

Urban regeneration and city centre governance in Porto

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Abstract

In recent decades, urban territories went through a set of transformations that affected and transformed the way cities deal with their problems. New spatial patterns, structures and management models have emerged, highlighting the importance of scalar articulations and the relations established among actors and spaces of different types and at different levels. In Portugal, as in many countries worldwide, urban regeneration is seen as a fundamental strategic element, associated with a broad set of economic and fiscal supports and incentives to integrated intervention, and delivered based on the principles of governance. This paper focuses on the relationship between governance and regeneration with special reference to the project of Morro da Sé (Porto), with particular reference to: the balance between architectural/physical investments and socioeconomic issues; the growing importance of private investment (even though public funds continue to be very significant) and the so-called “privatisation of urban regeneration”, concentrated around the interests and influence of large economic actors; the solutions designed to involve different partners, to promote participation and to develop collectively integrated urban regeneration strategic processes; and finally scalar articulations and regional cooperation.

Keywords: governance; planning; Porto city centre; public policies; urban regeneration

Introduction

Recent economic, social and political transformations, in addition to the increasing complexity of the territorial-organised mosaic have, in general, illustrated that the post-war governance model (Jessop, 2003) has been unable to adapt to change arising from the globalization and internationalisation of the economy (Amin and Thrift, 1994; Castells, 1996; Jabbara and Dwiveri, 2004); the emergence of the private sector (Young et al, 2006); fragmentation and failure of the political system (Healey, 1998; Keil, 2006); transformations in the system of international relationships (Albrechts et al., 2003); and the revival and strengthening of local and regional identities (Albrechts et al., 2003). This is the backdrop against which we should take into consideration the growing importance of cities and the emergence/enhancement of governance concepts and urban regeneration. Particularly in Europe and in the case of older areas of the largest cities, it is recognised that abandoned spaces cannot be regarded simply as problem areas in their physical environment, but rather as sensitive economic and social spaces that require innovative and more integrated planning models and instruments (Van Marissing et al, 2006).

Following this argument, planning is now undertaken within a governance framework, involving a large set of practices (planning and management), activities (public and private, and “third sector”, usually strongly linked and interdependent), players (of various kinds) and territorial bases. In the case of urban centres, these strategies seek to “revive”, “reorganise”, “rehabilitate”, “enhance” and/or “improve” them through material actions designed and implemented in an integrated way, and coordinated with social and economic interventions.

Governance, regeneration and urban policy in Portugal

The development of Portuguese urban policy has, in general, followed European policies, investing in capacity building and bolstering the participation of various local agents in planning and urban rehabilitation processes (Serdoura and Almeida, 2009). Gradually more integrated models were developed based on governance principles and expanding the scope of

urban rehabilitation to include urban regeneration processes as well as all policies aimed at improving urban space and the welfare and quality of life of the population. This integrated approach meant the transformation of procedural models of thinking and the identification of a set of goals much closer to the residents needs. Urban management and governance became much less based on the influence of institutional powers and focused more on the importance of partnerships, participation, cooperation, integration and flexibility (Lopes, 2009).

A set of changes and reforms in the State's organisation and operation, as well as in the instruments of territorial management are closely linked to European principles and guidelines of decentralisation, accountability, participation, coordination, cooperation, partnership and contracting (Ferrão, 2010). However institutional cooperation and the practice of governance is still limited in Portugal, a context that illustrates "institutional atomism", "insufficient trust between players to share joint solutions for the same problems" (Feio and Chorincas, 2009, p. 147) and a political culture marked by changes in policy guidelines with every general election. Nonetheless key urban regeneration processes are underway, especially through the Partnerships for Urban Regeneration programme (PRU) that resulted in the establishment of Urban Rehabilitation Societies by the central government and municipalities after 2004.

The PRU is a very important instrument to enforce the City Policy POLIS XXI, defining the mechanisms used to support interventions in intra-urban spaces, to finance integrated programmes, prepared and implemented by local partnerships. According to POLIS XXI, the Local Partnership should correspond to a structured and formal process of cooperation between the various entities committed to a common Action Programme intended to regenerate a specific territory of a given city. In addition to the municipality, it will involve companies, business associations, central administration services and other public entities, providers of public services, in particular in the areas of transport and environment, education establishments, vocational training and research, non-governmental organisation, residents and their associations, and other urban players holding relevant projects for the urban regeneration of the territory in question. They aim to build a shared vision for the future, and enable greater articulation between cities, and between cities and surrounding areas. This paper analyses the action

programme for Morro da Sé, one of the four programmes being implemented in the historical centres of Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia.

