Tokyo’s Large-scale Urban Redevelopment Projects and their Processes

1. Introduction

There has been a growing trend in easing of various regulations and utilization of private resources since the 1980s, when the central government’s policy for urban renaissance was presented, which led to somewhat a boom of large-scale urban redevelopment projects, especially in the central Tokyo. And many of those started in the 1980s completed these days. Moreover, it can be expected that the central government’s urban renaissance policy (again) since 2002 will accelerate this trend.

The large-scale redevelopment projects are not only mere targets of the urban renaissance policies. Because these large-scale redevelopment projects can give a big impact on a fairly large area, naturally, they can become arenas of interests. In the project process, the stakeholders, like government, private developers, communities, manage to coordinate their interests and to form cooperation among them through various organizations, both formal and informal, though the formation of cooperation sometimes delays the project. Then, how did those large-scale redevelopment projects complete? How were their processes? How did the stakeholders coordinate their interests and form cooperation among them? As there is no recipe applicable to every project, the important is to learn from various projects.

In order to answer these questions, this paper focuses on the project processes of selected 12 large-scale urban redevelopment projects recently completed in the central Tokyo. The central theme of this paper is to find out the way of coordinating the stakeholders’ interests and forming cooperation among them, by reviewing documents and making interviews. The contents of this paper are as follows; Firstly, the eased government regulation since the 1980s, under the urban renaissance policy, and the following large-scale redevelopment projects are outlined (Chapter 2). Reviewing the large-scale urban redevelopment projects in the central Tokyo, several stories of the project process are introduced with reference to the stakeholders and their organizations (Chapter 3). The final chapter (Chapter 4) shows several findings from the 12 projects (1).

2. Two Urban Renaissance Policies

Many of the large-scale redevelopment projects recently completed were started in the 1980s under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone’s Urban Renaissance Policy. Again, in the 2000s, urban renaissance is an agenda in Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi’s Period, which might promote large-scale urban redevelopment projects again. This chapter briefly outlines
these two urban renaissance policy and the following large-scale urban redevelopment projects.

2.1 Urban Renaissance Policy under Nakasone

Due to Japan’s long economic depression after the oil crisis, Nakasone set an economic policy named “urban renaissance” in 1986 by utilizing private resources. Under this policy, among all, redevelopment projects initiated by the private sector were expected to revitalize Japan’s economy as well as to improve public facilities developed through the projects. Then the central government eased governmental regulations (2), sold state-owned or public-owned land, like Japan National Railways (JNR)’s land (3), and so on. And the local governments of 22 cities were obliged to prepare a basic policy for urban redevelopment in the city. So the following result was somewhat a boom of large-scale redevelopment projects, well supported by the easing of the regulations and the sale of the land. In the case of the central Tokyo, large-scale projects were proposed (Table-1). Because that was the time just after the completion of Ark Hills in 1986, mixed use redevelopment projects were proposed in particular (Ishihara (1986)).

However, the burst of the bubble economy at the beginning of the 1990s changed their condition; some projects completed, others were postponed or canceled.

2.2 Urban Renaissance in the 2000s

In the 2000s, urban renaissance became an agenda again. In 2001, in Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi’s period, Urban Renaissance Headquarters was established within his
cabinet in order to promote the 21st century projects for urban rebirth from environmental, disaster prevention and internationalization perspectives among others, as well as comprehensively and boldly advancing measures for urban rebirth, such as more effective land use (Table-2 shows three policy measures for urban renaissance). Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law then went into force in 2002, and, under this law, Priority Urban Development Areas were selected, covering 65 areas of 6,612ha all over Japan (Fig-1). In the areas, various incentives, like deregulation of urban planning \(^4\), financial support, are provided to encourage private investment. In Tokyo Metropolitan, 8 areas of 2,514ha were selected as Priority Urban Development Areas \(^5\), where large-scale redevelopment projects are planned or implemented (Urban Renaissance Headquarters, Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet).

1. Promoting “urban renaissance projects”
   Urban renaissance projects are promoted in cooperation among the related ministries, the local government and the private sector. 22 were appointed all over the country.

2. Encouraging private investment in urban development
   Urban development projects initiated by the private sector is supported through Priority Urban Development Areas, under Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law.

