Yokohama’s urban development in the post-war period

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Jul 9th, 2021

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Outline of the City of Yokohama

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<table>
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</table>
| Population (Oct. 2020)   | 3,778,318 | 2
| 2nd after Tokyo 23 ward  |       |                          |
| Area (Sq.km)             | 435.43 |                          |
| GDP (Billion USD) (2018) | 125.2  | 3rd after Tokyo and Osaka|

Source: City of Yokohama
Yokohama’s brief history until 1950s

Opened its port in 1858 and developed as a gateway of Japan to the world during Meiji Restoration

Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 heavily damaged City center

Air-raid during the WW2 and post-war occupation by US

Repeated ordeals and recovery several times

Source: City of Yokohama
Post-war occupation by US army & navy

Occupation was longer and larger than other Japanese Major Cities

Source: City of Yokohama
Population drastically grew in post-war period as a residential area of Greater-Tokyo.

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications
Yokohama’s major challenges in 1950s-1960s

**Suburban Area**
- Increased population
- Lack of housing (sprawl)
- Lack of roads & railway
- Lack of sewerage system
- Lack of schools....

**City Center**
- Lack of Business & workplace
- Traffic Jam
- Air & Water Pollution
- Mixture of residential and industrial area

Lack of Unity as a Single City

Seriously Sick City (Overweight, but weak bones and organs)

Source: City of Yokohama
Strategies to overcome these challenges

City Development Vision (1964)

A Cosmopolitan City and a Leading Cultural Center

Industrial City  Residential City  Port City

Six Major Projects (1965)

Bay Bridge  Highway Networks  City Center Development

Kanazawa Reclamation  Kohoku New Town  Subway

Unity  Attraction  Environment

Connectivity  Independence

Source: Akira Tamura “Building the City of Yokohama”
Project 1. Highway Networks

Mitigate inner-city traffic congestion and improve connectivity to Tokyo

*Highway Networks
Source: City of Yokohama
Project 2. Bay Bridge Construction

Alleviating traffic congestion in city center and aimed to build an icon of the Yokohama port

*Highway Networks
Source: marbee
Project 3. City Center Redevelopment

Build a new commercial & business hub where Yokohama citizen can work and enjoy

Yokohama Station Area (1950s-)
Minato-mirai Line
Minato-mirai Area (1980s-)
Kannai Area (1860s-)
*Former Shipyard

● Relocated shipyard (Mitsubishi)
Relocate factories from residential & industrial mixture area in city center (Issued Municipal Bonds in West Germany Mark to cover project cost)
Sustainable and planned residential area was developed to prevent urban sprawl (population: 220,000)
Project 6. Subway Development

*Railway Networks
Source: City of Yokohama

Connected suburbs and city center to enhance unity as a single city
*Before the construction of the highway, many trucks (from factories, port) had to run through the city center, which caused traffic congestion.*
• One of the major progressive local-government leaders*
  *Asukata was a Japan Socialist Party member
• Prefer direct democracy (10,000 citizens’ public meeting), but sometimes caused conflict with assembly members
• Welcomed various staffs from external organization (Akira Tamura, Masayasu Narumi, etc.)
• Focused on Infrastructure development, unlike other reformist local-government leaders
• Strong attitude toward the central government, big private companies

Source: Wikipedia, City of Yokohama
National & Local Government’s Relationship under 1955 system

Democratic Socialist Party (4%)
Komeito (6%)
Japanese Communist Party (8%)
Japan Socialist Party (24%)

National Diet
House of Representative Seats Ratio (i.e., Dec.1972)

Liberal Democratic Party (55%)
*Ruling Party

*1955 system (1955-1993)
One-and-half party system
Ruling LDP (one) and Opposition JSP (half)

Major progressive local gov’t leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo Governor</td>
<td>Ryokichi Minobe</td>
<td>1967-1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osaka Governor</td>
<td>Ryoichi Kuroda</td>
<td>1971-1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyoto Governor</td>
<td>Torazo Ninagawa</td>
<td>1950-1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yokohama Mayor</td>
<td>Ichio Asukata</td>
<td>1963-1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa Governor</td>
<td>Chobyo Yara</td>
<td>1972-1976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Central Government

- Ministry of Home Affairs
- Ministry of Construction
- Ministry of Transport

Conservative
Pro-US
Infrastructure, Economic Development

Progressive
Anti-US
Social Welfare

Conflict
(anti progressive leaders movement)

Control

Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of Construction
Ministry of Transport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministry of Construction</th>
<th>Ministry of Transport</th>
<th>Ministry of Education</th>
<th>Planning and Coordination Dept.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Gov’t</td>
<td>City Gov’t</td>
<td></td>
<td>After 1968</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Urban Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>River &amp; Sewerage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Road</td>
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<td>Park</td>
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<td>Railway</td>
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<td>Port</td>
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<tr>
<td>School</td>
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Comprehensive planning and control by Planning and Coordination Dept.

