

The note for the revival of planning and public management

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I wrote this paper when I had a chance to give a series of lectures, to the graduate students of Graduate School of Governance Studies, Meiji University from September 2019 to January 2020. The contents of the lectures consist of my thoughts based upon my experiences about my job and literature research including the planning and public management by local governments. I would like to mention hereby that all of opinion part in this paper belongs only to myself, not to the any organization which I have been working for.

1. The basic vision and plan of local government

I joined Tokyo Metropolitan Government (hereinafter “TMG”) in April 1983.¹⁾ Since then, I have luckily given the occasions to work for many sorts of job. We, the officials of TMG, are able to get chances to work at various types of workplaces if we hope. TMG provides service benefits, such as education, welfare, and medical care, while others include public work such as road construction, river embankment, park management, and housing. This is a feature unique to local governments that are responsible for comprehensive public policy.

In addition, local government’s programs and projects relatively need long term to accomplish. For example, urban infrastructure construction such as roads, rivers, and parks, which start with urban planning procedures. And it also requires a certain amount of time for design, negotiation and land acquisition. It is necessary for every official of local governments to proceed every project with that in mind. We are not allowed to throw it out on the way.

These facts make local government officials aware that they are required to make decisions based on the long-term business with bird’s-eye view to all administrative fields, in securing and allocating resources such as necessary funds and personnel. Just focusing on a specific field and determining the policy of administrative management, and/or focusing on budgeting work for a single fiscal year, lacks a unified policy for a wide range of long-term. Moreover, this unable local government officials to perform effective administrative activities. This is reason why comprehensive planning is required. It is not properly that it is a policy to please everybody.

In addition, in order to use dense space the most effective, comfortable and creative,

especially in big cities where people and companies are concentrated, it is necessary to clarify concretely the ideal way of using land and space in the future, the contents of urban facilities, and measures to realize them. And it is necessary to create a spatial plan for efficient use of finite land and urban space.

These are the main reason why local governments need various planning. Moreover, there are some opinions that planning is necessary to make more effective use of scientific development and technological progress to improve the accuracy of administrative activities. However, these are just administrative reasons. We should focus on much more important point than this perspective. Under the dual representation system of the mayor and the council, the role of planning is to present to the citizens through the council; the tangible image of the city in future, the policy to realize it, and the projects based upon the policy. And finally, it is important to feedback citizens' opinions and reflects them to next planning.

This is the basis of local autonomy in Japan, a democratic nation state. Therefore, the Local Autonomy Act used to require the municipalities to formulate a basic vision and to make a resolution of it by the council. In addition, as the reform of regional authority progressed, the "Act for partial amendment of the Local Autonomy Act" was promulgated on May 2, 2011, and the legal obligation to formulate the basic vision was abolished. However, many local governments still continue to formulate basic visions and implementation plans based on their own ordinances.

2. Criticisms to planning and public management

However, there have been historically criticisms from various points of view regarding the formulation of plans and administrative operations based thereon. I would take some examples.

2.1 Criticism by trust in the market economy and doubts about the planned economy

Firstly, I would like to introduce the most classical criticism, based on trust in the market economy and suspicion of plans that can control the economy. For example, Friedrich Hayek ²⁾ criticized the planners as follows; "The demands of the followers of planners are to centralize and control all economic activities according to a single plan, to serve the resources of society for a particular purpose. It means deciding how to consciously control in a defined way." He also voiced his trust to market economy as following: "If effective competition can be created, individual activities can be developed more than other ways, and also mutual adjustment can be made without arbitrary intervention or coercion of political power." ³⁾

2.2 Criticism to city planning (regulation)

Secondly, there is a criticism that urban planning causes inefficiency by hindering the functioning of the market economy, resulting in a violation of the richness of people's lives. For example, many people value positively that there are many used (second-handed) houses in the UK. However, this is because the regulation of new houses by the strict city planning (regulatory) legislation, and there are criticisms that it causes inequality and disparity in housing acquisition.⁴⁾

For instance, we should pay attention to the opinion like this; “The city planning law may look like a harmless bureaucracy to citizen, but not in reality. These regulations have raised houses prices by billions of dollars. Because of that, many people, who don’t have their houses yet, have to pay a lot of money to someone who already has one. If we want to make this society fairer and more equal, we should deregulate the city planning so that we can build more new houses.”⁵⁾

2.3 Criticism to planning in the age of uncertainty

Thirdly, in the age of uncertainties, criticisms occasionally come up that planning has no meaning, because the assumptions of the population and the economy are largely out of alignment. Therefore, if governments formulate any plans, it only leads to distrust of the people. Also, especially after major changes such as the bubble economy and its collapse, Lehman shock, and large-scale natural disasters, that it is difficult to incorporate these into a plan.⁶⁾

In the first place, “policy sciences” does not target the object like "clock hands moves when you wind a screw". Because it targets human actions (including thought and psychology), it is not always meant to enter *A* automatically resulting in *B*.⁷⁾ From the view of like this, there are criticisms that the meaning of the planning is diminishing in the age when people's sense of values is diversifying.

2.4 Criticism to planning in the field of administrative management

Fourthly, it has been pointed out that in the actual situation of administrative planning each field are prominent and the "planning jungle" state appears, which disturbs understanding planning and its integration, rather confusion over administrative management.⁸⁾ Furthermore, mainly from the financial sector, planning is criticized that it may impede agile fiscal management each year, or may narrow the scope of policy choices.

3. Review and change of planning and public management

After the process of the criticisms mentioned above, and in the process of privatization and decentralization, the administrative planning has been fundamentally reviewed, including abolition since the latter half of the 1980s. Afterward, the new tendency which advocated the necessity of planning arose again.

3.1 The change of planning and public management – The introduction of New Public Management, the abolishment and diversity of planning

Since the mid-1980s, there have been many cases of administrative management using different methods with abolishing planning, both in the national and local government. First of all, it is a part of "administrative evaluation", so-called NPM (New Public Management), implements evaluation and improvement of administrative management in public. According to Christopher Hood, the pioneer of NPM, "NPM features" are "measurable goals and targets as a measure of success as easy-to-understand benchmarks in order to index explicit criteria of performance. Moreover, it is "The compensation and the resource allocation linked to the performance are done by emphasizing the relation between the output and control, and its purpose is "The cost is reduced by dividing the business and making a public bid".⁹⁾

The privatization measures by Mayor Goldsmith of Indianapolis, Minnesota, was promoted between 1992 and 2002 by these movements. In addition, this includes the introduction of a designated manager system based on the amendment of the Local Autonomy Act in Japan in 2008 and PFI (Public Finance Initiative). In these reforms, the introduction of the competitive principle improved the quality of services for users and reduced costs.

