

Conditions of Happiness in Tokyo: Effects of Urban Economy and Culture

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Introduction

- Tokyo as a Local Context: Economic Restructuring and Reurbanization
- Is Tokyo a Happy City?: Relative Positions of Tokyo in Happiness and Qualities of Urban Life
- Who Felt Happy and Why? : Structure of Happiness in Tokyo

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Tokyo as a Local Context

- Comparative analysis of happiness among urbanites across different countries may cause difficulties because each country's respondents rely on different standards.
- For interpreting the GMFS data adequately, it is necessary to take local contexts into account.
- In the first section, I will introduce recent socio-economic, demographic, and spatial trends in Tokyo as an urban process.

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Is There the City of Tokyo?

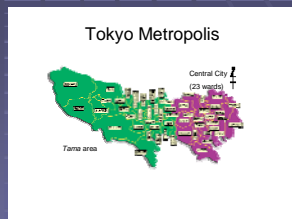
- Tokyo is known as the Capital of Japan. However, there is no law that stipulates the place of the capital.
- Even the City of Tokyo does not exist.
- The City of Tokyo was established in 1889 and persisted by 1943, when it was abolished and incorporated into Tokyo Metropolitan Government.



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Tokyo Metropolis

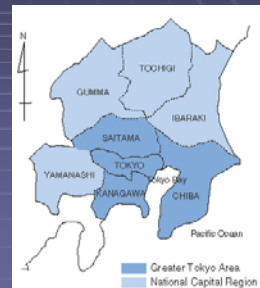
- The area of the former city is almost the same as that of 23 special wards today.
- Therefore, they can be regarded geographically as the central city of Tokyo (or Central Tokyo.)
- The central city contains 8.6 million populations.
- The *Tama* area is a suburban part of Tokyo.
- It is composed of 26 cities, 3 towns and one village.
- The *Tama* area had 4 million populations by January 1st in 2007.



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Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Area

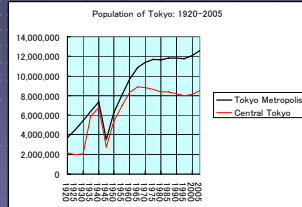
- Functional metropolitan region extends to three neighboring prefectures, Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa, locating within fifty kilometer from the central city.
- Altogether, the greater Tokyo metropolitan area holds about 35 million people or one fourth of the national populations



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The Growth of the Metropolis

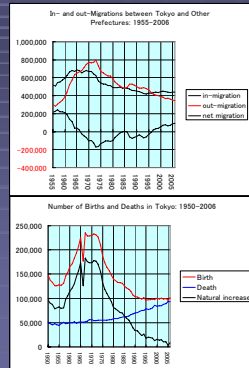
- Since 1945, Tokyo has reconstructed from the damage suffered during the WWII.
- The population increased rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s as Fig 1 shows.
- Industrializing Tokyo attracted a great deal of young labor force from rural areas.
- The trend changed in the mid-1960s. While numerous youths still moved into the Central Tokyo, young families began to move out to suburban areas.



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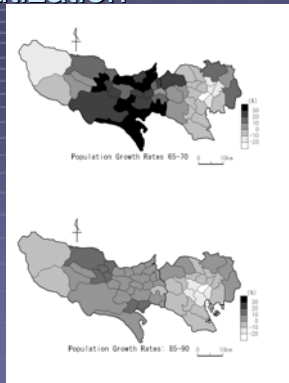
Suburbanization

- As Fig. 2 indicates, those who left Tokyo outnumbered those who moved in after 1967.
- The central city was declining in population, while Tokyo Metropolis still underwent increasing population.
- It contains suburban areas where young people settled down and began to raising their families.
- In the early 1970s, the population growth in Tokyo depended on natural increase due to a great number of birth (see Fig. 3.)



“Doughnutization”

- Suburbanization gave rise to a distinct ecological trend called “doughnutization” in Japanese.
- It refers to the trend of the decreasing population in the central city and the increasing population in the suburbs.
- These maps show the growth rates from 1965 to 1970 and 1985 to 1990 by municipality.
- It is evident that the center of 23 wards was declining in population, while the east and west sides were increasing moderately, and the municipalities in the Tama area exhibited the highest growth rates in population (except the mountain area in the west corners of the maps.)
- As the time went on, high-growth areas moved further and further from central area and the “hole of the doughnut” became greater.