3. Promoting urban renaissance all over the country: From Wakkanai to Ishigaki
   Those projects in which the stakeholders like the local government, non-profit organizations (NPOs) “think by themselves and act by themselves” are supported.

| Table-2 Three policy measures for urban renaissance  
(Source: Urban Renaissance Headquarters) |

| Special area for urban renovation 16 areas 
Sapporo Senda Tokyo(2) Yokohama Nagoya (2) Osaka Sakai Moriguchi Kobe Fukutsu 
Authorization of the Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transport for financial support  
Koshin Coast Urban Renaissance Managed Area About 4,400ha 
Yokohama City Kawasaki City 3areas 269ha Sagamihara City Heights City Asagi City 3areas 66ha 
Kobe City Amagasaki City 4areas 367ha 
Okayama City 1area 47ha Hiroshima City Fukuyama City 2areas 86ha 
Fukuoka City Kitakyushu City 3areas 56ha 
Takamatsu City 1area 57ha | Sapporo city 3areas 103ha 
Sendai City 2areas 126ha 
Saitama City, Kawauchi City 2areas 111ha 
Tokyo Metropolitan 7areas 2,373ha 
Chiba City, Kashima City 4areas 189ha 
Shibukawa City 1area 56ha | 
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| | Fig-1 Priority Urban Development Areas  
(Source: Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet) |
3. Outline of the 12 Projects and their Project Processes

Supported by these two urban renaissance policies and the easing of the related regulations, there have been many urban redevelopment projects, particularly large-scale ones, in the central Tokyo. Only bird-eye views of Tokyo shows that the large-scale urban redevelopment projects changed the landscape of Tokyo (Fig-2).

The large-scale redevelopment projects are not only mere targets of the urban renaissance policies but arenas of interests of the stakeholders including government, private developers, communities. They manage to coordinate their interests and to form cooperation among them, which sometimes delays the project. When the project area is the central Tokyo, a politically, economically, socially central area, it is all the more.

Those projects in Table-3 shows how many stakeholders are involved in one project (Surprisingly, in the case of Roppongi Hills, over 400 land owners (mainly individual) involved in the project). And it is found that the number of the stakeholders in the project depends on the nature of the project. For example, the larger the project area is, the more the stakeholders are. In a project at a built up area (e.g. Roppongi Hills, Omotesando Hills, Ark Hills), the stakeholders are usually more than a project at a vacant lot (e.g. Tokyo Midtown, Shinagawa Station East, Yebisu Garden Place).

