

Recent Changes in Office Location in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area

Shinji KOGA

I. Introduction

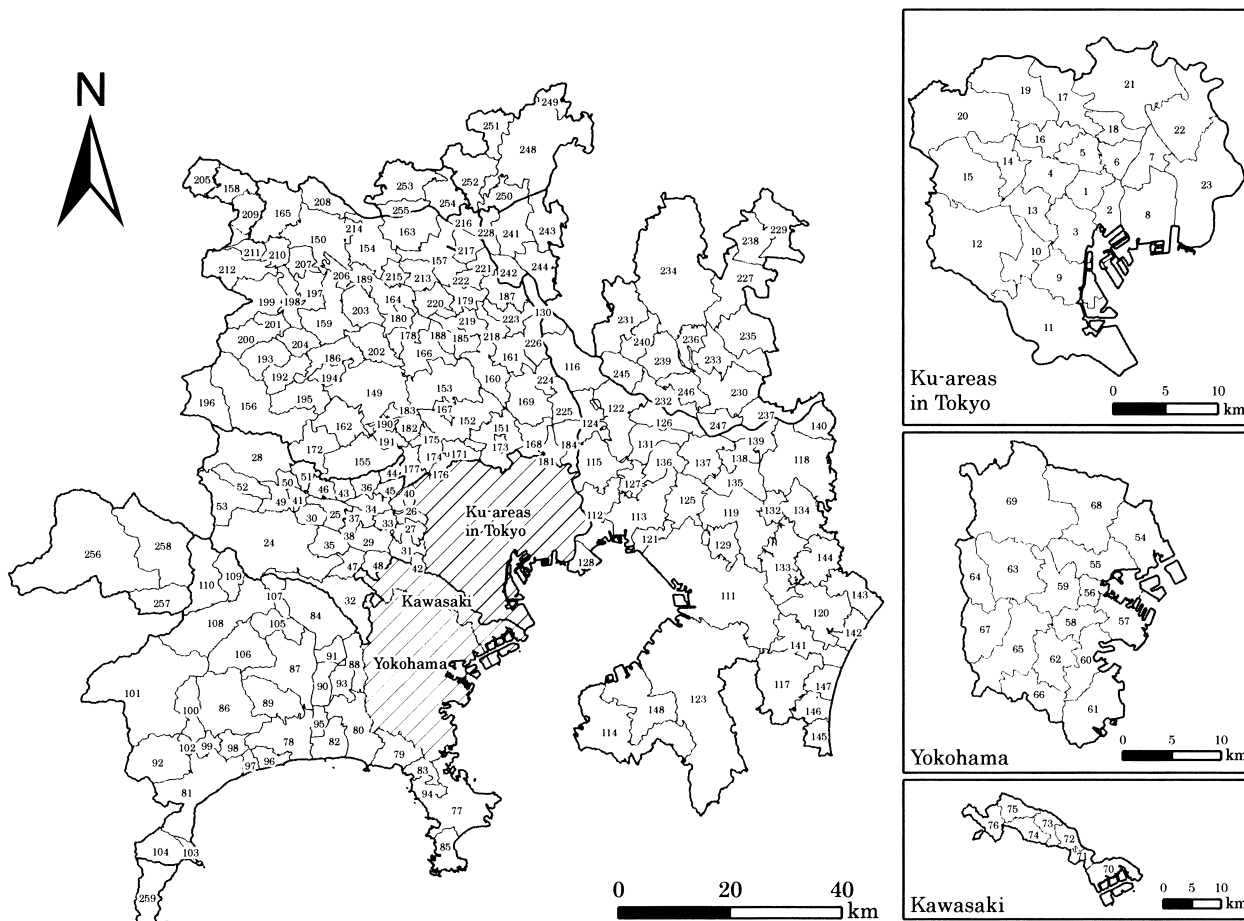
In Japan, during the second half of the 20th century, suburbs were developed as residential areas for city workers whose numbers increased rapidly, and metropolitan areas were formed. However, the social economic situation that Japan formed itself in the end of 20th century brought about the sale of company properties (e.g. unused lands), accompanied by falling land prices and urban restructuring. Moreover, as a result of the successive deregulation¹⁾ of building controls, such as the City Planning Law, the Building Standards Law, and the Urban Redevelopment Law, skyscrapers came to be built in various Japanese cities including the Tokyo metropolitan area. The construction of skyscrapers such as office buildings, condominiums, hotels and commercial buildings, have increased rapidly since the 1990s. This phenomenon, perhaps unique to Japan, has resulted in the reconcentration in central Tokyo of population and various urban functions. This situation is also thought by some to bring an excessive concentration of population and urban functions again in the city center²⁾.

Recent geographical studies on offices in Japan have analyzed the pattern of office locations, and the characteristics of office functions in the central area of Tokyo and the Three Major Metropolitan Areas in Japan (Koga 1998; Fujita 2001; Koga and Kawahara 2002; Lee 2002a; Hoyano *et al.* 2002). On the other hand, Sato (2001), Lee (2002b), and Hamada (2003) have studied office agglomerations in suburban cities and the office relocations from central to suburban Tokyo. However, these latter studies do not provide a definitive explanation of office location trends in the period of the latter half of 1990s in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

The objective of this study is to clarify how office location in the Tokyo metropolitan area since the bubble economy era (1986–1991) has changed. It is very important to research office location trends in this area because Tokyo is the heartland of the Japanese economy, and it is central to changes in urban structure in 21st century Japan.