Urban regeneration and governance in Morro da Sé

The “Urban Rehabilitation Programme for Morro da Sé” involves a total investment of about €15.5M (with the support of about €7M of EU funding through the PRU), allocated to 12 operations:

1. O1 – Creation of a students’ residence;
2. O2 – Creation of a tourism accommodation facility;
3. O3 – Expansion of the Seniors Residence;
4. O4 – Enhancement of the image and energy efficiency of buildings;
5. O5 – Qualification of the public space;
6. O6 – Creation of a Proprietors Advice Bureau;
7. O7 – Set up and implementation of the Urban Area Management (GAU);
8. O8 – Implementation of the Entrepreneurship Programme;
9. O9 – Promotion of self-esteem stories/workshops;
10. O10 – Prepare a documentary;
11. O11 – Set up the technical support structure;
12. O12 – Carry out a communication plan

The Urban Revitalization Society (SRU) “Porto Vivo” coordinates the programme. Apart from PRU, the SRU is also directing interventions in housing with a public investment of about €8M and a private investment of about €15M, raising the total amount for urban rehabilitation and regeneration of Morro da Sé to about €38.5 M.

The nature of operations: regeneration or rehabilitation?

The analysis of the twelve operations comprising the Urban Rehabilitation Programme for Morro da Sé, if based on the PRU regulations (table 1), shows the strong focus on economic development and the upgrade of public spaces, comprising about 91% of the total amount of investment. If

we look closely into the different operations, we can see that the strategy defined to promote economic development is largely associated to two major infrastructures (undertaken by public-private consortia, wherein the exclusive right to operate for 50 years is assigned to one of the consortia formed by three private entities).

Type of activity	Qualification of the public space and urban environment	Economic development	Social development	Cultural development	Management and fostering local partnerships	Activities that cut across all areas
Number of activities	3	3	2	1	2	1
Investment (%)	24,27%	66,72%	6,37%	0,08%	1,86%	0,70%

Table 1 – Type of activities in the Urban Rehabilitation Programme for Morro da Sé, according to PRU Regulations

The analysis of the three pillars of urban regeneration (Table 2) shows that investment in the physical dimension comprises 96.76% of the total investment including enhancement of the public space (including interventions done in streets and building façades), energy efficiency of houses and rehabilitation/reconstruction of buildings for hotel and students' residence, or improvement of existing social services (old age residence).

Dimension	Architectural/ Physical (interventions in the public space, buildings and urban environment)	Economic (Direct support to the environment and local economic agents)	Social (support to residents, disadvantaged groups and strengthening identity / culture)	Others (cross-cutting activities or to foster and manage local partnerships)
No. of activities	6	1	2	3
Investment (%)	96,76%	0,55%	0,13%	2,56%

Table 1 - Type of activities in the Urban Rehabilitation Programme for Morro da Sé

Urban rehabilitation thus dominates the programme, with social concerns (which are outside the legal scope of SRU Porto Vivo, programme Coordinator, but are part of the Porto City Council’s duties, promoter of the urban regeneration programme) neglected, since they deal only with some activities with the local population (self-esteem stories and workshops) and the expansion works at the seniors residence, and not other relevant social issues that persist in the area.



Fig. 1 – Undergoing rehabilitation under the resettlement program, recovering some old buildings which were totally destroyed.



Fig. 2 – Building at Rua Mouzinho da Silveira, where SRU challenges private investors to rehabilitate by putting some “card people” on the Windows

Despite the strong involvement of local businessmen/residents to support entrepreneurship, there has been minimal economic development success, and many proposed projects in PRU are running behind schedule. In short, physical urban rehabilitation has replaced more general ideas about urban regeneration. Although an additional investment of €22.5M is being made in housing, there is no clear goal in relation to improving social cohesion and the mix between the different groups, namely between current residents and new residents.