Also, the nature of the stakeholders varies from project to project. However, most of the recent redevelopment projects in the central Tokyo, including those in Table-3, are led by the private sectors, not government. Naturally, the role of the private sector, particularly private developers, and the role of the government should change to meet the condition of each project. Mainly because of this reason, in every 12 projects in Table-3, one or several special organization(s) are organized to coordinate the stakeholders’ interests and form cooperation among them, indeed. Some are formal organizations, others are informal (non-institutionalized) organizations. For example, in Category 1 Urban Redevelopment Project\(^{(6)}\), a formal organization by the stakeholders, named Urban Redevelopment Union, must be organized. Roppongi Hills, Harumi 1-chome and Ark Hills are the cases.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Key stakeholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ark Hills</td>
<td>Japan's first large-scale redevelopment project, aiming to reconstruct a densely populated area.</td>
<td>5.6ha</td>
<td>1967-1986</td>
<td>-Private developer (Mori Building) -Land owners (mainly individual residents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterfront Subcenter (PUDA)</td>
<td>Development of a landfill toward a Suncenter of Tokyo.</td>
<td>77ha</td>
<td>1980-(In process)</td>
<td>-Tokyo Metropolitan Government -Urban Renaissance Agency -Private companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harumi 1-chome</td>
<td>Reconstruction of public apartments. Characterized by the method &quot;One plan, Two implementations&quot;</td>
<td>12ha</td>
<td>1983-2001</td>
<td>-Housing and Urban Development Corporation -7 private companies -Apartment residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinagawa Station East</td>
<td>Incremental redevelopment of a vacant lot owned by JNR and its surroundings.</td>
<td>16ha</td>
<td>1984-2003</td>
<td>-Japan National Railways -Tokyo Metropolitan Government -Minato City Government -Private developers and companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennoz Isle</td>
<td>Benchmark of waterfront development.</td>
<td>20ha</td>
<td>1984-(In process)</td>
<td>-Land owners (mainly private companies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiodome Sio-Site</td>
<td>Two projects at one time; incremental redevelopment of a vacant lot owned by Japan National Railways and land readjustment.</td>
<td>31ha</td>
<td>1985-2007</td>
<td>-Tokyo Metropolitan Government -Private developers -Land owners (mainly private companies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yebisu Garden Place</td>
<td>Redevelopment of a vacant land of a factory</td>
<td>8.3ha</td>
<td>1986-1994</td>
<td>-Private companies (Sapporo Breweries and 6 others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roppongi Hills</td>
<td>Reconstruction of a densely populated area, involving over 400 stakeholders.</td>
<td>11.6ha</td>
<td>1986-2003</td>
<td>-Private developer (Mori Building), Private company (TV Asahi) -Land owners (mainly individual residents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otemachi, Marunouchi, Yurakucho (PUDA)</td>
<td>Incremental redevelopment for Japan's central business area, aiming to strengthen its world competitiveness.</td>
<td>111ha</td>
<td>1986-(In process)</td>
<td>-Tokyo Metropolitan Government -Chiyoda City Government -JR East -Land owners (mainly private companies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo Midtown (PUDA)</td>
<td>Redevelopment of a vacant lot owned by Defense Agency.</td>
<td>7.8ha</td>
<td>1988-2007</td>
<td>-Private developer (Mitsui Fudosan), 5 private companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akihabara (PUDA)</td>
<td>Redevelopment toward a center of IT industries, together with the opening of a new railway.</td>
<td>8.8ha</td>
<td>1992-(In process)</td>
<td>-Chiyoda City Government -Private developers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omotesando Hills</td>
<td>Redevelopment of a vacant lot of a public apartment.</td>
<td>1.2ha</td>
<td>1998-2006</td>
<td>-Private developer (Mori Building) -Apartment residents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: PUDA=Priority Urban Development Area (under Urban Renaissance Measurement Law)

Table-3 Outline of the selected 12 projects
Then, how did those large-scale redevelopment projects complete? How were their processes? How did the stakeholders coordinate their interests and form cooperation among them? The following part of this chapter introduces several stories of project processes.

3.1 Ark Hills and Roppongi Hills

Both Ark Hills (Fig-4) and Roppongi Hills (Fig-5) are projects aiming to reconstruct a densely populated area, led by one private developer, Mori Building. Because of their nature as such, there were a number of stakeholders, mainly individual land owners, which would make their cooperation more difficult.

Ark Hills

Ark Hills is the first large-scale redevelopment project in Japan. Because it was such a pioneer, there was much trouble in the project process.

Everything started when Mori Building purchased some land (approximately 1ha) in this area at the end of the 1970s in order to build a high-rise building. Tokyo Metropolitan Government, on the other hand, proposed a large-scale redevelopment project, not a mere building project, to Mori Building, because that was the time just after Urban Renewal Law was enacted (1968).

However, that was also the time of many campaigns against pollution all over Japan. Then, the residents disagreed the redevelopment Mori Building proposed. So Mori Building struggled to gain the agreement of the residents. Mori Building organized an informal council with some of the residents. Some of Mori Building’s employees lived in the area, some published a community paper, others explained their vision to the residents (7), and so on. They did almost everything they could do. With all this kind of activities, finally, in 1979, the last resident that disagreed with the project agreed. It was this time when they could start the project officially. Then the detail was discussed among Redevelopment Union members (8).

The construction was started in 1983 and completed in 1986, 19 years after Mori Building purchased the first lot of the land. However, it is criticized that most of the residents moved to other area before the project completed.

Anyway, they claim that this experience made them learned know-how of a redevelopment project, which led to Roppongi Hills.

Roppongi Hills

This project started when Tokyo Metropolitan Government declare Roppongi 6-chome Area as a Redevelopment Inducement Area (9) in 1986 and Minato City Government formulated the redevelopment basic plan for the area in 1987. Then TV Asahi and Mori Building informed the residents of the redevelopment.