II. The study area and data

First, the study area of this paper is the Tokyo metropolitan area as defined in the 1990 population census (Figure 1). That is the central cities (Ku-areas in Tokyo, Yokohama and Kawasaki) and their surrounding areas. The surrounding area of each city is composed of the



- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Tokyo | 1.Chiyoda-ku 2.Chuo-ku 3.Minato-ku 4.Shinjuku-ku 5.Bunkyo-ku 6.Taito-ku 7.Sumida-ku 8.Koto-ku 9.Shinagawa-ku 10.Meguro-ku 11.Ota-ku 12.Setagaya-ku 13.Shibuya-ku 14.Nakano-ku 15.Suginami-ku 16.Toshima-ku 17.Kita-ku 18.Arakawa-ku 19.Itabashi-ku 20.Nerima-ku 21.Adachi-ku 22.Katsushika-ku 23.Edogawa-ku 24.Hachioji-shi 25.Tachikawa-shi 26.Musashino-shi 27.Mitaka-shi 28.Ome-shi 29.Fuchu-shi 30.Akishima-shi 31.Chofu-shi 32.Machida-shi 33.Koganei-shi 34.Kodaira-shi 35.Hino-shi 36.Higashimurayama-shi 37.Kokubunji-shi 38.Kunitachi-shi 39.Tanashi-shi 40.Hoya-shi 41.Fussa-shi 42.Komae-shi 43.Higashiyamato-shi 44.Kiyose-shi 45.Higashikurume-shi 46.Musashimurayama-shi 47.Tama-shi 48.Inagi-shi 49.Akikawa-shi 50.Hamura-machi 51.Mizuho-machi 52.Hinode-machi 53.Itsukaichi-machi |
| Kanagawa | 54.Tsurumi-ku 55.Kanagawa-ku 56.Nishi-ku 57.Naka-ku 58.Minami-ku 59.Hodogaya-ku 60.Isogo-ku 61.Kanazawa-ku 62.Kohoku-ku 63.Totsuka-ku 64.Konan-ku 65.Asahi-ku 66.Midori-ku 67.Seya-ku 68.Sakae-ku 69.Izumi-ku 70.Kawasaki-ku 71.Saiwai-ku 72.Nakahara-ku 73.Takatsu-ku 74.Tama-ku 75.Miyamae-ku 76.Asao-ku 77.Yokosuka-shi 78.Hiratsuka-shi 79.Kamakura-shi 80.Fujisawa-shi 81.Odawara-shi 82.Chigasaki-shi 83.Zushi-shi 84.Sagamihara-shi 85.Miura-shi 86.Hadano-shi 87.Atsugi-shi 88.Yamato-shi 89.Isehara-shi 90.Ebina-shi 91.Zama-shi 92.Minamishigara-shi 93.Ayase-shi 94.Hayama-machi 95.Samukawa-machi 96.Oiso-machi 97.Ninomiya-machi 98.Nakai-machi 99.Oi-machi 100.Matsuda-machi 101.Yamakita-machi 102.Kaisei-machi 103.Manatsuru-machi 104.Yugawara-machi 105.Aikawa-machi 106.Kiyokawa-mura 107.Shirayama-machi 108.Tsukui-machi 109.Sagamiko-machi 110.Fujino-machi |
| Chiba | 111.Chiba-shi 112.Ichikawa-shi 113.Funabashi-shi 114.Kisarazu-shi 115.Matsudo-shi 116.Noda-shi 117.Mobara-shi 118.Narita-shi 119.Sakura-shi 120.Togane-shi 121.Narashino-shi 122.Kashiwa-shi 123.Ichihara-shi 124.Nagareyama-shi 125.Yachiyo-shi 126.Abiko-shi 127.Kamagaya-shi 128.Urayasu-shi 129.Yotsukaido-shi 130.Sekiyo-machi 131.Shonan-machi 132.Shisui-machi 133.Yachimata-machi 134.Tomisato-machi 135.Inba-mura 136.Shiroi-machi 137.Inzai-machi 138.Motono-mura 139.Sakae-machi 140.Shimofusa-machi 141.Oamishirasato-machi 142.Kujukuri-machi 143.Naruto-machi 144.Sambu-machi 145.Ichinomiya-machi 146.Chosei-mura 147.Shirako-machi 148.Sodegaura-machi |
| Saitama | 149.Kawagoe-shi 150.Kumagaya-shi 151.Kawaguchi-shi 152.Urawa-shi 153.Omiya-shi 154.Gyoda-shi 155.Tokorozawa-shi 156.Hanno-shi 157.Kazo-shi 158.Honjo-shi 159.Higashimatsuyama-shi 160.Iwatsuki-shi 161.Kasukabe-shi 162.Sayama-shi 163.Hanyu-shi 164.Konosu-shi 165.Fukaya-shi 166.Ageo-shi 167.Yono-shi 168.Soka-shi 169.Koshigaya-shi 170.Warabi-shi 171.Toda-shi 172.Iruma-shi 173.Hatogaya-shi 174.Asaka-shi 175.Shiki-shi 176.Wako-shi 177.Niiza-shi 178.Okegawa-shi 179.Kuki-shi 180.Kitamoto-shi 181.Yashio-shi 182.Fujimi-shi 183.Kamifukuoka-shi 184.Misato-shi 185.Hasuda-shi 186.Sakado-shi 187.Satte-shi 188.Ina-machi 189.Fukiage-machi 190.Oi-machi 191.Miyoshi-machi 192.Moroyama-machi 193.Ogose-machi 194.Tsurugashima-machi 195.Hidaka-machi 196.Naguri-mura 197.Namegawa-machi 198.Ranzan-machi 199.Ogawa-machi 200.Tokigawa-mura 201.Tamagawa-mura 202.Kawajima-machi 203.Yoshimi-machi 204.Hatoyama-machi 205.Kamisato-machi 206.Osato-mura 207.Konan-machi 208.Menuma-machi 209.Okabe-machi 210.Kawamoto-machi 211.Hanazono-machi 212.Yorii-machi 213.Kisai-machi 214.Minamikawara-mura 215.Kawasato-mura 216.Kitakawabe-machi 217.Otone-machi 218.Miyashiro-machi 219.Shiraoka-machi 220.Shobu-machi 221.Kurihashi-machi 222.Washimiya-machi 223.Sugito-machi 224.Matsubushi-machi 225.Yoshikawa-machi 226.Showa-machi |
| Ibaraki | 227.Tsuchiura-shi 228.Koga-shi 229.Ishioka-shi 230.Ryugasaki-shi 231.Mitsukaido-shi 232.Toride-shi 233.Ushiku-shi 234.Tsukuba-shi 235.Ami-machi 236.Kukizaki-machi 237.Kawachi-machi 238.Chiyoda-machi 239.Ina-machi 240.Yawara-mura 241.Sowa-machi 242.Goka-machi 243.Sanwa-machi 244.Sakai-machi 245.Moriya-machi 246.Fujishiro-machi 247.Tone-machi |
| Tochigi | 248.Oyama-shi 249.Kokubunji-machi 250.Nogi-machi 251.Ohira-machi 252.Fujioka-machi |
| Gunma | 253.Tatebayashi-shi 254.Itakura-machi 255.Meiwa-machi |
| Yamanashi | 256.Otsuki-shi 257.Akiyama-mura 258.Uenohara-machi |
| Shizuoka | 259.Atami-shi |