The selection process and the design of the action programme

In the development of the action programme for Morro da Sé, the strategic plans for the different quarters were essential as well as the choice of the private partner for the major construction works. The Strategic Documents (SDs) and the Management Plan approved in 2008 were essential to be incorporated into the plans, with consideration of the SDs being compulsory. The SRU, in collaboration with proprietors and tenants (through briefings and public discussions), were to prepare detailed plans listing buildings to be rehabilitated, their characterisation in terms of safety, health and aesthetics, the strategic options, the justification of the choices made according to the different public interests, and an inventory of potential investors and partners.

In this context, the action programme for Morro da Sé easily met the tender requirements for the shared design of proposals, as most projects were the result of participative processes which defined the construction of a students' residence (at Quarteirão da Bainharia), a tourism accommodation facility (at Quarteirão de Pelames) and the expansion of the seniors residence (a former project of the Foundation of the Development of the Historical Area of Porto) as essential for the area. The biggest challenge was then to select a private partner for the projects to provide larger investments, with two consortia led by NOVOPCA Investimentos Imobiliário SA being chosen. The PRUs were thus regarded as an opportunity to obtain long-awaited projects, that had previously been identified in SD's but had no available funding, as well as poor involvement of the population and local institutions in the process.

Involvement and participation of local players

Looking at the list of players formally included in the local partnership for the implementation of the urban regeneration project, there is an abundance of public institutions controlled or depending on municipal powers (City Council of Porto, Porto Vivo, Associação Porto Digital and FDZHP) with a limited number of private partners. As for the participation of the population and local institutions in the urban project for Morro da Sé, there was a clear intention to promote the capacity-building of local agents.

This is visible in the interactions with directly affected local populations through initiatives such as Self-esteem stories and workshops, and in the development of a participative model and an Urban Area Management bureau. However, the involvement of local players in all phases of the project has been variable.

Nature of the investment

As previously mentioned, the total investment raised for the Morro da Sé project was about €38.5M, of which €15.5 million related to the 12 operations approved by the PRUs, and €23 million related to the rehabilitation of buildings. If we examine the nature of PRU investment (Table 3), we see that the outright grants from QREN (EU), account for 80.73% of eligible expenditure in the programme's funding and 48.24% of the total investment in the 12 operations. The financial involvement of private partners, especially of the two consortia led by NOVOPCA, is equally important, accounting for 38.23% of the total and this is all the more significant if we consider that the participation of the SRU Porto Vivo in this consortia does not entail the direct raising of investment capital, only the assignment of buildings (involving, or not, expropriations and related costs) and use and exploration rights. Private money accounts for more than half (53.90%) of the total investment.

Institution/Source	Investment (% of the total)	Totals
QREN – PRU	48.24%	Financiamento comunitário 48.24%
City Council of Porto	6.79%	Investimento público 13.53%
SRU Porto Vivo	6,52%	
Porto Digital	0.22%	
PPP (NOVOPCA/SPRU/SRU)	38.23%	Investimento privado 38.23%

Table 3 – Nature of the investment for the Urban Rehabilitation Programme of Morro da Sé

In short, the many problems identified in Morro da Sé and the costs of intervention in this historical and World Heritage area force the urban rehabilitation and regeneration to depend on private capital and interests, which obviously constrains the type of intervention and outcomes, and neglects some of the social and economic concerns more directly related to local residents.

Coordination and cooperation between scales and administrations

The Portuguese context may be generally characterised by a lack of cooperation and networking, with administrative powers and responsibilities being too centralised in the main government (and on a lesser extend in municipalities), without intermediate structures to discuss, plan and manage the territory. This helps us to bring into context the implementation of this and other territorial-based initiatives at local scale, where the dominant trend points to an isolated and individualised planning and intervention, often resulting in border conflicts and low efficiency of the action. In the specific cases of PRU, it should be noted that this is a programme targeted to interventions in restrict urban areas, and does not anticipate the creation of a coordinated effort in different urban centers. However, a broader view of the city in a strategic vision for Morro da Sé is lacking including a view on different spaces, resources and functions not limited by administrative limits or party loyalties.