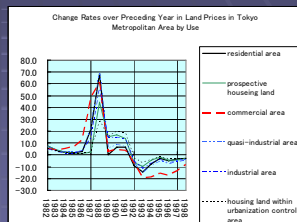
Community and Aging

- The typical out-migrants were those who had moved in the inner area as young singles, then got married and looked for places to live. The citizens stayed the inner area were typically those who owned properties there.
- Once people obtain their own houses, they rarely leave their residences.
- Consequently, as Map 4 indicates, people dwelling in the inner areas are likely to be older than those in the suburbs, and the time goes on, the populations of every residential neighborhood become older merely because permanent settlers are aging.



Bubble Economy:1985-92

- The coming of the bubble economy in the late 1980s facilitated suburbanization again.
- Deregulation policies for urban redevelopments that the Nakasone administration adopted in the early 1980s triggered skyrocketing land prices in urban commercial districts.
- Soon residential areas followed the wave.
- A result was an increase of out-migrants to suburban areas.
- Tokyo underwent the second wave of suburbanization.



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After the Burst

- After the burst of the bubble economy, Tokyo plunged into deep recession, lasting more than ten years.
- Finance, insurance, and real estate companies, the major players in the asset bubble, held huge debt and merged each other again and again.
- Finally, major banks had to use taxpayers' money to offset the tremendous amount of bad debt.
- In order to adjust to the globalizing economy since the 1990s, manufacturing firms began to restructure their operations, reducing employees, recommending earlier retirees, lowering wages, and prolonging working hours.

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Reurbanization

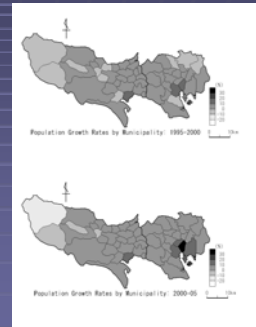
- Ironically enough, the falling land prices made the central city available for residential use. Young Internet millionaires and stock investors as well as high educated professionals and technicians would find their homes in high-rise condominiums near the downtown.
- More common white-collar workers also could afford to find proper housings in the residential districts of the central city.
- In the late 1990s, the population began to increase in the Central Tokyo.



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Increasing Population in the Central Wards

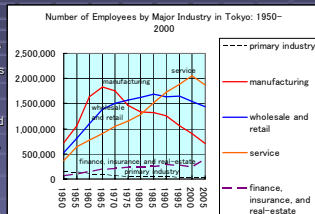
- The trends of population growth in the central districts still continue.
- Tokyo has come to be in the stage of reurbanization since 1997.
- These maps show that there are increasing in population in many areas of Tokyo Metropolis, especially in the central wards.



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From Manufacturing to Information Service Industries: Changing Urban Economy

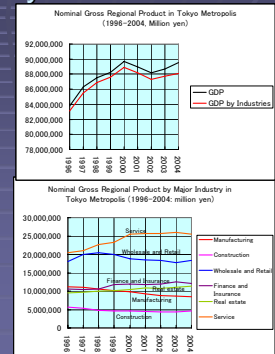
- Just like other industrial countries, urbanization in Japan was led by industrialization.
- In the 1960s, the rapid growth of Tokyo was accompanied by increasing industrial jobs.
- After 1965, however, manufacturing workers began to decline (see Fig. 5).
- Meanwhile, Tokyo attracted the headquarters of nation-wide companies.
- By 1989, 16 million workers were employed in the wholesale and retail sector and 1.3 million were employed in the service sector, while manufacturing jobs decreased to 1.3 million.
- Since the 1980s, the globalization of economy overshadowed the urban industries in Tokyo.
- The bubble economy was rooted in the land speculation. After the burst, the finance and insurance companies in Japan were far from providing producer services.
- The international financial market did not contribute to the urban economy from the late 1990s to the early 2000s in Tokyo.



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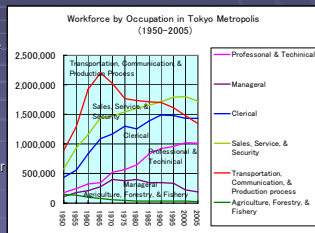
The Rise of the Information Service Economy

- Since the late 1990s, various service industries such as the information, professional, and miscellaneous business services have been growing up in Tokyo.
- By 2000, more than two million, or one third of the workforce living in Tokyo were working in service industries.
- Nominal gross regional product in Tokyo Metropolis was basically improving from 1996 to 2004 except a downward phase in 2001 and 2002.
- Service Industry has occupied larger proportion than any other industries.
- Reurbanization in Tokyo is supported by the rise of the information service economy.