The stakeholders, mainly the residents, were over 500, and so in order to arrange the interests of the stakeholders in this area, a council was set up (10), while Minato City
Government assigned this project as a Category 1 Urban Redevelopment Project after investigation. However, the agreement of 85% residents was below the level required by government, so they struggled to gain more agreement. Finally, in 1998, 94% of the residents reached the agreement, and the foundation of Roppongi 6-chome Area Redevelopment Union was approved by Tokyo Metropolitan Government (11).

The high percentage of their agreement made the right conversion finished smoother than estimated from the number of the residents. The construction started in 2000, only 2 years after the Union was founded, and completed in 2003. Unlike the case of Ark Hills, approximately 80% continued to live in the area after the project. It is a high percentage, compared to other redevelopment projects like this.

In this way, in both cases, most of the time was spent on the agreement among the residents, required by government, which shows the difficulty of coordination in this kind of project.

3.2 Shiodome Sio-Site

In this case, two projects were conducted at one time; incremental redevelopment of a vacant lot in the east and land readjustment in the west part.

Redevelopment of the East Part

This project started when Shiodome Station, a cargo station, finished its services, whereby a large vacant lot became available. It was the time when the utilization of those vacant lots, formally state-owned or public-owned land, was discussed at an economic ministers’ meeting in 1983, and so the utilization of former cargo stations was one of the agendas. After that, Japan National Railways set up a committee and started to discuss the utilization of the vacant lot after Shiodome Station.

From 1985, the utilization of this vacant lot was discussed among National Land Agency, Ministry of Transport and Ministry of Construction, too. Then they have coordination meetings with Japan National Railways Settlement Corporation (12). Then, in 1991, the outline of the redevelopment, such as landuse, public facilities, was presented and fixed by Tokyo Metropolitan Government.

In 1992, Land Readjustment Project and Special District Plan for Redevelopment were approved. Particularly, Land Readjustment Project was expected to be implemented as soon as possible, for the development of a new transit system, which was expected to serve World City Expo, scheduled in 1996, and the development of Toei Subway (run by Tokyo Metropolitan Government) and Loop Road No.2. Japanese National Railways Settlement Corporation, too, expected the sooner implementation to redeem their long-term debt by selling the vacant lot. So, from 1997, open competitive biddings for the land were held. Many of successful bidders were media companies and IT companies.
Redevelopment of the West Part

There used to be many small and medium carries in the west part, and they were going to lose their clients when Shiodome Station stopped its services. The landowners in the west part agreed with Land Readjustment Project for their future. Then Italian City Vision was proposed in the redevelopment vision because they have some connection with a trade association in Italy. Under this vision, Land Readjustment Project was conducted.

Coordination system between the Stakeholders and the Government

What is suggestive in this project is that the stakeholders organized a council “Sio-Site Town Management” for the fast and easy coordination with the government. Also, the members are from the east part and the west part. That is, though two projects seemed to be individually conducted, they have a coordination system. The council showed several proposals, such as urban design, public facilities, to the government. Now, after the completion, the council works for management of this area (both the east part and the west part).  

3.3 Harumi 1-chome

By the 1970s, there used to be a public apartment, a contribution center, a Chuo City ground and a water station in this area. And it was not effectively utilized, where the building-to-land ratio and floor area ratio (FAR) were lower than the standard. The project starts with such background.

In 1983, when Housing and Urban Development Corporation and seven private companies including Sumitomo Corporation (15) organized a council, “Harumi wo yokusuru kai (Council for the better Harumi)”, this project started. They prepared “Harumi Island Plan” proposing to upgrade the FAR from 500% to 700% along the main street, which became a base of Basic Plan for Toyosu-Harumi Redevelopment. In this sense, the outline of this project was already fixed by the council.

Another council was set up by Urban Development Corporation and seven private companies to coordinate their interests. And, in 1988, it was decided that the area was divided into the western part and the eastern part and individually implemented; the western part, development of mixed use, by Harumi 1-chome Urban Redevelopment Union and the eastern part, reconstruction of the public apartments, by Housing and Urban Development Corporation. They took a special implementation method called “One Plan, Two Implementations,” where the two projects were individually implemented under one plan. Then a basic agreement was made for their integral and comprehensive development.