The intervention process in Morro da Sé, however, shows a total lack of coordination, cooperation and dialogue between neighbouring municipal public entities and dramatically forgets the spatial continuity of the historical area of Porto across the Douro river, in the Vila Nova de Gaia municipality, with intersection of administrative scales done only through the participation of a Government institution – Instituto de Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana (IHRU)– in SRU Porto Vivo (40%), although it does not intervene directly in the implementation of interventions (Fernandes, 2011; Fernandes & Ramos, 2007; Fernandes & Chamusca, 2009).

Intervention effectiveness and outcomes

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness and results of such an ambitious urban programme in view of the goals and funding involved, not least because the urban regeneration process implies a lengthy and integrating perspective that can not be evaluated by the immediate results. Moreover, the delays in implementing the PRU of Morro da Sé mean that even if the “lighter” physical and non-physical activities are almost concluded, some key projects are only now being started. The upgrading of public spaces has improved the attractiveness of the area; the creation of offices to support entrepreneurship and proprietors has bolstered the awareness of local agents to the enhancement of their homes, and to the creation and modernisation of commercial facilities. Also, the efforts made in reporting and disseminating operations, in the form of a documentary, the self-esteem stories and workshops have all contributed to strengthening transparency and increasing the awareness of local players to urban rehabilitation and regeneration. The development of the Management Unit of the Urban Area has also strengthened the connection between the different local players in the context of shared management of a common space, albeit in well-defined spheres. Nonetheless, there are also issues of concern, in particular the strong dependence on private capital, constraining the strategy and the deadline for the implementation of some of the investments (as in the students’ residence, and hotel); the insufficient attention paid to social issues; and a gradual gentrification of the area due to the high cost of rehabilitation and dominance of a market-oriented policy, which seeks to sell part of the already rehabilitated buildings (within the complementary intervention) at prices affordable only to the upper-middle class.

Conclusion

The present analysis, part of a research in progress on the Greater Porto area, is enough to conclude that governance is still not very “territorialised” and rooted in the Morro da Sé experience. The following trends are evident.

1. There is an excessive focus of investment on urban qualification interventions, confirming an historical trend in which architecture

triumphs over economic and social geography in urbanism (Fernandes, 2011);

2. The importance of public-private partnerships and the attraction of private investment (although public money is still very important), with a sort of “privatisation of urban regeneration”, as the interests of major economic agents do not always coincide with the goals of the city, civil society and remaining agents (McAreavey, 2009);
3. A great number of hybrid and complex processes and solutions, with different public and private partners;
4. The mechanisms of participation are not explored to the fullest. There has been reduced involvement of civil society in the phases of construction and selection of operations, as well as in their implementation phase;



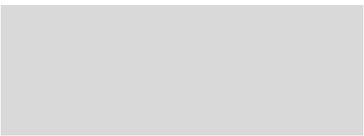
Fig. 3 – Example of the first results of the Urban Area Management action (photos from Porto Vivo SRU)

5. Increasing integrated urban regeneration strategies, with the requalification of the public space initiatives associated in some cases with the creation and upgrading of facilities and infrastructures, as well as social and cultural initiatives;
6. Clearly deficient articulation of scale and total lack of supra-municipal planning.

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Changes in the housing market in Tokyo: Residential preference and condominium supply

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Introduction

Since the late 1990s, condominium supply has been increasing rapidly in Tokyo and the residential structure of the city has changed dramatically. This study aims to assess the transformation of the housing market in Tokyo in terms of condominium supply and residential mobility, focusing on the diversification of homeowners and their housing preferences. The paper begins by focusing on two key themes: 1) the housing market and urban structure and 2) geographical studies concerning condominiums, especially within a Japanese context.

Japanese housing studies

Housing and urban structure

Residences serve a significant urban function, and the distribution of housing and residents has been used as an index to explain urban structure. As Yui (1999) noted, the urban structure model created in Western countries directly focuses on the residential structures of cities, and these models were constructed on the basis of residential segregation in terms of income, race, and class. Studies on residences and residents of cities are generally Western-focused (Johnston 1984), and many models of the distribution of housing and residents as well as residential mobility have been discussed in the literature (Robson 1975; Knox and Pinch 2000).

However, Yui (1991) notes that Western models are not applicable to Japanese cities due to differences in the Japanese housing market conditions. Unlike western settings, clear residential segregation and social classes are also not confirmed in Japan (Abe, 2003). Therefore, Japanese urban geographers cannot apply Western urban structure models to Japanese cities.