From Blue-collar to Professional and Technical Workers

- Occupational composition has also changed.
- In 1965, 2.2 million had blue-collar jobs, while 0.3 million were professional and technical workers.
- Since then, deindustrialization and the growing service economy have reduced blue-collar jobs.
- Recently, in the phase of reurbanization, Tokyo attracts specialists and technical workers increasingly. In 2005, one million employees living in Tokyo were professional and technical workers, while 1.3 million people had blue-collar jobs.
- In 2007, when the second GMFS survey conducted, Tokyo was recovering from long term recession after the burst of the bubble economy. Redevelopments of the central area were visible signs of revitalization.



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Is Tokyo a Happy City?

- The second section focuses on relative positions of Tokyo in happiness and other indices among the ten cities in the GMFS survey.
- A direct comparison of subjective indices across citizens in different countries seems to be difficult because respondents may have different standards.
- Local contexts should be taken into account in interpreting the data.
- Referring to some official statistics as well as qualitative observations, I will suggest what the measures mean in the context of Tokyo.

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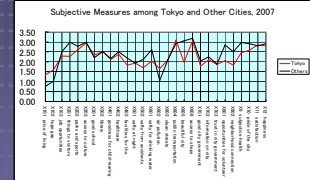
Data and Method

- For simplicity, the codes of answers to the questions about qualities of life, pride in the city, subjective health, and satisfaction are transformed so that the higher the ratings the greater the scores, from zero to 4 points. Thus, all subjective variables used in this presentation have values so that the higher the "better."
- The method in this section is to compare the average of the quality-of-life scores of the respondents in Tokyo with those in the other cities.
- Respondents aged eighty or over are excluded from the analysis because the number is small and unevenly distributed among the cities.
- Abbreviations of the questions are listed at the end of the paper.

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Results

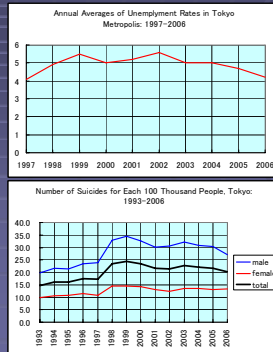
- Happiness in Tokyo was significantly lower than elsewhere.
- "Price of living," "a huge gap between the rich and the poor," "good school," "air pollution," and "public transportation" were better than elsewhere.
- The scores of "subjective health," "pride in the city," and thirteen quality-of-life items were lower.
- Seven items were not significant: Tokyo was almost the same as the other cities on average.



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Happiness

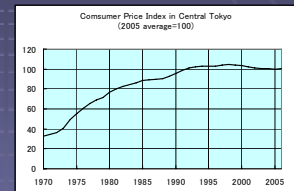
- Happiness score was significantly lower than elsewhere, although the difference between Tokyo and the other cities on average was reduced when compared to the previous 2006 survey. Why?
- One hypothesis is that the respondents in Tokyo were relatively unhappy indeed and nevertheless improving happiness because the economic restructuring described earlier had an impact to their lives, but their circumstances were gradually recovering from the distress.
- Unemployment and suicide rates in Tokyo have been lowering since 2003. This suggests that the economic restructuring created a lot of frustration but the distress has been decreasing recently.
- Another hypothesis is that qualities of urban life and pride in the city have effects on happiness. This will be analyzed in the final section.



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Price of Living

- Respondents living in Tokyo were less likely to agree that "the price of living in my city is high."
- They have experienced declining prices due to deflation and the weak yen for several years.
- As will be shown, this measure did not affect the happiness at all.



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Huge Gap

- Tokyo respondents were less likely to agree that "there is a huge gap between the rich and the poor in my city."
- It was believed that Japanese society is egalitarian. However, the widened gap has become a hot issue recently. Nevertheless, the mean score of Tokyo is smaller than elsewhere. Why?
- Firstly, some respondents believed that their society is egalitarian.
- Secondly, the gap between Tokyo and other regions in the country is much more visible than the gap within the city, because a lot of places in the central city are architecturally modernized, where upper-middle class residents are increasing, and therefore, urban spaces are filled with signs of affluence.



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Things to Visitors

- Tokyo respondents were less likely to agree that "there are many things in my city that I can proudly introduce to visitors."
- Tokyo is a great business center, but there are few tourist attractions such as the Statue of Liberty in New York.
- However, there are a variety of spots of special interest.
- The question seems to measure how respondents know much about cultural diversity of the metropolis.

