

“Living Together”

Segregation and the Norm of Multicultural Urbanism in Tokyo

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Introduction

- Whether “enclave urbanism” is a problem or a solution seems to depend on social and historical contexts of a city.
- To understand a specific residential norm in a specific national and urban context will be useful for discussing the issue.
- This paper analyzed residential segregations of major nationality groups in Tokyo and the norm of multicultural urbanism regulating in the residential process.

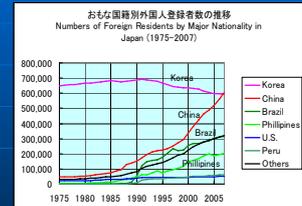
Recent Trend of Immigration in Japan

- This paper introduced how international immigrants have been increased in Japan since the 1980s, although their proportion in the population is still low, only 1.6 percent in 2007.



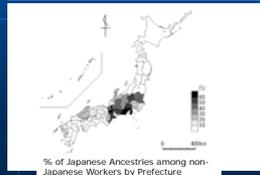
Seeing by Nationality

- While Koreans living in Japan over generations are decreasing in number due to their naturalization, Chinese, Japanese-Brazilians, Filipinos, and others have increased rapidly.



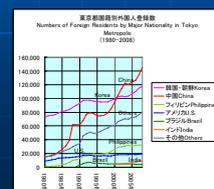
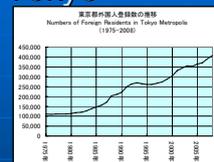
Geographic Distribution of non-Japanese Residents

- Japanese-Brazilians tend to concentrate in the industrial regions other than Tokyo, because they typically work in manufacturing plants.
- Chinese are more likely to dwell in major cities, especially Tokyo.
- Also, people from Western countries disproportionately live in Tokyo.
- Thus, Tokyo has the largest non-Japanese population in Japan.



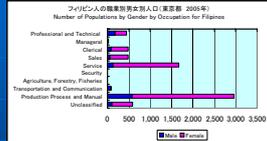
The Growing Number of Foreign Residents in Tokyo

- The number of foreign residents in Tokyo has been growing since the mid-1980s when Tokyo began to grow as an international financial center.
- About 3 percent of the residents in Tokyo are non-Japanese now.
- The largest group is Chinese, representing just 1% of the residents in Tokyo.
- Koreans are also increasing. Tokyo attracts new immigrants from South Korea.
- The third largest is Filipino. Typically, they were female entertainers.
- The fourth is American. They have been steadily increasing since 1985.
- Although Americans represent only 0.15 percent of the residents, they concentrate in Tokyo disproportionately.



Nationality and Socio-economic Status are closely related.

- Most Filipinos are women who have manual and service jobs including "entertainers."
- Most Americans are men who have professional and technical jobs.
- Chinese and Koreans are between those polarized occupational statuses and are more likely to engage in self-employment ethnic businesses such as retail shops, restaurants, and personal services.
- Chinese people are likely to migrate with study visas and can get temporary jobs during their stay as students. Then, they would enter into the labor market as well-educated workers.
- Most Koreans are old immigrants and their second and third generations. They historically tended to step into self-employment businesses due to their disadvantage caused by ethnic discrimination. Recent immigrants are also likely to enter into small businesses in Tokyo.

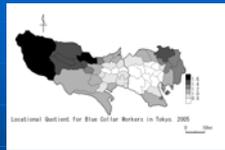


Residential Segregation in Tokyo



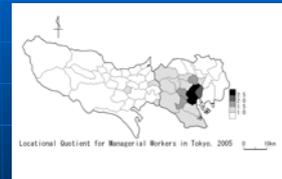
Residential Segregation by Social Status in Tokyo

- Residential segregation by social status in Tokyo is not sharp.
- However, as Map 3 shows, the eastern area of Central Tokyo has traditionally attracted small manufacturers and blue collar workers.
- In the western part of the Tama area, manufacturing plants for mass-production have been located in the process of suburbanization.
- Map 4 shows that upper white collar workers are likely to live in the western part of Central Tokyo and the eastern part of the Tama area, especially along the JR Chuo line.



Segregation by social status in Tokyo: Weak but Strengthened

- Most recently, the affluent have begun to concentrate in specific localities of the central area.
- Map 5 indicates how administrative and managerial workers have concentrated in the central districts such as Chiyoda and Minato Wards by 2005.
- In sum, residential segregation by socio-economic status in Tokyo is generally weak but recently tends to be strengthened.



Why so weak and why strengthened?

- Why weak partly because there is small gap among social strata as is common in Japan and partly because urban planning has been insufficient in Tokyo and thus chaotic land use has been spread.
- Residential segregation is strengthened recently, partly because the gap has widened over the past decade and partly because the private developers have promoted urban redevelopments in Central Tokyo, which led gentrification, producing homogeneous urban space for the rich.



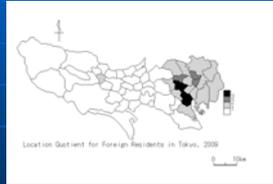
Commercial Spaces for the Rich

Tokyo Midtown Complex in Minato Ward, Tokyo



Residential Segregation of Foreign Residents in Tokyo

- Map 6 shows the location quotients for foreign residents by municipality in Tokyo in 2009.
- The most concentrated was Shinjuku Ward, followed by Minato Ward.
- Shinjuku Ward attracted many Koreans, Chinese, and other Asian immigrants.
- Minato Ward is an "international" area where embassies of many countries and transnational firms are located, attracting various nationals, especially high income professionals.