Next, since the start of the Koizumi administration, a number of plans that had supported Japan's rapid economic growth after the war have been abolished. This has been carried out as an economic and financial reform, including "the Triangular Reform of Decentralization". For example, "Government Economic Plan", "Road Improvement 5-year Plan", "Housing Construction 5-year Plan", were abolished one after another.¹⁰⁾

In addition, there have been examples of "customizing" plans and plans for each local government, such as taking away from the system of "basic concept - long-term plan - implementation plan" recommended by the national government as a prototype, or setting a planning period according to the term of governors and mayors. For instance, there are examples of combining a three-tier system planning to a two-tier system planning, or compacting its content with only priority policies.¹¹⁾

3.2 The need for newly recognized initiatives and plans - reevaluation of visions and plans –

However, after these changes, the significance of the administrative planning was reviewed again, and the recognition that it was necessary began to spread. It may be called a reevaluation of the vision and the planning.

3.2.1 Limitation of alternative methods and the advent of new concepts and plans

In addition to the "administrative evaluation" in the flow of NPM described earlier of this report, there is a method of "simulation" in which we confirm the direction of the current policy, analyze the results of the future, and improve the policy to a better direction. In addition, there is another method like present a project-type plan such as redevelopment in designated as a specific regional district.

However, while these methods are excellent in concreteness and reality, there are aspects that cannot be used for comprehensiveness and "optimized solution" as a whole. In other words, NPM cannot completely replace the comprehensive plan and spatial plan.

In particular, since the optimized design of the entire city is not derived just by developing individual base development projects with growth pole strategy in each district, it has come to be thought again that long-term basic vision and comprehensive planning are necessary.

For example, in London, the abolition of GLC (Greater London Council) during the Thatcher Age has resulted in the administration proceeding without a wide-area plan. Therefore, many problems came up to be solved only by comprehensive administrative management. And as a result of liberalization, criticism increased that the occurrence of accidents and the deterioration of services were apparent as a result of liberalization. In 2000, the London Plan was formulated with the revival of the Greater London Authority (GLA), a wide-area municipality.¹²⁾

In Tokyo, the comprehensive planning did not attract attention under Governor Shintaro Ishihara. On the other hand, the "Orbital Megalopolis Structure", a wide-area vision of the Tokyo metropolitan area centered on the development of the Tricyclic Road, and the re-expansion of Haneda International Airport, played a role as the basis for the Tokyo Metropolitan Area initiative to create wealth that would drive Japan's prosperity. It should be noted that at this time, in order not only to make a plan but also to make use of it, it became established to cooperate with a wide-area local government, or to act concretely to amend the acts and secure financial resources in cooperation with members of the Diet elected in Tokyo and Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly.¹³⁾

After that, the formulation work of "Grand Design in the 2040s" began during the time of Governor Masuzoe, and was completed during the Governor Koike's time.¹⁴⁾ In terms of positioning as a basic vision for a wide area, measures based on a new perspective have been developed while based on the "Orbital Megalopolis Structure". In TMG, some of the projects presented in this project

have been concretely implemented.

3.2.2 Concept and plan from the viewpoint of infrastructure development for new growth

Behind the "emerging new visions and planning", government officials have become convinced that a planning to develop infrastructure is critical to further growth.

The source is concentrated in the slogan "from flow to stock" seen in the economic policies of the government. Especially in the 1990s, the idea of generating national wealth by developing social capital (infrastructure) and linking it to the richness of life has come to be emphasized from a policy point of view.¹⁵⁾ Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa, who has been in power since 1992, declared that he would promote the development of social capital, transportation, and telecommunications infrastructure related to daily life in order to connect the vitality of the economy to the richness of people's lives, and formulated the "Five-Year Plan for Making Japan Living Powers."¹⁶⁾

At the root of this policy was a change in the trend toward improving productivity from the supply side, and toward new economic policies aimed at accumulating national wealth based on this after the retreat of Keynesian public works investment as a demand-boosting in the recession period. With the arrival of a declining birthrate and an aging society in the near future, this idea of securing potential growth, bringing affluence, and realizing an efficient and fair economic society has been born.¹⁷⁾

In the 1990s, I analyzed potential growth of Tokyo.⁽¹⁸⁾ After analyzing, I finalized several conclusions as follows:

- (a) The development of infrastructure can bring growth to the urban economy through the elimination of congestion phenomena and technological progress to urban activities,
- (b) When the congestion phenomenon becomes excessive, in addition to infrastructure, measures such as guidance measures on the demand side may be effective,
- (c) In Tokyo, private capital investment is vigorous, so that it is easy to create an in-balance with infrastructure development that requires a relatively long period of time. It was occasionally pointed out that the renewal and maintenance are necessary because infrastructure is aging, deteriorating day by day.

In order to proceed renewing it effectively, basic visions and comprehensive plans are necessary.

As for the contribution of infrastructure development to growth, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism and local governments are now explaining it more specifically as a "stock effect" of infrastructure, and it is beginning to take hold widely. This is due to the improvement of the average speed by the construction of the city planning planned road, the relaxation

of the traffic jam, and the shortening of the travel time between cities by the improvement of the public transportation network.¹⁹⁾

3.2.3 Perspectives on growth through infrastructure development in the U.S.

Such a re-evaluation of the growth theory about the planning in Japan is probably greatly influenced by the experience in the United States.

In 1992, when Clinton-Gore run for the presidential election, in the status called the "devastation of the United States" due to aging infrastructure in the 1980s. After this presidential election, the U.S. government authorities adopted "stock-oriented" in earnest as the basic policy of the administration. I would quote as below:

In the 1980s, the investment gap between the United States and its global competitors widened, and the foundations of the United States became more and more vulnerable. In the past decade, Japan and Germany have invested 12 times more costs in roads, bridges, sewerage, information networks, and technologies that open up the future than in the United States. In 1996, the threat to overtake our manufacturing industry is visible. There is no doubt that America fell behind. Rebuild America and develop the world's best system of communications, transportation, and environmental protection in order to increase high-wage employment and smoothly transition a military defense-centric economy to a peaceful economy."²⁰⁾

Clinton-Gore advocated this policy with the establishing the fund and the new system of subsidy. Moreover, they appealed the necessity of planning for effective management. Finally, they won.