Condominiums in Japanese cities

Studies on condominiums in Japan illustrate that condominiums play a significant role in creating the urban residential structure in Japan, including condominium supply (e.g., Kagawa 1984), the relationship between condominium supply and transformation of residents (e.g., Kagawa 1988), and the relationship between condominium supply and residential mobility of condominium residents (e.g., Yui 1986). Studies on condominium supply and residential mobility were discussed in the 1990s, but little attention was paid to the characteristics of residents as demonstrated by their lifestyles or household structures, or on the locational decision-making of urban households. There was a strong tendency for the residential mobility or location decisions of condominium residents to be discussed as separate from the urban residential structure. However, drawing on literature on western cities, there could potentially be a close relationship between them. Condominiums are becoming increasingly important properties to owner-occupiers in the Japanese housing market, especially in cities. This chapter

focuses on the features of residents and home ownership of condominiums to explain changes in Tokyo's urban residential structure.

Methodology

A three-step methodology is adopted. First, the features of housing customs and the housing market of Japan will be described, in order to understand the differences between Japanese and Western cities. Second, the conditions of the housing market in Tokyo since the 1990s will be considered with regard to changes to the traditional Japanese housing market. Finally, the influence of the increasingly popular condominium lifestyle on the urban restructuring of Tokyo will be discussed.

Post-1950 Tokyo housing market

Housing and the family system in Japan

The Japanese civil law passed in the 1870s was based on *ie-seido* (family institution), which categorized people by the unit of family or parentage and allowed them to maintain property, such as houses and land. Following this enactment, the heads of household would transfer property ownership to their eldest sons, and the other sons and daughters would leave the family home and form their own family and property units. The younger sons (i.e., the newly formed families) needed to find employment, driving residential mobility from rural areas to densely populated areas. Based on the housing custom of the family institution, the ideology of home-ownership was intensified in Japan (Ronald 2004).

Although this institution was abolished in 1947, in many rural areas, patriarchal housing customs remained until recent years. As Kato (2003) pointed out, more than 30% of couples married for more than 10 years have moved to live together with their parents. In addition, this system strongly affected the residential mobility and housing purchase behavior of the Japanese; people tended to move to metropolitan centers in order to find jobs, wished to buy detached houses to remind them of their hometowns, and thus had a major influence on Japanese urban structure.

Suburbanization and home ownership

In the 1950s, as residential supply became very tight due to the shortage of building materials after the Second World War, legislation was implemented to improve the quality of housing. In 1950, the Japanese Housing Finance Agency began financing home ownership for high-income households. The Japan Housing Corporation (now the Urban Renaissance Agency) was established in 1955 to develop collective housing estates for middle-class households. Rented houses and public housing were provided for low-income households (Japan Federation of Housing Organizations 2002; Kageyama 2004). Non-nuclear households were marginalized in the owner-occupied market in Japan. Therefore, housing purchases by single or elderly households were fewer than in Western countries (Kageyama 2004; Tahara et al. 2003).

The ideology of homeownership has achieved increasingly greater currency (Hirayama and Ronald 2007), with the rate of private homeownership reaching 60% at the beginning of the 1960s (Ronald 2008). Since the 1960s, suburban housing estates have developed because high housing prices caused a lack of affordable housing in the city centers (Hasegawa 1997; Matsubara 1982). Detached houses in the suburbs have welcomed the increasingly large middle-class. Commuters to city centers have tended to move when life events occurred (e.g., marriage) and ended up in the suburbs when they purchased housing (Kawaguchi 1997). Householders who did not own properties in metropolitan areas and who moved from the countryside rushed to the suburbs, and drove rapid suburbanization in Japan (Tani 1997).

Soaring land prices in the 1980s and the so-called myth of real property strengthened the preference for detached houses in suburbs (Van Vliet and Hirayama 1994), while condominiums were thought of as temporary residences rented before the purchase of detached houses. However, the role of condominiums in the Japanese housing market is changing such that they are now frequently owner occupied.