Notes:
 -ku: Ward -shi: City -machi: Town -mura: Village

Figure1. Study area, and municipality number in the Tokyo metropolitan area(TMA), 1990.

surrounding cities, towns or villages which satisfy the following conditions: i) the number of resident workers and students 15 years of age and over commuting to the central cities is 1.5% or more of its total resident population, and ii) it is contiguous to the central city in cases where that area is entirely enclosed by the areas defined as surrounding areas, it is also included.

In 1990, the number of cities, towns, villages, and wards included in this area came to 259, and the author uses the names and boundaries of them at that time. Because there is a municipality into which they have changed by the consolidation of municipalities as of 2005.

Secondly, it is necessary to define the offices which are to be analyzed, but have lies a difficulty. The category 'Office and Sales Offices' is defined by the Establishment and Enterprise Census as my object of study. According to this Census, Office and Sales Offices are defined as follows: i) establishments generally called an 'office' in which office work such as personnel matters, accounting, and planning is performed, and ii) alternatively, establishments generally called a 'sales office' primarily for the conduct of sales activities, such as the sales divisions of manufacturing companies, sales divisions of insurance companies, and branches of banks. I used the micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Censuses³⁾ of 1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001, which are not published in the general census except the next chapter.

Thirdly, the period from 1986 to 2001 will be the main focus of this paper, because of the enormous changes in the Japanese economy. As a result, the locational changes in offices during and after the bubble economy era can be adequately understood. In cases where the municipal boundary changed due to amalgamation after 1990, I rearranged all the numerical values of each year according to the numerical value of the municipality area in 1990.

III. Outline of changes in office location in Japan

1. Changes in the total number of private establishments and enterprises, and their total workers by category

Table 1 and 2 show the changes from 1981 to 2001 in the total number of private establishments and enterprises, and their workers by category in Japan. The number for total private establishments and enterprises was 6.56 million in 1991 when the bubble economy collapsed. In the following ten years, however, the number decreased by 420,000 (-6.4%). On the

Table 1. Number of private establishments and enterprises by category in Japan

Category	1981		1986		Increase 1981 - 1986		1991		Increase 1986 - 1991		1996		Increase 1991 - 1996		2001		Increase 1996 - 2001	
	Number	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate		
Shops, eating and/or drinking establishments	2,954	3,025	71	2.4	2,959	-65	-2.2	2,808	-152	-5.1	2,589	-218	-7.8					
Offices and sales offices	1,153	1,235	82	7.1	1,360	124	10.1	1,484	125	9.2	1,448	-37	-2.5					
Factories, workshops, and mining facilities	1,001	996	-5	-0.5	958	-37	-3.8	931	-27	-2.9	839	-92	-9.9					
Warehouses, oil tanks for domestic use	20	27	7	35.8	14	-12	-46.2	13	-1	-7.7	11	-3	-20.8					
Establishments only marginally distinguishable from ordinary dwellings due to appearance	721	777	55	7.7	787	11	1.4	742	-45	-5.7	682	-60	-8.1					
Others	442	453	10	2.4	480	28	6.1	543	63	13.1	570	26	4.9					
Total	6,291	6,512	221	3.5	6,559	48	0.7	6,522	-38	-0.6	6,138	-384	-5.9					

Source: Establishment and Enterprise Census

Table 2. Number of private establishments and enterprises' workers by category in Japan