This basic principle has been taken over after the change of administration. For example, in December 2011, more than 110 Republican and Democratic House bipartisan members sent a letter to President Obama calling for aggressive investment and revision of the plan. In the letter, they wrote, "In order to address urgent economic, transportation, and public safety challenges, we are convinced that the United States needs to revise again its transportation infrastructure development plan, which has been sufficiently funded for six years. Short-term extension of financial measures will fail the meaningful big scale transportation projects, which need several years to attain planning, approval, and implementation. Only the traditional framework of the six-year plan will allow the Federal Department of Transportation to prepare meaningful infrastructure."²¹⁾ With the exception of a large-

scale recession like the Lehman shock, the U.S. has been looking for growth and development through infrastructure development.²²⁾

3.2.4 Comprehensive plan for regional revitalization from the Lehman shock and other areas

And, we can find several cases which the Lehman shock led the governments to the formulation of the plan. Due to the world-wide crash, number of foreclosure land and houses amounted enormous in the United States. Because of this event, many of these properties were sold dirt cheap. Nobody could manage them in the market, and the number of vacant lots and houses increased. Especially in the "Rust Belt" zone the Great Lakes, where many companies in the steel industry and automobile industry used to be located, such a situation worsened in the city where the employee lived, and the population decreased sharply and the population was threatened with decline. If this is left untreated, such cities have formulated a comprehensive plan aimed at converting land use based on new zoning, securing employment, and strengthening communities, with support from HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development), and established a land banks for the disposal of vacant houses and vacant lands.²³⁾ About land use, those cities reduced the residential area and converted it to green space. They also bought vacant lands together to attract the facilities of universities. These attempts are spreading across the U.S. It is an attempt to repair "market failure" through public involvement, and plans are also used.

In Japan, the declining of the vitality of the region due to the increase in vacant lands and houses is regarded as a big problem, and in 2014, various projects were started by investigating the actual situation and formulating a plan for measures against vacant houses based on the "Act on Special Measures concerning The Promotion of Measures for Vacant Houses." We started our work in Tokyo from a fairly early stage.²⁴⁾

3.2.5 Visions and plans for the promotion of disaster prevention measures

In Japan, public works budget began to be drastically reduced under the Koizumi administration since 2001, and accelerated at once after the establishment of DPJ administration.²⁵⁾ The DPJ's slogan "From concrete to people" was proliferated, and DPJ completely seemed to abolish the idea of accumulating national wealth and giving it back to the people by developing infrastructure such as an international airport with a highway network and hub function, dams and seawalls for comprehensive water control measures. In particular, with the cancellation of the construction of the *Yamba Dam*, the minister Mr. Maehara suddenly announced at the inauguration press conference

without any explanations to local governments, landowners, and other relevant parties. He was also criticized for the declaration reduction in public works budget through three years forward without any consensus. ²⁶⁾

Subsequently, through the natural disasters such as the Great East Japan Earthquake and flood damage that continued throughout in Japan, the importance of measures against the *Capital Earthquake* and the *Nankai-Trough Earthquake* were recognized, and it was legislated as the Basic Act for National Resilience. And based on this act, the national government formulated the resilience plan. And to a certain extent, exert its influence of organization on the budget. ²⁷⁾

4. The conceptual power for planning

As we made a general survey, the vision and plan of the administration have received various criticisms, and the necessity of planning has begun to be recognized again despite the re-examination. However, in order to be more helpful as a "tool" for the administrative management of local governments, it is necessary to create something backed not only as a form but also by conceptual power. I think that the conceptual power is strong willingness to change greatly the current situation and bring it closer to the ideal form. Here, I would like to show my own thoughts on measures to create a planning administration with such power.

4.1 What does put a vision into effect?

"Vision" and "Plan" of the governments may be occasionally criticized as "just summarizing policies in paper with stapler", "index of business of each department", or "catalog of programs". These critical opinions depend on the view point as follows:

- (1) Their contents are not well developed
- (2) There is no sense of unity, little appeal
- (3) This is either due to lack of conceptual power or not expressed

Then, what is necessary for planning to be backed by conceptual power?

The first is a clear message from the top leader. It may not be long; however, it must be to set the theme to clarify the intention of the best policy for an unspecified number of people. However, it does not mean that the theme consists only of the personal idea of the top leader. It is necessary to take in as many people's thoughts as possible from the early stage and reflect them in that theme. Therefore, the establishment of advisory committees and hearings from municipal governments and companies are also utilized.

The second is the ability to develop widely with clear thought of the top leader as the core. There is no meaning in just repeating this core concept. The problem is that the vision and the plan of the administration are not enough if it stays in the abstract one. It is important to compose the policies of all major administrative fields as one context. This is the most important point, not just "lining up". In order to succeed in this work, the passion and ability of the supporting staff are required.

Third, the clarification of the problems after correctly grasping the current and future situation is necessary. A problem means a matter to be solved, not just a status. Therefore, although there are differences according to the level of public policy, it must be shown with the means to solve it. At this stage, since concrete projects becomes the main element, it is necessary to finish it as a content with reality. And the central tasks of these process should be carried out by practical staffs.

Based on the above three points, I introduce three examples from the vision and plan from a series of a number of Tokyo Metropolitan Government's visions and plans.²⁸⁾ As the great man says, it is also useful to look back on the past in order to see the future.²⁹⁾

4.2 Tokyo's first "long-term plan" with a clear message to bring Tokyo to an international city

Mr. Ryutaro Azuma, the second Governor of Tokyo after WW II, was originally a doctor specializing in sports medicine. Although he was not well related to the administrative matter, he was elected to the Governor for having a clean image. At last, he appeared with expectations for the success of the Tokyo Olympics 1964.

However, at the occasion of inaugurating Governor of Tokyo, he had made a strong resolution to fulfill his responsibilities for the development of a big city, Tokyo.³⁰⁾ In the statement at the first regular meeting of the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly in 1960, he made a remark, "I believe that building a modern city, improvement and stabilization of the quality of lives of Tokyo residents are critically necessary to solve these urban problems as a result of this excessive concentration of population and industry that is not seen in other cities. I am convinced that it is the most important mission for us, and I will welcome the Olympic Games to Tokyo in four years. It is my strong wish to develop My Tokyo as a modern city of international standards in both name and reality, by then." Based on this idea, three years later, in 1963, the TMG formulated its first long-term plan.