Alongside this major change in housing tenure and residential preference, the *Population Census of Japan* (2010) showed a surprising fact. In central Tokyo, the percentage of single person households reached almost 50% of all households; whereas, among nuclear families, the percentage of married couples with children decreased gradually. A diversification of household types linked to changing lifestyles has become increasingly apparent in

Tokyo with condominiums more suited to smaller families and singles. This paper thus hypothesises that owner-occupied condominiums have played an important role in the modern diversification.

Shrinking cities and changes in suburbs

In recent years, suburban housing estates have lost their appeal as potential homeowners demonstrate preferences for city-centre condominiums. Suburbanization slowed to a halt and the city began to shrink in response to changes in socioeconomic conditions, the housing market, and lifestyles. Now, suburban neighborhoods have become less popular as residential areas and are facing serious social problems, such as the aging of residents (Naganuma et al. 2006). The aging population phenomenon has also highlighted unique characteristics of the housing market in Japan. According to the Statistics Bureau of Japan's *Housing and Land Survey 2003*, more than 70% of home owners obtained their residences by building new houses or purchasing newly built houses from 1999 to 2003. The second-hand housing market is weak in Japan as a whole. Once people have purchased their houses, they tend to remain in the same house for decades and as they age, the aging rate of a housing district naturally increases (Yui 1999).

Tokyo's housing market after the late 1990s: Condominiums in Tokyo

Housing supply in Tokyo

From around 1995 onwards, people who could own homes began to move into central Tokyo (Figure 1). The children of baby boomers had different preferences in terms of life-styles and housing wishing to live in central Tokyo rather than detached houses in the suburbs. Changes in the housing market also facilitated the establishment of a new life-style trend in central Tokyo. For example, compact condominiums have been sold to single women aged in their 30s and 40s. In the 2000s, nuclear families, elderly couples, and single people displayed great interest in tower condominiums resulting in the formation of a new residential structure.

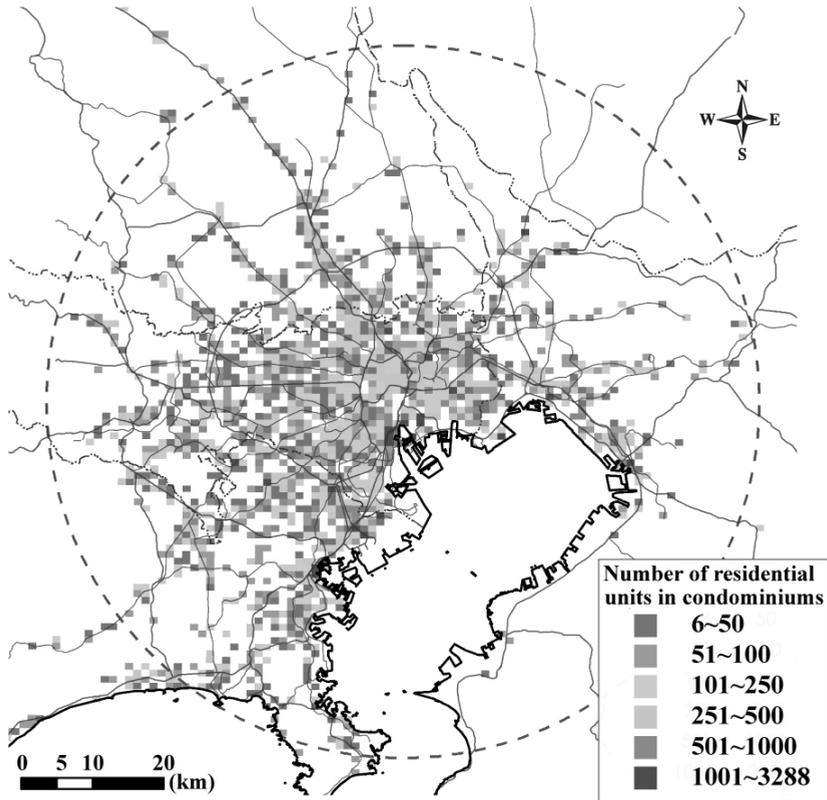


Fig. 1 Number of condominiums sold in Tokyo (2005~2009)

Source: Real estate economic institute, 'Condominium Market Trend Search 2005-2009' .