Segregation by Nationality: Americans

- The segregation of the four largest nationality groups in Tokyo are explained largely by socio-economic residential differentiation.
- Americans concentrate heavily in the central area where high income people are living, because Americans themselves are most likely to be high-paid workers.
- This reflects the spatial formation of Central Tokyo as a "global city."



The "International" Areas in Central Tokyo

A Luxury condo in Roppongi Hills, a supermarket in Hiroo, a sign reads "For Rent" in English, and a fashionable street in Aoyama



Segregation by Nationality: Chinese

- Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos tend to live in the blue collar areas in the eastern Tokyo, because they are likely to be poor students, small shop owners, and low-paid service and industrial workers.
- Path-dependency in neighborhood change also affects the segregations of Chinese and Koreans.
- Chinese tend to concentrate in Toshima Ward, where Taiwanese community located. They created a supportive environment for Chinese newcomers.



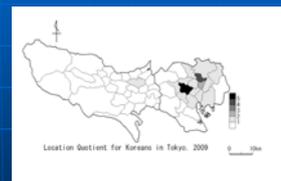
Ikebukuro: A China Town?

- Ikebukuro in Toshima Ward is a nodal point for Chinese immigrants.
- Originally, there was a small Taiwanese community.
- As mainland China adopted open door policy in 1978, students from Shanghai and Fujian began to live there because many Japanese language schools located there.
- Since the mid-1990s, Chinese students have increased rapidly.
- Then, Ikebukuro attracted many Chinese restaurants, retail shops, and other ethnic services.
- Most recently, several newspapers reported that a certain Chinese merchant organization is planning to build a "China Town" in Ikebukuro, which has created a dispute with local merchant associations which are dominated by Japanese shop owners.
- Thus, Ikebukuro is a mixed commercial district including a "would-be China Town."



Segregation by Nationality: Koreans

- Koreans can also find their kinfolk in several parts of the inner city. They are remnants of the enclaves in the days of Japan's colonial rule.
- But there is also a significant case that new immigrants from South Korea flock in an area where the old immigrants have disappeared. Okubo in Shinjuku is the case.



Okubo: a new “ethnic town”

- Here is not Seoul but Tokyo. The Okubo district in Shinjuku Ward is a precursor of new “ethnic towns” or “multicultural areas” in Tokyo.
- Since the 1990s, Korean businesses have extended rapidly and Okubo has come to be called a Korea Town.
- Still there are many other ethnic businesses and of course shops run by local Japanese merchants who have feelings of resistance toward the label of “Korea Town.”
- Thus, Okubo would be a showcase for multicultural urbanism in Japan.



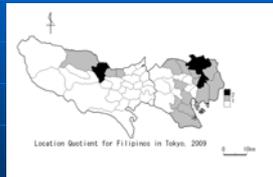
The Landscape of Okubo

An ultra rightist campaign flag, Coke vending machines loaded on the truck, a sign of a Korean temple, a Korean restaurant, and a Japanese real estate office's sign reads "alien welcome"



Segregation by Nationality: Filipinos

- Filipinos represents only 0.25% of the residents of Tokyo.
- Typically, they tend to be young women working as entertainers in night clubs and hoping to find Japanese men to get married and some are actually wives of Japanese husbands.
- Thus, they disperse in low-income areas except suburban localities near the US military base.



Fussa City and the U.S. Air Force

- It takes about one hour from Shinjuku to the Fussa station, a typical small station in suburban Tokyo.
- However, U.S. Air Base is located there. It is a complete “gated” community.



Landscape of Fussa City

- U.S. military base makes the locality a unique subcultural area like Naha, Okinawa.
- There are many shops for American soldiers.



Landscape of Fussa City

a tattoo shop, an “ethnic” retail shop, and Philippines Pubs



Multicultural Urbanism as a Norm

- Besides the socio-economic factors, there is a social norm that regulates the residential process.
- City officials and “good citizens” have assumed that a mixed community is desirable in principle.
- This principle seems to be right because it implies that non-Japanese people should be able to dwell wherever they want. Given that the proportion of foreign residents in the population is very low, strong residential segregation would restrict their freedom to live in the city.

Why is the Norm widely Voiced?

- One reason is that there is an implicit assumption that foreign residents are not permanent settlers but just short term residents.
- The multicultural discourse, however, also tend to apply to Korean living in Japan as “special permanent settlers.” In fact, a Korea Town is often called as a multicultural neighborhood.
- Another reason is rooted in the distinctive neighborhood structure of urban Japan. The neighborhood association is open for all households living in a district and in reality about a half of the households in average join it in Tokyo.
- The local governments recognize the neighborhood associations as representing the residents. The norm of multicultural neighborhood means that the neighborhood association should include foreign residents as neighbors.

An ethnic town approved?

- As co-ethnics increase in number, they may flock in a specific locality. When such concentration of ethnic groups in a certain locality contributes to empower them through constructing their collective identity and providing various supports and services to them, it may well be approved.
- It should be noted, however, that the existence of ethnic enclaves is usually a sign of discrimination against them. The degree to which the discrimination is eliminated, the necessity of having an enclave as power resources will be diminished.
- In commercial districts, conflict of ethnic identities of localities can occur in contemporary urban Japan. When the majority and the minorities can agree with constructing an ethnic identity of a place as a strategy for the vitalization of shopping quarters, then, the identity of the place can be accepted as a symbolic ethnicity such as a “China Town” and a “Korea Town.”
- Even so, the area must be open for all groups in general.

Conclusion

- The norm of multicultural neighborhood is dominant in public discourses.
- The real problem is that the norm has not sufficiently been institutionalized.