The long-term plan in first describes the significance of the TMG formulating its own plan; "The role of the TMG is to contribute not only to the improvement of the lives Tokyo residents and economies, but also the contribution to the prosperity of Japan. Tokyo is a place of urban life, and active economy is being conducted. But the adverse effects of overcrowding, insufficient public facilities, and excessive growth have appeared. Although various measures have been taken, there is

still a lack of a comprehensive plan on a national scale, and the future prospects are not available, causing difficulties in the management of the TMG. In order to solve this problem, it is necessary for the TMG to formulate a development plan in the Tokyo metropolitan area in order to match the Tokyo metropolitan area consolidate plan by national government.”

Based on this "significance", TMG set the following five tasks. That is, "1. Inspection and relocation of overgrown population and industry", "2. Renewal of cities and redevelopment of urban communities", "3. Investment in living environment and public facilities", "4. Industrial facilities modernized to high standards", and "5. Promotion of social security and education".

On the other hand, Tokyo metropolitan area consolidate plan by the national government set the function allotment in the entire metropolitan area. TMG positioned the projects concerning the infrastructure construction such as the road, the transportation facilities, and the urban area in the 10-year plan in accordance with according to this plan by national government. TMG also positioned the improvement of the housing lot development, the school, and the welfare facilities corresponding to the population growth was positioned in this first long-term plan.

TMG calculated the project expense required for these projects, and clearly showed the financial resources to cover it.³¹⁾ In this way, the long-term plan of the Governor Azuma administration was to respond to the concentration of population and enterprises in Tokyo due to social trends, to build modern cities to stabilize and improve the lives of Tokyo residents, and to contribute to the development of Japan as a city suitable for international standards.

4.3 "My Town Tokyo Vision" which tried to find identity in overcrowded dispersion and proximity to work and housing

Mr. Shunichi Suzuki inaugurated the Governor of Tokyo in 1979, who was born and raised in the Tama area of Tokyo. He joined the Home Ministry in 1933, and got involved in the enactment of a series of postwar autonomy acts, as said to be the "the father of the Local Autonomy Act." During the Azuma administration, he supported the TMG as a vice governor. Immediately after taking office as Governor of Tokyo, he undertook fiscal reform, and two months later, he expressed his willingness to formulate a basic vision and a long-term plan as early as possible at the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly. He set up the "My Town Vision Roundtable" in 1979. Responding to the proposal by this meeting, TMG formulated the "Tokyo Long-Term Plan" at the end of 1982.

In this long-term plan, Governor Suzuki said, "At first I would remark about my plan to create Tokyo that can be called My Town. The basic idea of the My Town Tokyo Initiative is to foster Tokyo, where Tokyo residents can live with peace of mind, and Tokyo, which can be called the

hometown, for both longtime and newly residents. In addition to balancing the two ways of enhancing the Tokyo's urban vitality and improving communities as the place of daily life, it is very vision called "My Town Tokyo", coupled with the enhancement of the welfare of Tokyo rooted in the residents' solidarity. I would like to establish at once "My Town Vision Roundtable" that gather up the wisdom of each field and begin consideration of the My Town Tokyo Initiative." Here we can read his fundamental intentions as the Governor of Tokyo Metropolis born and raised in Tokyo.

Following this Governor's remark, TMG had presented policies of maintaining and developing economic vitality and realizing multi-core urban structures, including the realization of a vibrant aging society and responses to the diversification of values in this plan. TMG incorporate several policies in this plan to alleviate the extreme concentration of business functions in the central Tokyo by dispersing it to seven sub-centers such as Shinjuku and Ikebukuro, expanding roads and public transportation in the east-west, north-south, and circular directions. TMG also showed the concept to achieve the proximity to work and housing by attempting to live in the city center, bringing the comfortable life of each Tokyo resident and leading to the richness of life in every neighborhood.

Furthermore, in this plan, TMG set specific projects to realize "My Town Tokyo" by understandable slogan "a town where you can live with peace of mind, a town where you can live lively, and a town that can be called a hometown".³²⁾

4.4 "Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo" was developed from "Living City Tokyo" and "Understandable Tokyo Metropolitan Administration"

In 1995, when Governor Suzuki expired his four terms of 16 years, Governor Yukio Aoshima who made a meteoric rise afterwards. He is well known to be born and raised in the downtown of Nihonbashi, and a broadcast writer. He was occasionally described as "a person who added the humanity of the downtown and the intellectual of the uptown, and split it by two".³³⁾

His pledges were just "Open Tokyo politics" and "Cancellation of the city expo". However, just this pledge alone could never steer the wide-range and complex Tokyo Metropolitan administration. A major policy of running the TMG was immediately required.³⁴⁾

Mr. Aoshima was elected with the support of the "nonpartisan" citizen, so that he had neither particular political party support, nor so-called "brains" that used to support Mr. Shunichi Suzuki (or Mr. Shintaro Ishihara). Therefore, it can be said that the distance with the staff was inevitably close from the beginning. In late June after election, we TMG staff began the process of formulating a new comprehensive plan, and five months later in November, TMG launched that plan.

Tokyo Plan 95 - Aiming for Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo" was born. It is a plan that the Governor and the staff finalized together in a period of only five months.

This plan was based on a three-year implementation plan, and along with that, it may be said that it also played a role as a basic vision, such as revamping the policy of Tokyo Metropolitan administration management, and shortening the distance between residents and TMG. The central concept was "Aiming for Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo" in the subtitle.

The "Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo" is described in this plan as follows:

"In order to realize a rich, comfortable, and high-quality life, we will revitalize the economy, change the city, and enhance the vitality of Tokyo - in this way, we will aim to create a 'Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo'."³⁵⁾

In this plan, there are no superficial words. In order to realize a high-quality life of Tokyo residents, TMG clearly showed the logic of boosting vitality through economy and urban activities. And, the contents imaged as the life of the Tokyo metropolitan people is not only a basic life but also a huge variety of contents as it of a "Tokyo Resident". The 252 projects to actualize these images ~~this~~ are shown after clarifying projects expenses, financial resources, and each region's vision. And these factors are built in this plan in accordance with the policies of "protecting lives", "supporting lives", and "enriching lives". In addition, disaster prevention measures and aging measures were compiled separately as urgent issues at that time. So far, because this plan has several characteristic points, it can be said to be an ambitious plan.

The only thing about urban structure inherits Suzuki Administration's "multi-core urban structure", but in the "Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo Basic Vision" formulated following this plan, the new urban structure focusing on urban redevelopment and wide-area circular roads and international airport functions will be presented. I would take a consideration in this respect also gives in to another opportunity.

4.5 The evaluation three visions and plans

As described above, I have outlined the visions and plans of the three Governors of Tokyo: Azuma, Suzuki, and Aoshima.