Category	(Unit: Thousands and percentages)												
	1981	1986	Increase 1981 - 1986		1991	Increase 1986 - 1991		1996	Increase 1991 - 1996		2001	Increase 1996 - 2001	
	Number	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate	Number	Number	Rate
Shops, eating and/or drinking establishments	10,965	11,955	990	9.0	13,547	1,591	13.3	13,952	405	3.0	13,847	-104	-0.7
Offices and sales offices	16,677	17,909	1,232	7.4	20,517	2,608	14.6	22,369	1,852	9.0	20,816	-1,553	-6.9
Factories, workshops, and mining facilities	12,971	13,307	336	2.6	13,932	625	4.7	12,676	-1,256	-9.0	11,214	-1,462	-11.5
Warehouses, oil tanks for domestic use	138	146	8	5.7	122	-24	-16.4	84	-38	-30.8	75	-10	-11.4
Establishments only marginally distinguishable from ordinary dwellings due to appearance	1,843	2,007	164	8.9	2,231	224	11.2	1,996	-236	-10.6	1,771	-224	-11.2
Others	3,368	3,901	533	15.8	4,665	764	19.6	6,506	1,841	39.5	7,189	683	10.5
Total	45,961	49,224	3,263	7.1	55,014	5,789	11.8	57,583	2,569	4.7	54,913	-2,670	-4.6

Source: Establishment and Enterprise Census

other hand, the number of workers continued to increase until the first half of the 1990s and amounted to 57.6 million in 1996, but they decreased by 2.7 million (-4.6%) in the following five years, and became 54.9 million.

When you see that, the number of factory and workshop establishments decreased earlier than other categories since the 1980s. The main reason for this is that many manufacturing enterprises cost out through production cost competition and the technological development competition in the 1980s. It is also because there were a lot of manufacturing enterprises that shifted to local production in advanced countries in Europe and America and Asian countries in order to evade the rise in the exchange rate of the yen and the problems of trade friction. In the 1990s, a lot of small and medium-sized factories and workshops have been closed because Japan fell into long-term economic recession that is called the *Heisei-fukyo*. However, the number of workers did not immediately synchronize with a decrease in the number of factories and workshops.

Although there are very large decreases in the number of shops and eating and/or drinking establishments compared with other categories since the second half of the 1980s, there is only a small decrease of workers in the second half of the 1990s. The main reason is that a lot of individual shops in the local town's shopping streets closed rapidly, but roadside shops and large-scale supermarkets where large-scale parking lots were built to accommodate increased car ownerships and use increased rapidly, so the workers work there instead.

In some categories, the number of establishments decrease until the second half of 1990s like this, only the number of office establishments has increased in order to process the huge amount of clerical work with economic servicing and informationalization. But the growth of office establishments changed to a decrease because the economic situation of Japan deteriorated very much in the second half of the 1990s. Moreover, the decrease of office workers accounts for about 60% of the total decrease of workers in all categories between 1996 and 2001, and the growth of office establishments that were the receptacle of employment up to now put the brakes quantitatively. The main reason is that the firms, for example, firms in wholesale distribution and in finance and insurance, reorganized rapidly that they could control business expenditure, especially through cutting down the number of workers, during the economic recession⁴⁾. From now on, each manager will plan the office labours cost reduction which follows that of blue-collar labours resulting from the stagnation of domestic demand,

itself partly resulting from the decline in fertility and the aging of society in Japan. And also the author expects that they may plan the overseas outsourcing of their design, research and development sections with the growth of information technology. Therefore, I think that the employment absorption power of office establishments becomes weak from a long-term perspective.

2. Changes in the number of office establishments and their workers in 14 major cities

Research on the growth of the city focusing on the importance of central management functions has accumulated since the end of the 1960s (Abe 1991, Hino 1996). The rise and decline of provincial metropolises or local cities have mainly been discussed in this literature from the standpoint of large private firms' head and branch offices, or through an analysis of their territory in Japan. The author will discuss changes in the number of office establishments and their workers in 14 major cities, although we cannot, unfortunately, refer to their differences, for example, the distinction between the large enterprises and the small and medium-sized enterprises or between the headquarters and branch offices etc. (Table 3 and 4).

The number of office establishments increased in all cities until 1996; in particular, the rate of increase in the number of office establishments was high in 4 provincial metropolises, and in Yokohama and Kawasaki, which are in the Tokyo metropolitan area. In contrast, the number of office establishments in the second half of the 1990s decreased in all cities, which is the same as the nationwide trend. However, when it comes to the rate of decrease, there are big differences between cities. That is, the sluggishness of the Kansai economy occurring during the bubble economy era also continues into the second half of the 1990s. So far has this decline proceeded that the number of office establishments in Osaka and Kyoto in 2001 has fallen below the number in 1986.

Table 3. Number of offices in 14 major cities¹⁾ from 1986 to 2001

City	1986		1991			1996			2001		
	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Index ⁴⁾	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Index ⁴⁾	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Index ⁴⁾
Ku-Areas in Tokyo	193	1	206	1	106	213	1	110	209	1	108
Osaka	82	2	85	2	104	88	2	108	80	2	98
Nagoya	37	3	41	3	114	43	3	118	42	3	115
Sapporo	23	6	28	5	119	29	5	124	27	6	115
Sendai	15	10	17	10	115	18	10	123	18	9	118
Hiroshima	16	9	17	9	109	19	9	119	18	8	112
Fukuoka	23	5	27	6	114	29	6	123	27	5	116
Yokohama	25	4	28	4	115	31	4	127	30	4	120
Kawasaki	7	12	9	12	121	10	12	135	8	14	120
Kyoto	18	7	18	8	102	19	8	106	17	10	95
Kobe	18	8	20	7	112	20	7	113	19	7	108
Kitakyushu	12	11	13	11	103	13	11	106	12	11	98
Chiba ²⁾	–	–	–	–	–	9	13	–	9	13	–
Saitama ³⁾	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	12	–

Notes : 1) including Ku-areas (23 special-ward area) in Tokyo and 13 ordinance-designated cities

2) Chiba became the 12th ordinance-designated city in 1992.

3) Saitama was born by merger of Urawa, Omiya and Yono in 2001, and became the 13th ordinance-designated city in 2003.