Changing families and residential preferences: A case study of near suburb

The characteristics of condominiums residents in Makuhari Bay Town, which was developed on land reclaimed from Tokyo Bay in the beginning of the 1990s, has been the subject of previous discussion (Kubo, 2010). Makuhari Bay Town and the surrounding areas were developed by the Chiba Prefecture for the purpose of creating Makuhari New City, which includes both business and residential districts, and which had a total population of 18,427 residents in 2005 (6,526 households) (Statistics Bureau *Population Census of Japan 2005*). All of the housing buildings in Makuhari Bay Town are rental apartments or condominiums owned by households. Developments located on reclaimed land became a destination of choice for those who had

lived in the suburbs. In addition, the high housing prices in the region contributed to the image of the town as a luxury residential area. Expensive and well-designed condominiums or condominium towers were regarded as a symbol of a “successful life.”

Most of the current residents have grown up in metropolitan suburbs: their parents were the first generation that moved into suburban housing estates during the suburbanization trend in Japan. Parents of the residents tended to live close to their sons and daughters, and some moved to Makuhari Bay Town or neighboring areas. The need for elderly parents to live close to their sons and daughters generated a demand for second-hand residences and rented condominiums in the area. During the suburbanization period, parents purchased residences in suburbs with which they had no acquaintance simply because of their convenience for commuting. They had little attachment to their land or houses. Thus, they could easily move to the areas in which their grown sons and daughters lived.

To summarize the case study, sons or daughters of both baby boomers and following generations who tended to moved from non-metropolitan areas into metropolitan areas showed quite different residential preferences: They select condominiums rather than detached houses. The condominium lifestyle now has a symbolic meaning; hence, young families wish to select luxurious condominiums. Another change is that they wished to live close (not together with) to their relatives in newly developed areas.

Changing lifestyle: The case of home ownership by single-persons

A second major demographic and residential changes has also become apparent in Tokyo in recent years, condominium-purchases by single women in central Tokyo (Kubo and Yui 2011b). Since the late 1990s, and aligned with the diversification of household structure in central Tokyo, various types of condominiums have been supplied. In particular, the supply of “compact” condominiums - comprising small-sized living spaces, such as studios and/or small-sized, owner-occupied units - has increased. Originally, compact condominiums were supplied for single women in their 30s or 40s, who had been marginalized in the housing market in Japan in earlier decades. Since the late 1990s, studio-type condominiums were marketed by

middle-sized condominium suppliers specifically at single-person households, and approximately 70% of them were purchased by single women (Yui 2000). Single women who purchased the condominiums were not necessarily rich and professional workers. They chose owner-occupied residences because the monthly rent of their previous residences was so high that often the monthly mortgage payment was less than, or equal to, the rent. Moreover, facilities available in condominiums as compared to those of rental apartments were considered better (Yui 2003).

In Japan, there have been a limited number of residences suitable for the housing needs of single-person households since the 1950s; therefore, condominiums fulfilled a latent demand promoting security and facilitating commuting (Kamiya et al. 2002). Wakabayashi et al. (2002) considered the residential choices of single women in their 30s in the Tokyo metropolitan area and found that they purchased condominiums for the purpose of asset formation and retirement preparation and their annual income ranged from five to seven million yen (Yui, 2003). They saved approximately 20% of their income, enabling them to purchase their own condominiums (Kubo and Yui 2011a). High rent in central Tokyo also stimulated the move to increasing homeownership by single women in their 30s or 40s.

Conclusions

In this section, we discuss the role that condominiums have played in Tokyo's restructuring. The results show that a complementary relationship between metropolitan centers and the suburbs has been maintained since the period of suburbanization, but the commuter suburbs have gotten progressively closer to the city centers. In addition, new residential careers and housing purchase behaviors are also apparent with a second generation now at the housing purchase age. They have grown up in the metropolitan suburbs, and residential preferences, household structure, and income rather than traditional notions of inheriting property or living with their parents drives their housing choices. The lifestyle of purchasing condominiums has thereby been generated, and a large number of residents regard condominiums as permanent residential housing forms, a major shift from previous desires to privately own land.

Tokyo offers many opportunities for working and living that has facilitated diversification of the housing market, and resulted in changes in the urban residential structure in Tokyo. The case studies have uncovered some important perspectives that explain residential segregation in terms of household structures, life stages, residential preferences, and incomes in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

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