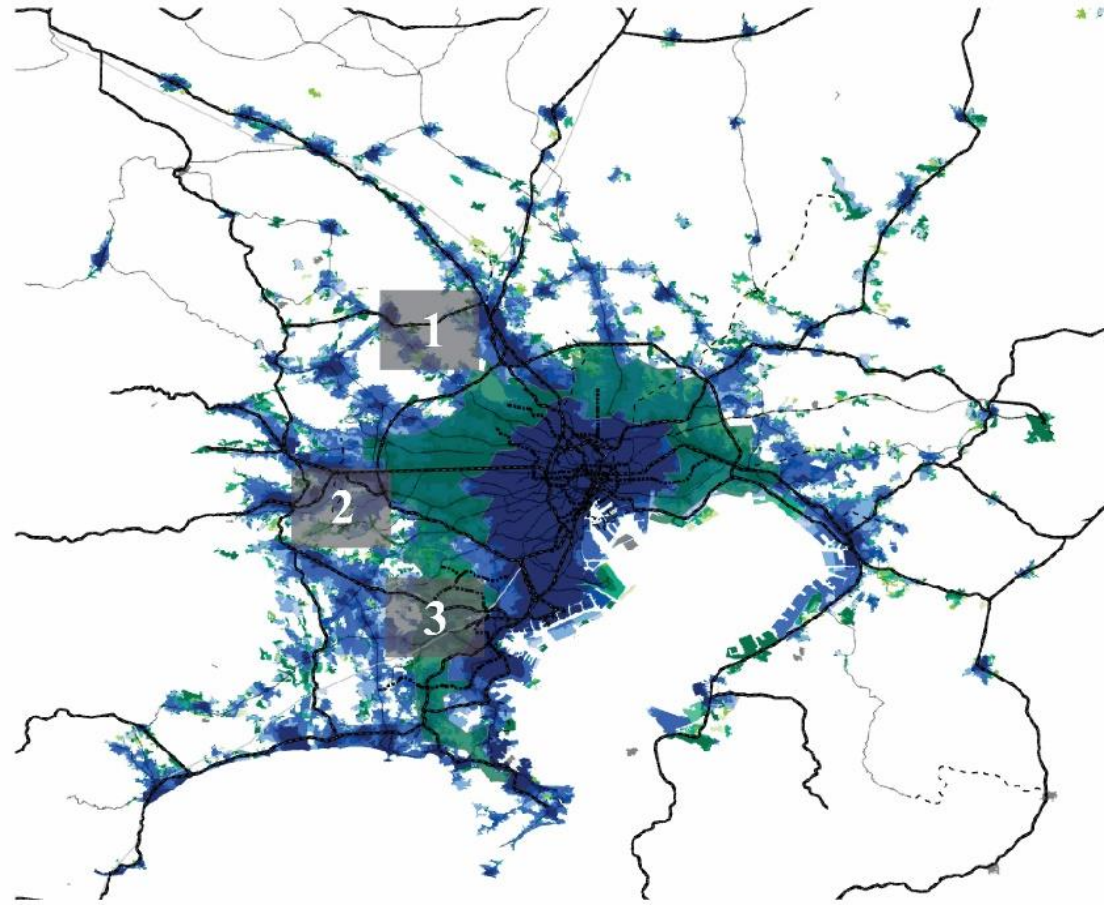
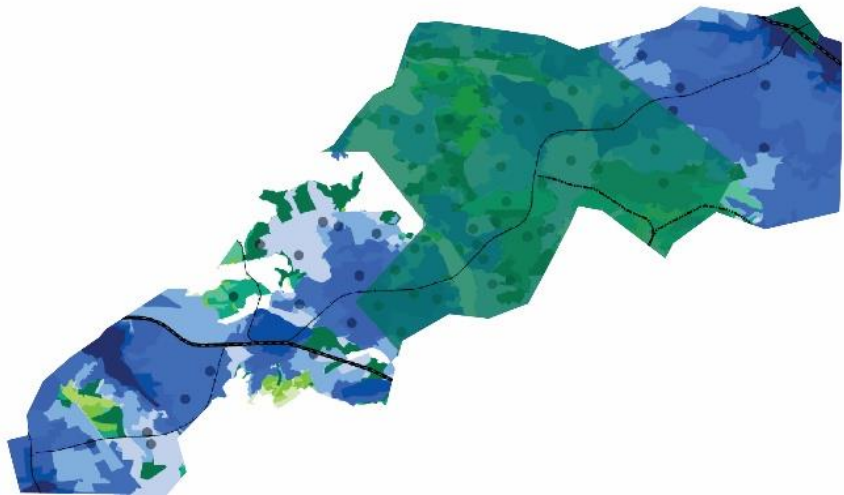
1. Tobu Tojo Corridor