Although the situations around all three Governors are different like high economic growth, stable growth, and post-bubble period, they all had clear willingness to develop urban infrastructure, promote industry, prepare education and welfare services, actualize the richness of the lives of Tokyo residents, and build a world-class city Tokyo. And they developed specific policies,

and based on these policies, they also presented measures to clarify and solve problems. All of these visions and plans backed by conceptual power.

5. To next stage of planning and public management

There are many opinions among national government bureaucrats, especially technical bureaucrats of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism. They occasionally point out, the delay in infrastructure development in Japan. In particular, they note that it is necessary to develop social capital with the aim of improving productivity and strengthening disaster prevention functions as described in "3.2.3" or "3.2.5".³⁶⁾

It is important that they also advocate the necessity of a medium- to long-term plan to set goals and promote efficient resource allocation and improvement.³⁷⁾

Here we can see the concern for the future of Japan beyond simple economic reason. It is said that a plan backed by "conceptual power" is required. When the national government bureaucrat forms the policy, the discussion "brain teaser" is sincerely continued. What about local governments and our TMG? I myself am blessed with superiors, colleagues, and staff. And I think I continue to put myself in a relatively good condition. However, from the viewpoint of the ideal way of urban space to raise quality of people's lives in this irreplaceable city Tokyo, the sophistication of urban functions to support it, and to bring about sustainable development, it is better to continue discussions based on active opinions, actively make proposals, and make use of them in policies.

Based on the current social situation, people's lifestyle will change greatly in the future, and so will be the urban structure. In particular, we must carefully focus on the elderly single-personalization of households and the effects of infectious diseases as major factors of social change.

Tokyo is a big city that has been a driving force for Japan's development through accumulation, through the use of dense spaces to create high added value. We should continue to consider and discuss what we should do to maintain the fundamentals.

For example, the number of people under conditions difficult to move due to the aging increases, and the life of single household's progresses. For infectious disease control, the importance of social distancing become so common. In this trend, as many business persons tend to keep from face-to-face meeting and transaction, the necessity of urban facilities and transportation with mobility. Therefore, the importance of securing communication means increases. In addition, it is recognized as a major issue to maintain economic activities and employment, secure educational opportunities, and enhance them. It is necessary to develop a vision and measures on these presumptions.

In order to maintain and enhance the productivity of cities, it will be necessary to develop a communication network using 5G as a standard, and at the same time, to improve auxiliary streets to enhance mobility in every district of cities. It is also expected that there will be an increase in the demand for small, familiar satellite offices in school districts that can avoid the risk of infection due to compactness, or for space that can be free to move, such as trailer houses.

In terms of living, people focus on new support, especially in urban areas, where "shopping refugees" are increasing due to aging populations and the extinction of local shops. The number of single elderly people who continue to live in old communal housing where barrier-free functions are not met is increasing. In order to support, outreach, that is, measures called "Reach Out", is required. The demand for traveling services and mobile sales of medical care and welfare is increasing.³⁸⁾

The TMG is required to form infrastructure and urban spaces to support new lives of Tokyo residents and corporate activities. Also, TMG has to provide Tokyo residents with a combination of high-quality welfare and living services by the private sector, or to improve and support the environment of private-sector businesses. Probably this trend will be stronger in the future.³⁹⁾

In addition, it is becoming increasingly important to promote comprehensive flood control measures such as the development of flood control reservoir and bank protection to prepare for urban flood damage, which have become particularly prominent in recent years.

And Tokyo needs to advance landslide disaster countermeasures, to create evacuation sites in the event of a direct earthquake, to create large-scale parks that are disaster prevention bases, and to secure space for the construction of emergency temporary housing.

In order to respond to these various problems, it is considered that the vision and the plan of the administration based on the new idea become more necessary. Local governments should formulate visions and plans that integrate 360-degree fields by holding out the future image of cities and the communities that will be around them, rather than visions and plans just for each field. And it is required to include content that is more time-conscious. I have already mentioned that focusing on only one field lacks uniformity and efficiency.

After the period of high growth and stable growth, after the bubble, and through changes in the vision and plan in response to changes in the socio-economic situation after the Great East Japan Earthquake, we are now standing in the new age again. I would strongly make myself aware of this thought and keep my effort for all kinds of work.

(Finalized in July 2020, Translated in June 2021)

Notes

- 1) It is common to call finding employment at a government office a "joining agency", but in the case of a Tokyo Metropolitan Government office, it is called "joining Tokyo Metropolis".
- 2) Hayek (2006)
- 3) However, it is said that the economic plan under the free economy like Postwar Japan is a guideline of the economic management centering on the market principle of the private sector subject, and it is different from the plan under the plan economy under the controlled economy of the former socialist country that Hayek had in mind and the wartime. (Miyazaki, Honzyou, and Taya 2013)
- 4) Overseas Urban and Revitalization of Province Info (2018)
- 5) The Financial Times (2014)
- 6) Yamazaki (2003)
- 7) Yakushiji (1989)
- 8) Kim, Iida (2003)
- 9) Hood, Christopher (1995)
- 10) After the government economic plan was abolished, the guidelines for the economic and fiscal management of the government called "basic policy" came to be shown, and after the five-year plan of housing construction was abolished, the "Basic Plan for Living life" for housing policy in general was further formulated with the enactment of the Basic Law on Housing Life, and the shape and content have been changed according to the changes of the times.
- 11) Otsuka (2017)
- 12) Greater London Authority (2004), The Study Group of "London Plan" & Aoyama (2005). In the foreword of this Plan, Mayor Livingstone wrote that "my thoughts on the future of London" were the result of environmental deterioration and delays in urban infrastructure as a result of the demolition and absence of the City of Greater London and the lack of a comprehensive vision preventing integrated administrative management.
- 13) Aoyama (2004), Aoyama (2020)
- 14) The Bureau of Urban Development, Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2019)
- 15) Miyazaki Isamu, who worked for the Economic Planning Agency for many years and was finally involved in the formulation of many governments' economic plans as Secretary, emphasized economic growth and the richness of people's lives. (Yomiuri 2016)
- 16) In his policy speech to the 123rd Session of the Diet, Kiichi Miyazawa, who has advanced the formulation of the "Five-Year Plan for Living Powers," said, "The 21st century will welcome a

full-fledged aging society.