4) Index number of each year assumed to be 100 in 1986

Source: Establishment and Enterprise Census

Table 4. Number of office workers in 14 major cities¹⁾ from 1986 to 2001

City	1986		1991			1996			2001		
	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Index ⁴⁾	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Index ⁴⁾	Number (Thousands)	Rank	Index ⁴⁾
Ku-Areas in Tokyo	3,550	1	4,149	1	117	4,308	1	121	4,177	1	118
Osaka	1,284	2	1,430	2	111	1,499	2	117	1,323	2	103
Nagoya	582	3	701	3	121	745	3	128	682	3	117
Sapporo	355	5	413	6	116	455	5	128	396	6	112
Sendai	220	10	270	9	122	283	9	129	270	8	123
Hiroshima	234	9	271	8	116	295	8	126	252	9	108
Fukuoka	337	6	414	5	123	454	6	135	415	5	123
Yokohama	402	4	488	4	122	549	4	137	529	4	132
Kawasaki	132	12	163	12	123	192	12	145	156	14	118
Kyoto	244	8	269	10	110	267	10	109	235	10	96
Kobe	275	7	304	7	110	336	7	122	273	7	99
Kitakyushu	190	11	187	11	98	196	11	103	166	13	87
Chiba ²⁾	–	–	–	–	–	178	13	–	172	12	–
Saitama ³⁾	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	175	11	–

Notes : 1) including Ku-areas (23 special-ward area) in Tokyo and 13 ordinance-designated cities

2) Chiba became the 12th ordinance-designated city in 1992.

3) Saitama was born by merger of Urawa, Omiya and Yono in 2001, and became the 13th ordinance-designated city in 2003.

4) Index number of each year assumed to be 100 in 1986

Source: Establishment and Enterprise Census

The change in the number of office workers shows a similar trend. The rate of decrease in workers in the second half of the 1990s is high in Kawasaki, Kitakyushu, Hiroshima, and Sapporo, as well as in the Kansai area. It is difficult to understand the reason for this. Only in Kawasaki located in the Tokyo metropolitan area, can it be thought that the office workers are moving to the city center of Tokyo by the unification and reorganization of the office establishments, because Kawasaki is only about 20km from the city center of Tokyo.

IV. Spatial changes in office location

The changes in the composition ratio that the number of office establishments and their workers in the Tokyo metropolitan area occupies relative to the whole country are shown in Table 5. The office establishment's composition ratio in the Tokyo metropolitan area relative to the whole country does not show a big change year on year. Moreover, the rate of increase in the number of office establishments was not very different from the national average, from 1986 to 2001.

On the other hand, the fluctuation of the office worker's composition ratio in the Tokyo

Table 5. Number of office establishments and their workers in the Tokyo metropolitan area (TMA)

(Unit: Thousands and percentages)

		1986		1991			1996			2001		
		Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio	Rate of Increase 1986 – 1991	Number	Ratio	Rate of Increase 1991 – 1996	Number	Ratio	Rate of Increase 1996 – 2001
Office establishments	TMA	340	27.5	381	28.0	12.0	408	27.5	7.3	400	27.6	-2.1
	Total in Japan	1,235	100.0	1,360	100.0	10.1	1,484	100.0	9.2	1,448	100.0	-2.5
Office workers	TMA	5,665	31.6	6,801	33.1	20.1	7,352	32.9	8.1	7,069	34.0	-3.9
	Total in Japan	17,909	100.0	20,517	100.0	14.6	22,369	100.0	9.0	20,816	100.0	-6.9

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

metropolitan area relative to the whole country in the same period is wider than that of the office establishment's composition ratio. In 2001, the office worker's composition ratio in the Tokyo metropolitan area relative to the whole country is 34.0% which is the highest share over the past 15 years. This suggests that a restructuring of the economic recession period was severer in local areas outside Tokyo from a macro-scale viewpoint.

Next, the author explains the spatial location change of office establishments and their workers in the Tokyo metropolitan area. Figure 2 shows the spatial change in office establishment's location from 1996 to 2001, the number of municipalities which saw an increase was 106, and number of municipalities which saw a decrease was 150⁵⁾. The municipality which increased the most in this period was Minato-ku in Tokyo (+1,529 places), and there were also remarkable increases in the downtown area such as Chiyoda-ku (+1,309), Kita-ku (+511), Chuo-ku (+496) and Sagami-hara in Kanagawa prefecture (+327). The municipality which decreased the most in the same period was Toshima-ku in Tokyo (-1,154 places), and, following this, Adachi-ku (-991), Naka-ku in Yokohama (-848), Shinagawa-ku in Tokyo (-727) and Shibuya-ku (-726). Consequently, in the second half of the 1990s, it is possible to state that there were specific districts which increased remarkably in office establishments and a lot of districts which decreased although they were mutually adjacent within the very narrow area of 20km range from the center of the Tokyo Metropolitan Area.