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Good school and Beautiful City

- Respondents living in Tokyo were more likely to agree that "it is easy for children in my city to go to a good school."
- This does not mean that they appreciated the public school system.
- There are many private schools in Tokyo, and they are generally better than the public ones.
- Tokyo residents have much more opportunities for choosing good schools than those in other prefectures.
- Tokyo respondents were less likely to agree that "Tokyo is a beautiful city."
- While there are a lot of beautiful spots in Tokyo, the image of Tokyo is not beautiful.
- Urban planning was ineffective in the period of rapid urbanization. There are many narrow alleys. Commercial streets are filled with miscellaneous colorful signs.
- The low score of beautiful city question was associated with low score of the pride in the city for Tokyo residents.

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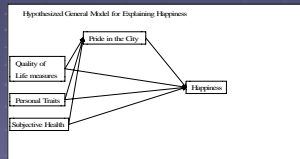
Comments on Other Items

- "Air pollution" and "public transportation," both got higher scores, reflect the realities.
- "Facilities for the disadvantaged" and "neighborhood connection," both got lower ratings, may also reflect the realities.
- Yet, lower score of "job opportunities" is ambiguous. Unemployment rate in Tokyo is about four percent. It is almost the same as the national rate, although the recent unemployment rate is high in Japanese standard.

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Who felt Happy and Why? Structure of Happiness in Tokyo

- I hypothesize a general model that explains the variation of happiness among Tokyo respondents.
- Personal characteristics of respondents such as gender, age, educational attainment, perceived household income, occupation and marital status may have effects on happiness.
- The quality-of-life measures, pride in the city, and subjective health may have independent effects.
- Pride in the city itself may be affected by the other independent variables.



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Methods and Procedure

- The methods used are multiple regression analysis if independent variables are numerical, and multiple classification analysis if categorical variables are included as predictors.
- One difficulty is that there are too many quality-of-life measures. Based on zero-order correlations, I selected variables that have relatively strong associations with happiness.
- Further details about the procedure are written in the paper.

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Social Status and Happiness

- Table 2 shows the scores of happiness estimated by multiple classification analysis for Tokyo respondents.
- Women were more likely to be happy than men.
- The younger respondents were more likely to be happy, at least for women. The distress that middle-aged men suffered from economic restructuring seemed to be mitigating.
- The higher one's perceived income, the happier.
- The married was more likely to be happy than the unmarried.
- Occupation and educational attainment were not significant in predicting happiness.

		Widowed	Divorced	Single	N	
Gender	Male	2.85	0.191 ***	2.70	0.136 ***	457
	Female	2.86		2.91		405
Age	Under 30	2.81	0.062 n.s.	2.98	0.138 **	187
	30-39	2.85		2.79		208
	40-49	2.86		2.91		125
	50-59	2.75		2.74		142
	60-69	2.74		2.89		124
70-79	2.71		2.81		66	
Perceived Income	Very low	2.38	0.245 ***	2.68	0.136 ***	37
	Low	2.46		2.59		152
	Middle	2.87		2.84		520
	High	3.00		2.95		143
	Very high	3.20		3.08		10
Marital Status	Single	2.50	0.255 ***	2.51	0.221 ***	229
	Married	2.84		2.82		577
	Divorced	2.50		2.72		28
	Widowed	2.61		2.74		28
Neighborhood Connection			***			
Subjective Health			***			
Pride in the City			***			
R			0.540 ***			
R squared			0.292			

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Effects of pride in the city, subjective health, and neighborhood connection on happiness

- The effects of subjective items on happiness are indicated in the results of regression analyses in the Appendix 1.
- The more people felt connected to their neighbors, the happier.
- The healthier they felt, the happier.
- Those who were proud of their city were more likely to be happy.