- 17) Takenaka and Ishikawa (1991) pointed out the role of the new government in "social capital is important in the United States and reflected in economic policy" as "social capital improves services, improves the utility of people, and contributes to the improvement of production efficiency in the economy as a whole through external economic effects as public goods".
- 18) Imamura (1996)
- 19) "What is the effect of Infrastructure Stock?"
<https://www.mlit.go.jp/sogoseisaku/region/stock/stockeffect.html>
- 20) Clinton & Gore (1993)
- 21) Steinhauer (2011), Krugman (2012)
- 22) Chart 1
- 23) Maene, Shimizu, Nakayama (2010), Shimizu, Nakayama(2015), Taira, Nishiura, Yoshikawa (2015).
- 24) Imamura (2018), https://www.juutakuseisaku.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/akiya/kushichoson_taisaku.html
- 25) The DPJ's campaign promise "manifesto", issued on August 18, 2009, clearly stated that 1.3 trillion yen out of the 7.9 trillion yen in public works budget for FISCAL 2009 would be reduced by FISCAL 2013, and that the Yabba Dam would be canceled and large-scale direct control projects would be reviewed. <https://www.dpj.or.jp/manifesto/manifesto2009>
By the way, when the author met with a member of the Diet of a certain ruling party at that time to explain the project of the urban infrastructure improvement of Tokyo before, it is said, "It is natural that the public works expense is reduced", and there is a memory which was embarrassed.
- 26) For example, the Gunma prefecture official website "Movements of Governors of Gunma Prefecture and downstream prefectures during the Democratic Party of Japan administration", <https://www.pref.gunma.jp/06/h5210015.html>
- 27) "The Basic Act on National Resilience, which contributes to disaster prevention and mitigation, etc., in order to realize a strong and flexible people's life" (2013). The Basic Plan for National Resilience is formulated in accordance with Article 10, Paragraph 1 of this Act. In this plan, the program to be focused on is established and promoted with emphasis.
https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/seisaku/kokudo_kyoujinka/
- 28) Chart 2
- 29) "The farther backward you can look, the farther forward you are likely to see." By Sir Winston Churchill
- 30) In May 1959, shortly after taking office, he told executives at the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office, Mr. Azuma declared as follows: "Azuma firstly talked about the 'Tokyo

Great Remodeling Plan', which is his own opinion, 'It is important to host the Olympics and make this a success.', but I think it is urgent to not only host the Olympics and make Tokyo a modern city. It wouldn't be possible without a big project like the Olympics.”–

- 31) Chart3
- 32) Chart 4-1, 4-2
- 33) The study group of local government planning (1996)
- 34) Aoyama (2020)
- 35) Chart 5-1, 5-2
- 36) Ohishi (2012)
- 37) The study group of renewal of infrastructure (2019)
- 38) Imamura (2020)
- 39) Chart 6

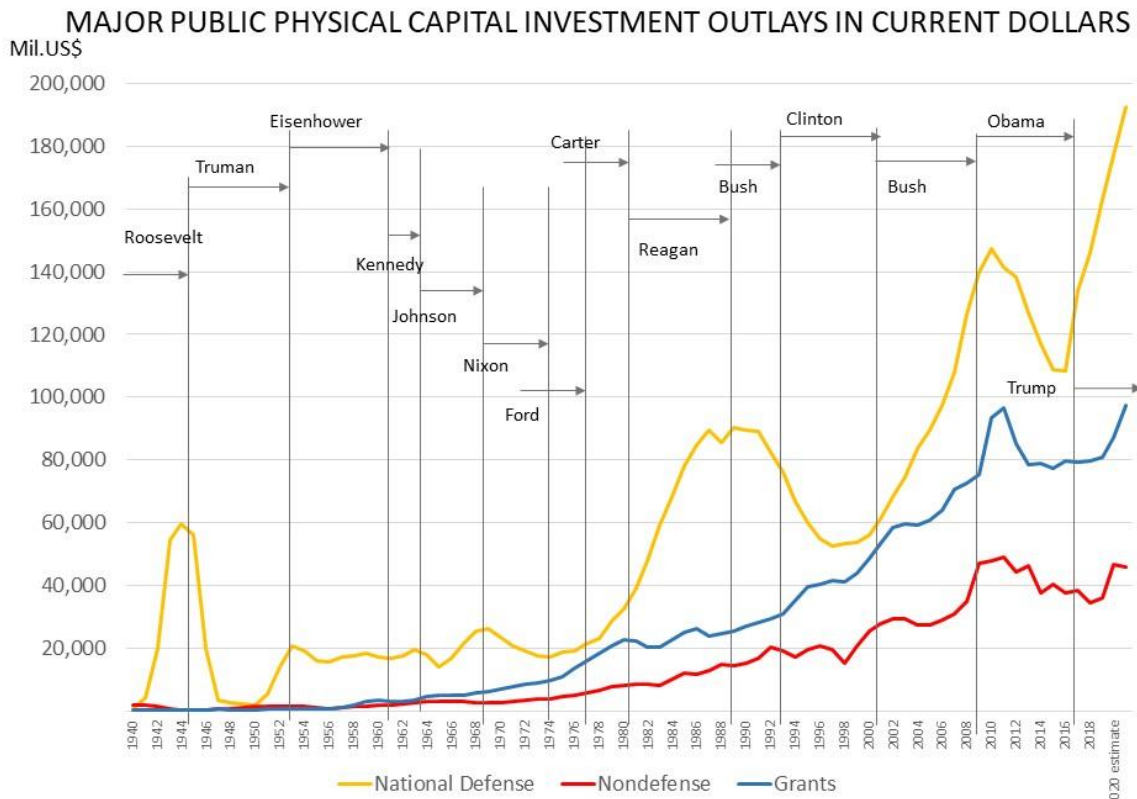
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- 13) The study group of local government planning(1996), *Read by Q & A/Tokyo Plan*.
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- 34) The Life of Mr. Isamu Miyazaki, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 2016.1.9