Figure 3 shows the spatial change in office workers from 1996 to 2001, municipalities which show an increase number 99, and municipalities which decrease number 160. The municipality which increased the most in this period is Urayasu in Chiba prefecture (+10,105 persons), followed

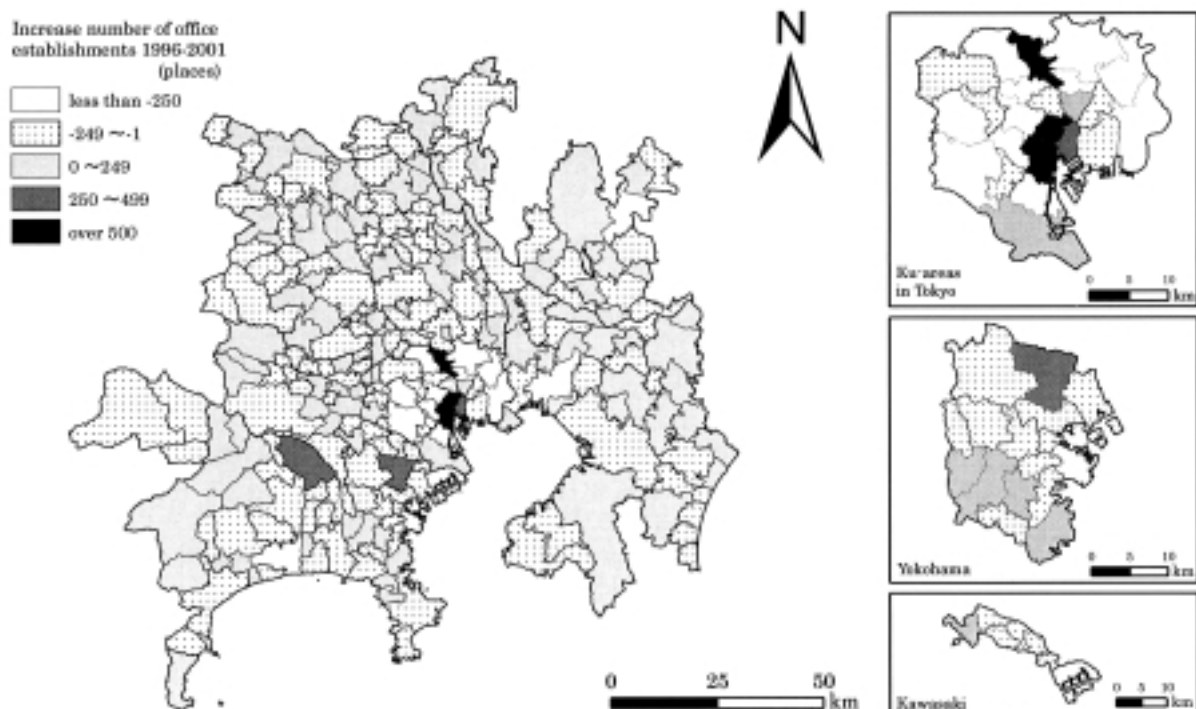


Figure2. Spatial location change of office establishments in the Tokyo metropolitan area(TMA) from 1996 to 2001.

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

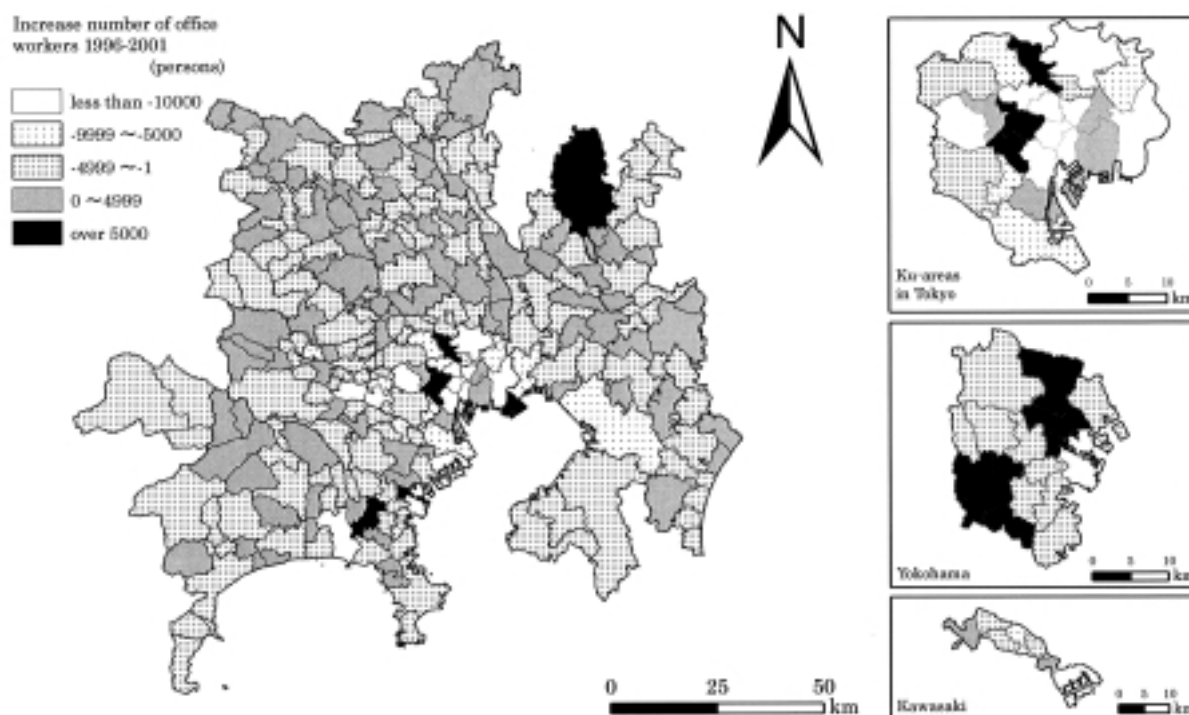


Figure 3. Spatial change of office workers in the Tokyo metropolitan area(TMA) from 1996 to 2001.