- Led by Tamura Akira, who was an external urban planner who made 6-major project plan
- Approximately 40 staffs gathered from various departments
- Consists of technical and clerical officials (Policy planning section and the urban planning section were divided)
- Emphasized overall optimization as a city (before the establishment of PCD, each bureau was only thinking of a good relationship with the respective central government ministry, not a city strategy)
- Also put emphasis on design, research
## Where did the budget come from?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highway Networks</td>
<td>• Bonds (82%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• National, Prefectural and City Budgets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Subsidies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay Bridge Construction</td>
<td>• Bonds (96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• National, Prefectural and City Budgets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Center Redevelopment</td>
<td>• Land Sale Profits (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• National, Prefectural and City Budgets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanazawa Reclamation</td>
<td>• Bonds (36%) *Part of them were German mark bonds</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Land Sale Profits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohoku New Town</td>
<td>• Land Sale Profits (96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subway Development</td>
<td>• Bonds (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Subsidies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- City was a producer and coordinator of these projects (not paid all money)
- Used budget of the national government (including public corporation) and private companies
- City could use general funds for other ordinary infrastructure development (schools, sewerage, roads, incineration plants, fire station, etc.)

Source: World Bank, City of Yokohama
Strong attitude toward the central government

Negotiated with the national government (Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Transportation) to change the decided route and construction method of the highway to save the scenery.

Source: Google, Apple
Challenges to overcome the limited authority as a local government

Tama Garden City 
(805x433)

Did Yokohama become an independent country? 
(a comment by central government)

Seaside Industrial Area

Housing Area Development Guideline (1968-)

• Instructed private real estate developers to transfer (free or discount price) part of the land to the city gov't, to enable the development of public infrastructure. Due to the rapid growth, public infrastructure cost had been a heavy burden for the city.
• The guideline was made based on the bilateral agreement with Tokyu Corporation, and then adopted to the entire city.

Pollution Control Agreement (1964-)

• Factories and power plants constructed alongside the sea were predicted to be a source of pollution.
• National law to prevent pollution was loose in those days.
• The city concluded the agreement with each pollutant company which imposes stronger regulation than the national law. (Yokohama method)

Local government in those days could not make the “ordinance” stronger than national laws

Source: World Bank, City of Yokohama
Leadership of Mayor Michikazu Saigo (Term: 1978-1990)

- Succeeded implementation of six-major projects
- Former permanent-vice minister of Minister of Home-Affairs (Bureaucrat)
- Supported by Liberal Democratic Party (ruling), Japan Socialist Party, Komeito, etc. *(Cooperative attitude to Council members)*
- Cooperative attitude to the central government
- Invited personnel and pulled out budget from national government (Takagi Fumio, the former permanent-vice minister of Minister of Finance, led the Minatomirai 21 development)
- Abolished PCD and merged with Finance Affairs Bureau

Source: City of Yokohama
## Characteristics of two leaders

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Career</strong></td>
<td>Lawyer, Diet Member</td>
<td>Bureaucrat (Ministry of Home Affairs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Background</strong></td>
<td>Japan Socialist Party</td>
<td>Independent (but supported by LDP, JSP, DSP, NLC, Komeito, SDG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship with City Council</strong></td>
<td>Aggressive (Preferred direct democracy)</td>
<td>Cooperative (But not subordinate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship with Central Gov't</strong></td>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External Professionals</strong></td>
<td>Masayasu Narumi Akira Tamura (Private Sector)</td>
<td>Fumio Takagi (Public Sector)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ideology</strong></td>
<td>Reformist, Strong Ideology, Anti-US</td>
<td>Conservative, Weak Ideology</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Reformists were active from the 1960s to the early 1970s, and there was an atmosphere in urban residents and city officials to support Asukata’s ideology.

Reflection and remaining challenges

- 6-major project has become the backbone of Yokohama’s urban infrastructure (Business & commercial hub, sightseeing spots, popular residential area)
- Asukata and Saigo’s different type of leadership contributed for implementing the projects
- Evaluated from various external organizations as an eco-friendly development
- Urban Infrastructures needs to be renovated (future heavy burden)
- Aging population and declining birthrate (limited tax revenue)
- Distance to Tokyo is a strength and a weakness for Yokohama
- Who will be the next leader? (Next Mayoral Election on August 22 under various controversial issues)