The required procedures seemed to smoothly proceed, but in 1991 when the bubble economy burst, they had to revise the plan, cutting the cost by the revision of architectural design and urban design in the western part. In the eastern part, the reconstruction of the
apartments was implemented little by little, not at one time. It was fortunate, Ironically, that they could keep the land for the residents in the same area because of the time for the revision in the western part. Finishing the revision of the plan, the construction of the eastern part was, too, implemented, and whole the project was completed in 2001.

In this project, Urban Development Corporation’s participation in the council could make the project smoothly proceed by coordinating the interests of the stakeholders at the council meetings, despite the special implementation method.

3.4 Otemachi, Marunouchi, Yurakucho

The development history of this area started in 1890 when the central government sold the land around Marunouchi to the private sector. Since then, this area has been given the role of Japan’s leading business center, and now it will be redeveloped to strengthen its world competitiveness. The most important feature of this project process is the changing development direction, the cooperation between the land owners (mainly private companies) and the government, and then the implementation of incremental redevelopment.

Before the present redevelopment (the condition in the 1990s)

This time, under the policy of the nationally balanced development, it was claimed that the concentration in Tokyo and the concentration of business in the central area should be improved. Then, Tokyo Metropolitan Government set a policy for deconcentration of urban centers, whereby the development of this area was not much promoted. Indeed, some proposed to provide more business use with this area (e.g. Marunouchi Manhattan Plan), but they were criticized.

After the 1990s

After the bubble economy burst, emerging global urban competition and Japan’s declining international competitiveness was concerned. With this kind of concern, the redevelopment of this area became an agenda (18). Tokyo Metropolitan Government set a policy for providing various use as well as business use with this area. Chiyoda City Government, on the other hand, tried to recover the daytime population, which decreased 30 thousand at the end of the 1990s from 120 thousand in 1960. The government also planned to add residential use to this area. Towards the end of the 1990s, the redevelopment started in earnest. Tokyo Metropolitan Government promoted the rehabilitation of Tokyo Station, the upgrading of Gyoko Street (19). For promoting the redevelopment, Tokyo Metropolitan Government also stressed the cooperation between the government and the private sector. The central government promoted the redevelopment by selecting this area as a Priority Urban Redevelopment Area under Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law in 2002, at the first selection (Tokyo Station, Fig-3 Tokyo Station and Marunouchi)
Yurakucho Station and their surroundings)\(^{(20)}\),\(^{(21)}\).

The land owners in this area were aware of the necessity for cooperation, and so they organized an organization, Otamachi Marunouchi Yurakucho District Redevelopment Project Council\(^{(22)}\). After investigations, technical tours and so on, their awareness of cooperation was becoming bigger. Then, Otamachi Marunouchi Yurakucho District Machizukuri\(^{(23)}\) Basic Agreement was made among them, setting their redevelopment vision. And they claimed the importance of PPP (Public Private Partnership).

The direction of the government and that of the land owners were being matched in this way. Then, in 1996, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Chiyoda City Government, JR East and the Council organized Advisory Committee on Otemachi-Marunouchi-Yurakucho Area Development, and the discussion at the Committee was arranged into Machizukuri Guideline set in 2002\(^{(24)}\),\(^{(25)}\). The point in this discussion process is that the Council worked (and still works\(^{(26)}\)) as a coordinator between the government and the land owners. And the Committee members, particularly the government, have learned the technique of this kind of incremental redevelopment project from their experience.

### 3.5 Waterfront Subcenter

The development of the waterfront area has been discussed since Tokyo International Exhibition Center “Tokyo Big Sight”\(^{(27)}\) was planned at a landfill, present Waterfront Subcenter. Tokyo Metropolitan Long-term Vision in 1986 designated this landfill as the 7th subcenter of Tokyo Metropolitan\(^{(28)}\) and prepared a development plan in 1988. Then the project in this large area of approximately 440 ha, consisting of 4 areas (Daiba (77ha), Aomi (117ha), Ariake North (141ha), Ariake South (107ha)), started, aiming to be an international information center. In 1990, some of the area was sold to private developers. The project seemed to start well.

However, the burst of the bubble economy changed the condition a lot. Tokyo Metropolitan Government’s assumption that the land price would rise and the office demand would increase was not catch the condition any longer. Then a council was organized to revise, mainly downsize, the development plan of Waterfront Subcenter by deducing the planned population\(^{(29)}\) and so on. For the faster implementation, Tokyo Metropolitan Government founded a quasi-governmental corporation, under which government provide the formed land and private developers build the infrastructure in their area.