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

by Shibuya-ku in Tokyo (+8,764), Nishi-ku in Yokohama (+8,270), Kita-ku in Tokyo (+8,061) and Shinjuku-ku (+7,398). According to the study of Koga and Kawahara (2002), the increase of the fifth ranked municipality from 1991 to 1996 was over 25 thousands; therefore the range of increases has been reduced overall from 1996 to 2001. On the other hand, the municipality which decreased the most in the same period is Chiyoda-ku in Tokyo (-34,469 persons), followed by Kawasaki-ku in Kawasaki (-26,113), Naka-ku in Yokohama (-22,728), Toshima-ku in Tokyo (-16,003) and Chuo-ku in Tokyo (-15,039). In Chiyoda-ku and Chuo-ku, both of which are in the core of the Tokyo metropolitan area, the number of office establishments increases but the number of office workers decreases. This interesting phenomenon can be interpreted as implying the major firms are continuing to reduce workers, while new small firms of producer services are growing through spin-off from the major firms in this economic center.

In order to analyze the change in the specific gravity of the office establishments and their workers in the core of the central city in the Tokyo metropolitan area, Table 6 and Figure 4 were made. This regional classification draws upon Tomita (1996). It is possible to see the suburbanization of office location in this data.

It is difficult to inspect office location before 1986 because there is no micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census data, but it one might consider that office location after the 1970s experienced suburbanization through the diversification and enlargement of office businesses. This trend has continued into the first half of the 1990s; a different trend, however, was confirmed in the second half of the 1990s. That is to say, the ratio of office establishments and their workers in the central city and the core of the Tokyo metropolitan area are growing

Table 6. Ratio of office establishments and their workers in the Tokyo metropolitan area (TMA)
(Unit: Percentages)

	Ratio of office establishments				Ratio of office workers			
	1986	1991	1996	2001	1986	1991	1996	2001
Core ¹⁾ / Central city ²⁾	37.7	36.0	34.8	36.9	47.7	46.5	45.5	45.4
Core / TMA	21.4	19.4	18.1	19.3	29.9	28.4	26.6	26.8
Central city / TMA	56.8	54.0	52.0	52.3	62.7	61.0	58.4	58.9

Notes : 1) Core: Chiyoda-ku, Chuo-ku, and Minato-ku in Tokyo

2) Central city: Ku-areas in Tokyo

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

	office establishments			office workers			Change of ratio during each year (points)
	1986-1991	1991-1996	1996-2001	1986-1991	1991-1996	1996-2001	
Core ¹⁾ / Central city ²⁾	↘	↘	↗	↘	↘	=	↗ over 1.0
Core / TMA	↘	↘	↗	↘	↘	=	↘ 0.5 ~ 0.9
Central city / TMA	↘	↘	=	↘	↘	↗	= -0.4 ~ 0.4
							↘ -0.9 ~ -0.5
							↘ less than -1.0

Figure 4. Changing patterns in office location by each area in the Tokyo metropolitan area (TMA)

Notes: 1) Core: Chiyoda-ku, Chuo-ku, and Minato-ku in Tokyo

2) Central city: Ku-areas in Tokyo

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

slightly. Certainly, the author judges that office locations are experiencing suburbanization from the standpoint of the long-term (such as 10 or 20 years) period, but that office movement toward the city center is growing gradually from the standpoint of the short-term. The government established various laws and plans to control the excessive concentration of office functions in the core area in the 1980s and the 1990s. Yet, despite this, the author shows in Table 7 a decline of office location in suburban core cities in the second half of the 1990s.

Table 7. Changes in the number of office establishments and their workers in suburban core cities
(Unit: Places and persons)

Region	Suburban core city	O	OW	O	OW	O	OW
		1986-2001	1986-2001	1991-2001	1991-2001	1996-2001	1996-2001
Western part of TMA	Yokohama in Kanagawa	5,002	127,450	1,282	40,960	-1,705	-19,314
	Kawasaki in Kanagawa	1,425	24,050	-32	-6,487	-1,024	-35,928
	Atsugi in Kanagawa	693	22,696	-53	4,933	-35	-4,839
	Hachioji, Tachikawa and Tama in Tokyo	2,659	54,636	1,276	20,188	15	2,466
	Oume in Tokyo	327	4,864	244	1,824	58	8
	Machida in Tokyo and Sagami-hara in Kanagawa	2,525	31,690	956	8,504	299	-3,682
Northern part of TMA	Kawagoe in Saitama	250	5,679	124	4,268	-76	802
	Kumagaya in Saitama	211	1,635	187	-386	-26	-3,089
	Urawa and Omiya in Saitama	2,716	55,987	988	26,936	-144	-1,560
	Kasukabe and Koshigaya in Saitama	782	11,847	58	3,548	-113	-173
	Kashiwa in Chiba	675	9,440	89	816	-129	-2,171
Eastern part of TMA	Tsuchiura, Tsukuba and Ushiku in Ibaraki	1,447	24,911	683	14,937	-38	5,810
	Narita in Chiba	424	20,218	205	8,809	4	4,904
	Chiba in Chiba	1,457	50,497	416	21,501	-212	-6,843
	Kisarazu in Chiba	120	1,384	48	-784	-34	-1,683
	Total	20,713	446,984	6,471	149,567	-3,160	-65,292

Note: O: Increase in the number of offices, OW: Increase in the number of office workers

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

	1986 - 1991		1991 - 1996		1996 - 2001		
	O ¹⁾	OW ²⁾	O	OW	O	OW	
Central city ³⁾	+	⊕	+	+	-	-	+ increase
							+ + remarkable increase
Suburbs	⊕	+	++	++	⊖	⊖	- decrease
							- - remarkable decrease
TMA	++	++	++	++	-	--	
Classification type	Relative Decentralisation	Relative Centralisation	Relative Decentralisation	Relative Decentralisation	Relative Centralisation	Relative Centralisation	○ This mark points at large or small number when it compared central city and suburbs

Figure 5. Changing patterns in office location in the Tokyo metropolitan area (TMA).