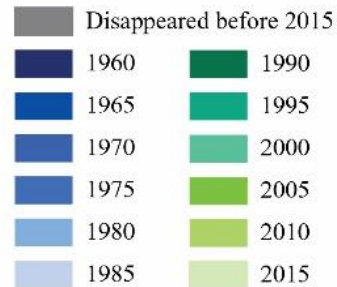
2. Tama New Town



3. Tokyu Tama Denen Toshi

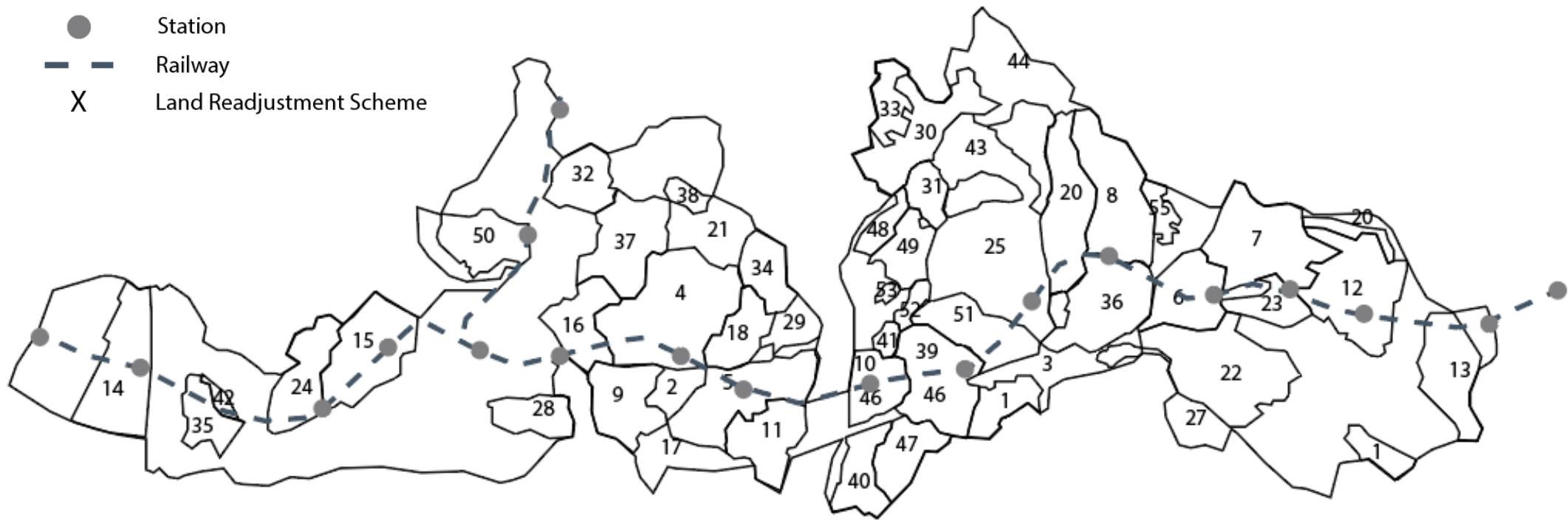


Densely Inhabited District



TOKYU TAMA
DENEN TOSHI:
*AGGLOMERATION
OF PREWAR
HOUSING ESTATES*





1. A product of railway & real estate capital that agglomerated numerous smaller development.
2. Used conventional land readjustment schemes that prioritized property rights and did not prevent sprawl.
3. Renowned neighborhood creation served by transit, but had several shortcomings in the beginning:
4. insufficient public facilities, roughly planned land uses, messy road plans, and poor walkability at the early stage (Ishida, 2007; Matsubara, 1982).