After that, as the condition is getting better than before, so much of Waterfront Subcenter is gradually being completed. However, a council, founded in 1997, doesn’t work well because of the different interests of the stakeholders located in this large area\(^{(30)}\).
4. Conclusion: Findings from the 12 Projects

The major findings from the 12 projects mentioned in this paper are as follows:

**Various stakeholders, various organizations**

It is natural, but stakeholders involved in the project vary from project to project. In number, Roppongi Hills held over 400 stakeholders. On the other hand, those projects at a vacant lot held a small number of stakeholders, limited to those owned or purchased the land. This difference can be seen in the west part and the east part of Shiodome Sio-Site. And the nature of the stakeholders varies from project to project, too.

And those various stakeholders organize various organizations. Some are formal organization like Urban Redevelopment Unions (e.g. Ark Hills, Roppongi Hills, Harumi 1-Chome), others are informal organization like a council. Generally, several organizations can be found in one project.

**Importance of organizations in coordination**

In the planning process, those organizations by stakeholders have an important role in coordinating their interests, for example, formulating the redevelopment plan, converting the right (in the case of Category 1 Urban Redevelopment Project), managing the area. In the case of Harumi 1-chome, their council “Harumi wo yokusuru kai” fix the outline of the project at the early stage.

Interesting is that this kind of organization, particularly an informal one, is strategically organized. In the case of Ark Hills; an informal organization was organized for agreement and a formal organization was organized for implementation. In the case of Waterfront Subcenter, Tokyo Metropolitan Government organized a quasi-governmental corporation for the faster implementation. In the case of Shiodome Sio-Site, interestingly, Sio-Site Town Management, which was organized for coordinating between the government and the stakeholders, now took another role in managing the area.

In redevelopment project initiated by the private sector, the relationship with government is important, which sometimes defines the regulatory framework, sometimes influences informal coordination. Some feel uncomfortable for informal coordination, but it can be positively accepted to have this kind of coordination between the developers that seek for their interest and the government that represents (should represent) the people’s opinion.

However, those laws/regulations related to redevelopment projects tend to support developers by saving time for governmental procedures. For example, Urban Renaissance Special Measure Law defines that the government have to judge the proposal by the developer within 6 month after it is submitted. Particularly, recent projects, such as Tokyo Midtown and Akihabara, took the advantage of this to save time for the governmental procedure. This kind of saving time make projects implemented faster, but it can follow that the government sometimes has difficulty in solving the problem the government assumed.
Influence of various socio-economic changes

The project processes much depend on their initial conditions such as land ownership and their development methods coordinated by the actors. As those redevelopment projects initiated by private developers usually aim to gain the benefit from sale or rent, their expected project processes are well discussed. However, in many cases, the expected processes cannot be made due to various reasons such as various socio-economic changes.

Among them, the bubble economy influences the projects most. In many cases, it resulted in the delay of the project. For example, in the case of Harumi 1-chome, as the bubble economy burst before its implementation, the plan of the commercial/business zone was discussed again to cut the cost and its implementation was made several years later than the residential zone that was implemented as scheduled. In the case of Waterfront Subcenter, its planned population was thought to be difficult to realize, and it was downsized. Also, its planned land lease scheme had to be revised into another scheme including sale.

The urban renaissance policy since 2002 will accelerate the trend in large-scale redevelopment projects in the central Tokyo. Some support this trend, others criticize. This kind of general discussion is beyond the theme of this paper, but when a large-scale redevelopment project is conducted, as mentioned above, it is true that there is no recipe applicable to every project. Then the important is to learn lessons from various projects, like the case of Mori Building’s Ark Hills and Roppongi Hills and the case of Otemachi, Marunouchi, Yurakucho.