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	S.E.	t-value	B	S.E.	t-value
Constant	2.619	0.158	0.000	1.580	0.165	0.000
Female	0.211	0.050	0.131	0.205	0.048	0.127
Age	-0.007	0.002	-0.140	-0.007	0.002	-0.137
Income	0.187	0.035	0.175	0.128	0.033	0.116
Married	-0.471	0.086	-0.258	-0.397	0.082	-0.218
Divorced	-0.226	0.147	-0.057	-0.220	0.134	-0.046
Widowed	-0.055	0.154	-0.019	-0.103	0.160	-0.054
Neighborhood Connection				0.039	0.023	0.122
Subjective Health				0.127	0.027	0.260
Pride in the City				0.179	0.027	0.134
R			0.387	0.320		0.332
R squared			0.134			0.287

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Effects of Qualities of Life on Pride in the city

- It is hypothesized that the more respondents appreciate their own city, the more they are likely to be proud of it.
- Indeed, a lot of quality-of-life measures correlated with the pride.
- Ten variables were selected and entered in a regression equation. The results are shown in Table 3.
- Adjusted for gender, income, occupation, subjective health and the selected quality-of-life items, "things to visitors," "parks and sports facilities," "good school," and "beautiful city" were significant effects on the pride.
- Also, Neighborhood connection and subjective health were strong predictors.

Partial Regression Coefficients of Selected Quality-of-Life Variables and Personal Traits in the Regression Equation Predicting Pride in the City

	B	S.E.	t	sig.
constant	0.917	0.200		0.002 **
Gender (Ref=Female)				
Male	-0.109	0.053	-2.050	0.040 **
Personal Income	0.106	0.041	0.087	0.010 **
Occupation(Ref=Professional)				
Self-employment	0.189	0.132	0.061	0.152 n.s.
Office worker	0.159	0.117	0.084	0.176 n.s.
Manual worker	-0.015	0.168	-0.001	0.987 n.s.
Skilled worker	0.102	0.123	0.038	0.409 n.s.
Sales worker	0.200	0.147	0.082	0.116 n.s.
Student	-0.035	0.168	-0.008	0.837 n.s.
Housewife	0.052	0.120	0.036	0.663 n.s.
Unemployment	0.029	0.136	0.009	0.930 n.s.
Job opportunities	0.017	0.029	0.030	0.561 n.s.
Things to visitors	0.071	0.029	0.034	0.015 *
Parks and sports	0.065	0.030	0.070	0.032 *
Good school	0.086	0.030	0.100	0.005 **
Goodness for child-rearing	0.052	0.036	0.055	0.148 n.s.
Facilities for the disadvantaged	0.058	0.035	0.060	0.096 *
Early fire accidents	0.011	0.028	0.014	0.884 n.s.
Beautiful city	0.076	0.036	0.077	0.035 *
Proud in city government	0.062	0.036	0.062	0.081 *
Neighborhood connection	0.157	0.028	0.190	0.000 ***
Subjective health	0.116	0.034	0.112	0.001 ***
R			0.711	
R squared			0.222	

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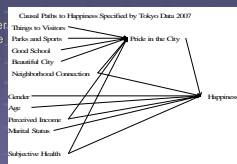
Discussion and Conclusion

- As mentioned in the first section, Tokyo has undergone socio-economic restructuring since the burst of the bubble economy and there is a slight sign of recovering.
- The GMFS 2007 data indicate that happiness in Tokyo is still lower than elsewhere on average though improving from the previous survey.
- After examining what the quality-of-life measures mean in the local context, I proposed a causal model to explain the variation of happiness among Tokyo residents.
- The results are summarized in Figure 13.

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Summarized model

- Happiness is affected by personal characteristics.
- Women are more likely to be happy than men.
- Young people are more likely to be happy than the elderly, at least for women. The distress that middle-aged men suffered from economic restructuring seems to be mitigating.
- The higher one's perceived income, the happier.
- The married is more likely to be happy than the unmarried.
- Neighborhood connection, subjective health, and pride in the city also have effects on happiness.
- The more respondents feel connected to their neighbors, the happier they are.
- The healthier they feel, the happier.
- The more they are proud of their own city, the happier.
- The pride in the city itself is affected by respondents' ratings on the quality-of-life measures, subjective health, and perceived income.



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Effects of Economy and Culture on Happiness

- If other things being equal, "things to visitors," "parks and sports facilities," "good school," "beautiful city," and again neighborhood connections have independent effects on the pride.
- Besides good schools, these items are thought to be disadvantageous by Tokyo residents. In general, these cultural and educational items seem to be more critical for predicting the pride in Tokyo than economic and physical environmental issues such as job opportunities, price of living, and air pollution.
- I do not intend to ignore the economic issues because they have a great impact on respondents' happiness through their socio-economic conditions and subjective health.
- However, it should be noted that people's evaluations of cultural and educational items have significant effects on the pride in the city, which in turn has a substantial effect on happiness.
- Conditions of happiness in Tokyo would be fulfilled not merely by promoting its economic performance but also by improving people's health, neighboring, and cultural perception of the city.

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