Accommodating
growing
population

Haphazard
Development



Mainstream of
postwar suburbs

Public New
Town



See Tama New
Town

Private New
Town

No land

No fund

Interested in
other models

Lack of
know-how

None of
above

X



Happened
in most
cases

Turn to
highway-led
development

X



Not
permitted

Compromised
to railway

Total
speculation X



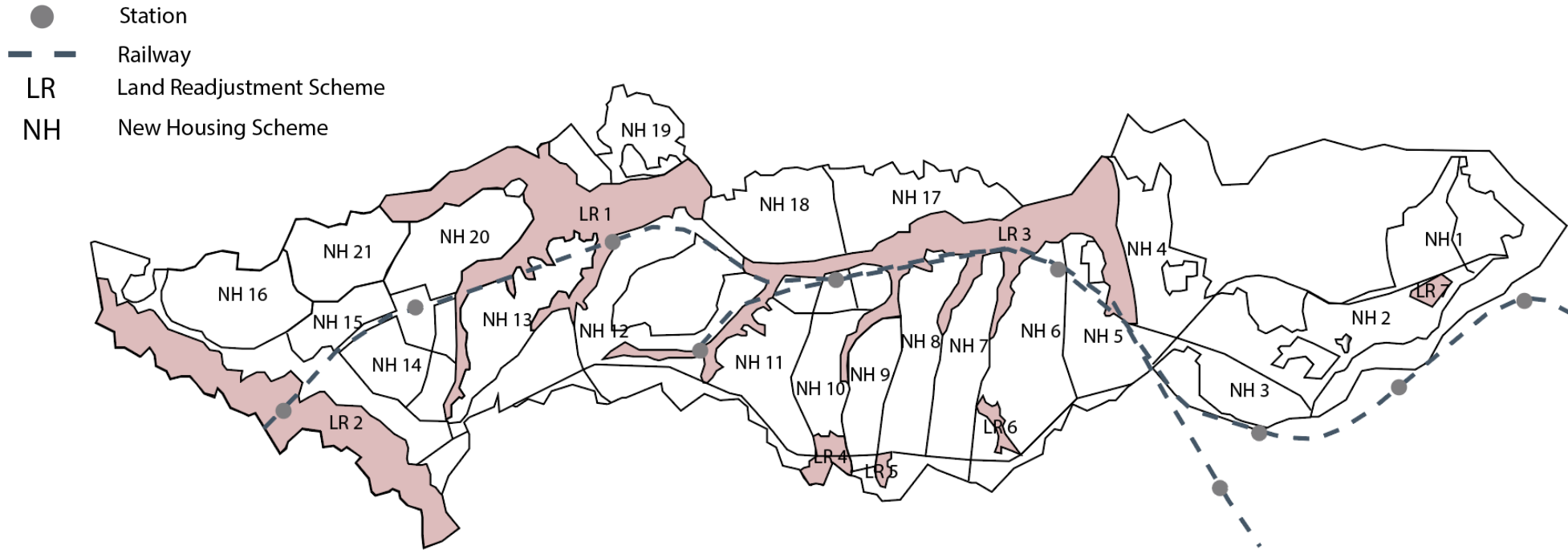
Conceded

Rather tolerable
for cars



TAMA NEW
TOWN:
*PUBLIC EXPERIMENT
RELIED ON PREWAR
INSTITUTION*





1. A public experiment with thoroughly planned land use and control over real estate speculation.
2. Applied the novel new neighborhood schemes but kept land readjustment schemes at best locations.
3. Subsidized private railway companies to build transit and allowed them to provide commercial facilities.
4. In later developments, new neighborhood schemes lost ground to land readjustment.

Accommodating
growing
population

Haphazard
Development

Private New
Town

Public New
Town



*Mainstream of
postwar suburbs*

*See Tokyo Tama
Denen Toshi*

Automobilized
New Town

Visioned for
TOD

Residents
demand transit

Publicly owned
transit

Privately built
transit

Subsidized
private transit

Speculation
control

Conceded to
corporate interest

Happened

*Not at
this time*

*Incapability
of the JNR*

*Permitted
but reluctant
to build*

Retreated



1. Why transit new towns happened in postwar Tokyo?

Because most residents still relied on transit despite a growing income and a rather loose traffic control. Domestic capital was strong at transit.

1). Why the metropolitan area kept a relatively low rate of automobilization?

Economic policies for domestic industry kept reliance on railway

2). Why the responsible entities incorporated transit in new town plans?

Demand-driven policymaking instead of visionary plan.

3). How these processes institutionalized and shaped transit new towns?

Prewar private TOD institution incrementally advanced to predominate the practice.

2. Why and how private railway conglomerates influenced the practice?

Their path dependent business interest and institutional legitimacy gave them initiatives to do so but they got further preferential policies.

1). Why private and public new towns coexisted and how were they different?

Private new towns were contingent outcome while public new towns were an experiment that challenged the conventional development.

2). Why both types relied on the service and capital of the conglomerates?

Publicly owned transit entities, such as the JNR in deficit, were not capable enough against strong private railway conglomerates.

3). How they drew lessons about advantages and limitations of TOD in Tokyo?

The conglomerates offered transit when the market allowed but did not insist on transit and cared less about public interest.

3. How this study contributes to theoretically underpin TOD?

Land use and urban growth perspectives, especially in international context, are important adds to transportation perspectives so far.

1). How the historical institutionalist approach broadens the knowledge boundary?

Better understanding to historical transit metropolises bring critical views to practice today. For example, do we still care about contrasting TOD and DOT? How?

2). How the narrative bridges theories of previous and following eras in Tokyo?

It is an important episode that linked prewar railway industry to the eventual privatization of the JNR, a unification under the private conglomerate model.

3). What takeaways are identified for global, especially developing, metropolises?

Diverse TOD models exist. Even in “exemplary” cases, pitfalls could be hidden behind the success. Studies of history and theory should persist in TOD research.

Thanks for Listening!