Chart1



Source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/historical-tables/>

Chart2

The character of Basic Vision & Plan of TMG

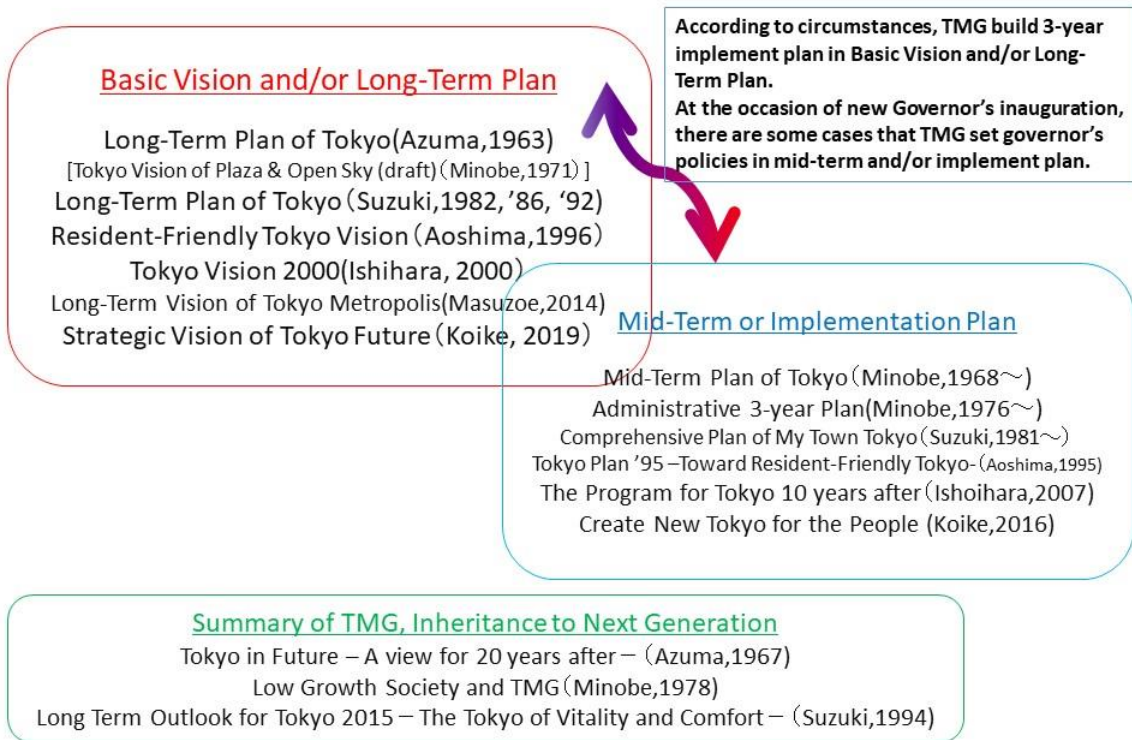


Chart3

The outline of Long-Term Plan of Tokyo(Azuma,February 1963)

The basic significance of this plan

The role of the TMG is to contribute not only to the improvement of the lives and economies of Tokyo residents, but also to the prosperity of the nation. Tokyo is a place of urban life, and active economic activities are being conducted. But the adverse effects of overcrowding, insufficient public facilities, and excessive growth have appeared. Although various measures have been taken, there is a lack of a comprehensive plan on a national scale, and the future prospects are not available, causing difficulties in the management of the TMG. In order to solve this problem, it is necessary for the TMG to formulate a development plan in the Tokyo metropolitan area in order to match Tokyo metropolitan area consolidate plan by national government.

Five tasks for the future **Term of plan** 1961~1970

1.Inspection and relocation of overgrown population and industry * The first 10-year comprehensive and long-term plan of TMG
 2.Renewal of cities and redevelopment of urban communities
 3.Investment in living environment and public facilities
 4.Industrial facilities modernized to high standards
 5.Promotion of social security and education

The features of this plan

1. An administrative plan targeting the future, and showing the long-term direction of substantive measures.
2. It shows the government's business plan, as well as the outlook and plan for the fiscal balance.
3. Indicates the certainness of the implementation of the project, in particular, the financial resources are underlying.
4. With a view to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, investments in public facilities in particular were concentrated in the first half of the planning period.

Implement of this plan

TMG will conduct constant reviews and evaluations of costs and required services to ensure the effectiveness of the plan and achieve the intended objectives.

5 conditions of this plan

1. Tokyo will continue to be the capital of Japan.
2. There is no change in the area boundary of Tokyo.
3. There are no major changes in the structure of local autonomy and local finance.
4. National income will increase in line with the national income doubling plan.
5. No large-scale natural disasters will occur.


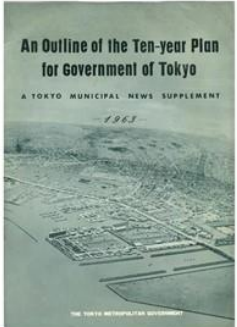



Chart4-1

The outline of Long-Term Plan of Tokyo (Suzuki, December 1982)

【Substances of this plan】 It has two contents.

- 1 Basic Vision (The target set at the beginning of 21st century) "We set the ideal image of My Town Tokyo at the beginning of 21st century, and clearly show the programs to realize it."
- 2 10-year projects(1981-1990) "We also clearly show the specific projects to realize the image of Tokyo at 21st century shown in Basic Vision."

【Contents of this plan】

- 1 Image of Tokyo in 21st Century (1)Lifestyle, City (2)Regional Blocks (7 blocks in 23 City, 5 blocks in Tama Area, Island)
 - * the flame work of this plan (population & households, economy & industry, usage of land)
- 2 The goals and policies for 21st century
 - (1) A town where you can live with peace of mind
 - Safety (Disaster prevention, Public safety)
 - Welfare and Health (Aging, Challenged people, Children, Social Welfare)
 - Environment (Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management, Energy)
 - (2) A town where you can live lively
 - Work and Life (Industry, Job Creation, Consumer)
 - Lifetime Education and Sport (Education, Sport & Recreation)
 - Housing
 - Urban Development
 - Transportation and Port (Road Network, Public Transportation, Port & Airport)
 - (3) A town that can be called a hometown
 - Water and Greenery
 - Culture and Art
 - Community
 - * 10-year project cost and outlook of finance