NOTES

(1) Most of the contents is from our publication, Hiramoto (ed) (2005). All the photos from the publication, too.
(2) For example, floor area ratio (FAR) can be eased under a certain condition. Thanks to this easing, more high-rise buildings have been built (Igarashi et al (2003)).
(3) In 1987, Japan National Railways was privatized and divided into 6 companies covering every region. Among them is JR East that covers the eastern part of Japan including Tokyo.
(4) The eased regulations are 5 items such as floor area ratio, land use, building height, which can be decided by the private sector.
(5) Tokyo Station, Yurakucho Station and their surroundings (320ha), Shinbashi at Loop Road No.2, Akasaka, Roppongi (590ha), Akihabara, Kanda (160ha), Tokyo Waterfront Subcenter (1,010ha), Shinjuku Station and its surroundings (220ha), Shinjuku-Tomihisa at Loop Road No.4 (10ha), Osaki Station and its surroundings (60ha), Shibuya Station and its surroundings (60ha).
(6) Urban Redevelopment Law defines two categories of urban redevelopment projects. Category 1 Urban Redevelopment Project is the one conducted through the right conversion. Here, without any purchase of land and buildings in the area, only the right of land and buildings is converted after the project with some standard. In the case of Category 2 Urban Redevelopment Project, the land and buildings are purchased, which is conducted in a area required to redevelop very urgently. Of course, redevelopment projects can be conducted by mixing various methods other than urban redevelopment method in Urban Redevelopment Law.
(7) Mori Building showed at least four different visions to the residents to meet their interests.
(8) The Union was organized in 1982. The right conversion was fixed in 1983.
(9) Redevelopment Inducement Area, designated in Urban Redevelopment Policy under Urban Redevelopment Law, is an area where redevelopment should be induced through cooperation between the public sector and the private sector.
(10) Several councils were set up to meet the changing condition.
(11) Government didn’t like to approve the foundation of the Union without sufficient level of the agreement.
(12) Japan National Railways Settlement Corporation is a corporation aiming to the debt formally owned by Japan National Railways, and so on. It was set up after the revitalization of Japan National Railways.

(13) Imaging a northern Italian city, Reggio nell'Emilia, they designed an area characterized by Italian culture, coordinating their architectural design, developing an Italian park, and so on. To share this Italian City Vision with the land owners, they set up a non-profit organization “NPO Comune Shiodome.”

(14) Their basic idea of management is from BID (Business Improvement District) system in the U.S.A.

(15) Urban Renaissance Agency at present. An national agency mainly providing public houses.

(16) Sumitomo Corporation purchased much of the land.

(17) “Harumi 1-chome District Machizukuri Council”. It was a leading council for the project. Now, it became “Harumi Corporation” taking a role in the management. Harumi Corporation is funded by the member companies.

(18) National Land Agency presented “Ground Design for Tokyo City Center” showing that the city center, this area, should meet the emerging globalization.

(19) A 73-meter street from Tokyo Station straight to the Palace.

(20) From 2002, the selection was made 6 times all over the country.

(21) The rehabilitation of Tokyo Station is one of the major projects in this area.

(22) In 1998, the members were 59. In 2004, 80 members.

(23) Machizukuri is a Japanese bottom-up urban planning.

(24) In 1998 before this guideline was arranged, another guideline was arranged by the Committee.

(25) It was revised in 2005.

(26) Today, the Council has a role of town management, too. Regarding town management, one non-profit organization (NPO) was organized.

(27) It used to be located at another area (Harumi), and District Plan for Tokyo Bay Center, prepared by Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 1980, decided the relocation of the Center.

(28) Other subcenters are Shinjuku, Ikebukuro, Shibuya, Ueno-Asakusa, Kinshicho-Kameido and Osaki.

(29) At first, 110 thousand of working population and 60 thousand of residential population was planned (in 1989). However, after revision, it was downsized into 70 thousand of working and 42 thousand of residential (in 1997).

(30) Another reason is that many of the located are quasi-government offices and governmental bureaucratic tendency hampers their cooperation.

(31) It can be seen in the case of Yebisu Garden Place. The area was owned by a private company (Sapporo Breweries), which became a key stakeholder in the project. Another example is Tokyo Midtown, where 6 private companies purchased the vacant lot of Defence Agency, leading the project.

(32) Though the member varies, it is the case that the organization working for the redevelopment project continues to work for the management.

(33) In Japan, almost no decision related to urban planning requires approval by the local legislature, and therefore the government is supposed to represent the people's opinion.

REFERENCES

Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet (http://www.kantei.go.jp/)
Urban Renaissance Headquarters (http://www.toshisaisei.go.jp/)