Notes: 1) O: Increase in the number of offices

2) OW: Increase in the number of office workers

3) Central city: Ku-areas in Tokyo

Source: Micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Census

The author uses data for private establishments and enterprises in this paper. So this analysis misses the cases where a suburban core city has become the location for a lot of government offices such as Saitama Shintoshin (New City). Although suburban core cities were constructed in order to facilitate the relocation of office functions from the core of the Tokyo Metropolitan area, they have declined slightly in the second half of the 1990s.

V. Conclusion

The author has examined the location trends of office functions in the Tokyo metropolitan area from 1986 to 2001 in this paper. Since the 1960s, the number of office establishments and their workers has increased in Japan. But they experienced a decrease for the first time due to the economic recession in the second half of the 1990s. Using the concept of a cycle of urbanization proposed by Klassen *et al.* (1981) proposed, changes in office location in the Tokyo metropolitan area can be represented by the model shown in Figure 5. A relative decentralization – where the ratio of the central city decreased while office establishments and their workers in the entire metropolitan area increased – was observed from 1986 to 1996, including the bubble economy era. Additionally, in the second half of the 1990s, a relative concentration in the ratio of the central city to the entire metropolitan area – where the number of establishments and their workers in the same area decreased simultaneously – was observed.

After the 1990s, numerous tall and large office buildings are under construction in the core of Tokyo. Thus, a large amount of office space will be supplied from now onwards. If the current trend of office rents decreasing due to oversupply continues, a back-to-the-city-centre movement of the offices located in the suburban area will be increasingly expected.

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Notes

- 1) For details on recent deregulation in Japan, see Igarashi and Ogawa (2003).
- 2) For details on population recovery in Inner Tokyo, see Yabe (2003).
- 3) This census's first published year is in 1986.
- 4) Ratio of complete unemployment on July in 2001 has exceeded 5% for the first time since 1953, see Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications Statistics Bureau web address; <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/roudou/longtime/zuhyou/lt01-13.xls> .
- 5) There are 3 municipalities that no change.

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(本学文学部助教授)

Recent Changes in Office Location in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area

by

Shinji KOGA

The objective of this study is to clarify how office location in the Tokyo metropolitan area since the bubble economy era (1986–1991) has changed. The author defined the offices which are to be analyzed under the ‘Office and Sales Offices’ category that was defined by the Establishment and Enterprise Census. According to this Census, Office and Sales Offices are defined as follows: i) establishments generally called an ‘office’ in which office work such as personnel matters, accounting, and planning is performed, and ii) alternatively, establishments generally called a ‘sales office’ primarily for the conduct of sales activities, such as the sales divisions of manufacturing companies, sales divisions of insurance companies, and branches of banks. I used the micro-scale Establishment and Enterprise Censuses, which are not published in the general census.

The period from 1986 to 2001 will be the main focus of this paper, because of the enormous changes in the Japanese economy. As a result, the locational changes in offices during and after the bubble economy era can be adequately understood. In cases where the municipal boundary changed due to amalgamation after 1990, I rearranged all the numerical values of each year according to the numerical value of the municipality area in 1990.

Using the concept of a cycle of urbanization proposed by Klassen *et al.* (1981) proposed, changes in office location in the Tokyo metropolitan area can be represented by the model shown in Figure 5. A relative decentralization – where the ratio of the central city decreased while office establishments and their workers in the entire metropolitan area increased – was observed from 1986 to 1996, including the bubble economy era. Additionally, in the second half of the 1990s, a relative concentration in the ratio of the central city to the entire metropolitan area – where the number of establishments and their workers in the same area decreased simultaneously – was observed.

After the 1990s, a lot of tall and large office buildings are under construction in the core of Tokyo. Thus, a large amount of office space will be supplied from now onwards. If the current trend of office rents, as at present, continue by oversupply, a back-to-the-city-centre movement of the offices located in the suburban area will be increasingly expected.

東京大都市圏におけるオフィス立地の変容 1986～2001年の分析を中心に

古賀 慎二

本研究の目的は、バブル経済期以降の東京大都市圏におけるオフィス機能がどのように変化しているのかを明らかにすることである。分析の対象としたオフィスは、『事業所・企業統計調査』で、事業所の形態が「事務所・営業所」に分類されている民営の事業所とした。また、具体的な資料は、一般の『事業所・企業統計調査報告書』には収録されていない『町丁・大字別集計統計表』を利用した。

分析対象とした時期は、上記資料が整備されている1986～2001年である。これにより、バブル経済期およびバブル経済崩壊後のオフィスの立地変動を的確に把握することができる。なお、最近の日本では、市制施行、合区・分區、町村合併等によって市区町村域が変化している自治体が多く、この影響を排除するため、各年次の統計数値は1990年時点の市区町村域の数値にすべて組替えている。

クラッセンらが提示した都市発展段階説を援用して作成した第5図をみると、東京大都市圏においては、バブル経済期を含んだ1986～1996年では、大都市圏全体のオフィスや従業者数が増加する中で中心都市の比重が低下する相対的分散がみられた。しかし、1990年代後半期には、大都市圏全体の同数が減少する中で中心都市の比重が上昇する相対的集中が確認できた。

東京の都心部ではオフィスを大量に収容する超高層オフィスビルの立地が急速に進行している。現在のようにオフィススペースの供給過剰によるオフィス賃貸料上昇の抑制が継続すれば、郊外に立地しているオフィスの都心回帰が一層顕在化していくものと予想される。