3 How to promote this plan

1980.4.21 Press Conference at Japan National Press Club
<https://www.jnpc.or.jp/archive/conferences/34807/report>

Chart4-2

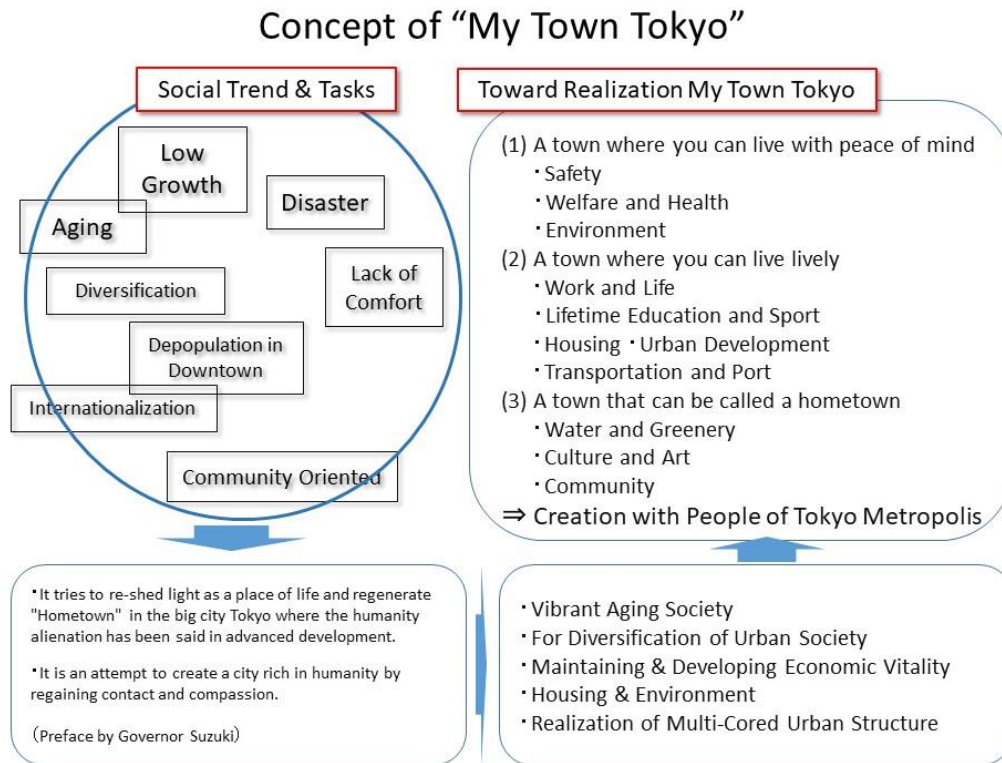


Chart5-1

The outline of “Tokyo Plan 95 - Aiming for Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo” (1995)

【Substances of this plan】 It has three contents.

- 1. Basic Guidelines of TMG administration :** Based on the Governor's basic stance, this plan clarifies the new basic philosophy of “Esteem for the viewpoints of the ordinary people” and the basic goals of “Creation of Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo” and “Realization of familiar and easy-to-understand Tokyo Metropolitan Government”.
- 2. Comprehensive plan showing major initiatives throughout the Tokyo Metropolitan Government:** In order to realize the 21st century Image of Tokyo as shown in the basic concept, we will clarify the contents of the projects planned and promoted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government.”
- 3. Project implementation plan for the next three years:** Make it clear that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's projects, which are carried out systematically in three years, and are promoted reliably with financial backing by year.

【Contents of this plan】

1. Basic principles and goals of the plan

Basic Philosophy "Esteem for The Viewpoints of The Ordinary People"

Basic Goal 1 "Creation of Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo"

Basic Goal 2 "Realization of familiar and easy-to-understand Tokyo Metropolitan Government"

2. Aiming for Resident-Friendly City of Tokyo – Three Policies and 10 Tasks

☆Priority initiatives "Preparation for an aging society" and "Promotion of earthquake countermeasures"

(1)Protect Lives

- Support for mental and physical health and independence in an aging society
- A town where you can live safely · Urban development in harmony with the environment

(2)Support Lives

- Promotion of vibrant industries · Balanced urban development
- Urban infrastructure supporting lives of Tokyo residents

(3)Enrich Lives

- Comfortable living and living space · Fostering a young child · Support for diverse life design
- Civic Exchange, Culture and Peace

3. Development of measures in familiar areas – Regional planning –

4. Tackling long-term and wide-area issues

5. Population, Economy and Fiscal Balance Outlook



Chart5-2

Core Concept of "Esteem for The Viewpoint of The Ordinary People"

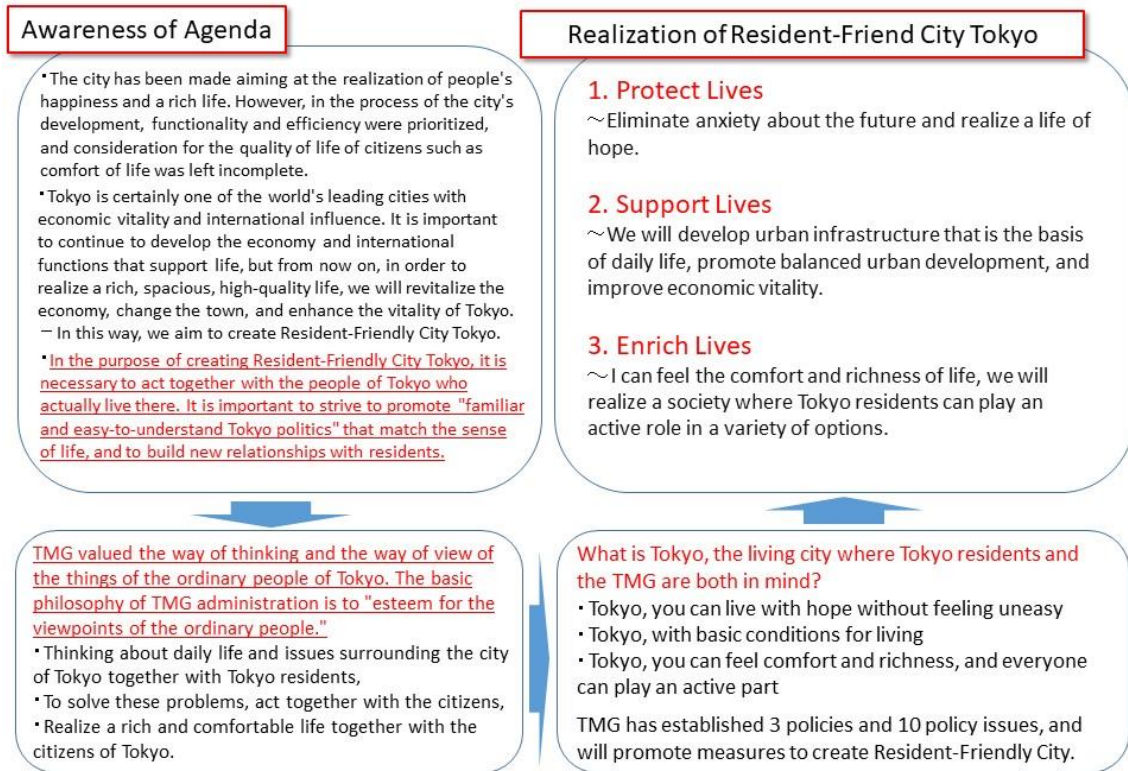


Chart6

New Social Change for the Future; To form small-scale accumulations and networks, not "dispersing"

