

# Conditions of Happiness in Tokyo

An Overview

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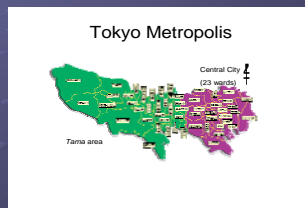
## Introduction

- Urban Context of Tokyo: Socio-economic Restructuring and Reurbanization
- Is Tokyo a Happy City?: Relative Positions of Tokyo in Subjective Happiness and Quality of Life Measures
- Who Felt Unhappy Among Tokyo Residents and Why?: A Causal Model

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## Tokyo Metropolitan Area

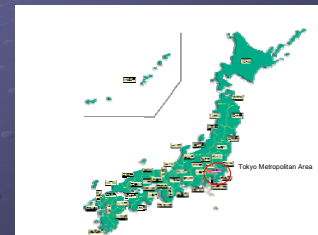
- "Tokyo" is the region governed by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government.
- It is composed of 23 special wards and *Tama* area.
- The area of 23 wards is the central part of the City.
- *Tama* area contains 26 cities, 3 towns, and one village.



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## Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Area

- Tokyo Metropolitan area extends three neighboring prefectures: Kanagawa, Chiba, and Saitama, being fifty kilometer radial from the Central City.



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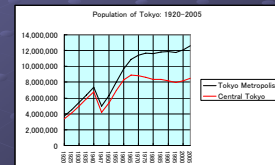
## Composition of Tokyo Metropolitan Area

| Prefectures and Municipalities                    | Population   |
|---|--------------|
| Tokyo Metropolitan Government ( <i>Tokyo-to</i> ) | 12.5 million |
| Central City (23 special wards)                   | 8.5 million  |
| Tama area (26 cities, 3 towns, and 1 village)     | 4.1 million  |
| Kanagawa Prefecture ( <i>Kanagawa-ken</i> )       | 8.5 million  |
| Chiba Prefecture ( <i>Chiba-ken</i> )             | 5.9 million  |
| Saitama Prefecture ( <i>Saitama-ken</i> )         | 6.9 million  |
| Tokyo Metropolitan Area as a whole                | 30 million   |

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## The Growth of the Metropolis

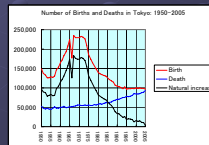
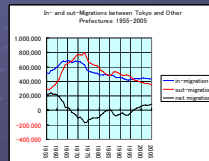
- Since 1945, Tokyo has reconstructed from the damage suffered during the WWII.
- The Population increased rapidly during the 1950s and the early 1960s.
- The trend changed in the mid-1960s.
- While a great many young people moved into the city, young families began to move out to suburbs.



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## Suburbanization

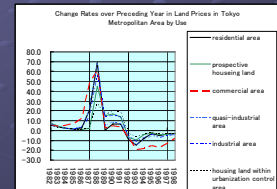
- Those who left Tokyo outnumbered those who moved in after 1967.
- The Central Tokyo was declining in population, while Tokyo Metropolis still experienced increasing population.
- In the 1970s, the population growth in Tokyo depended on natural increase due to a great number of births.



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## Bubble Economy: 1985-1992

- Deregulation policies for urban redevelopments Nakasone administration had after 1985 triggered **skyrocketing land prices** in urban commercial districts.
- Soon residential areas followed the wave.
- A result was an increase of out-migrations to suburbs.
- Tokyo experienced **second wave of suburbanization**.



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## After the Burst

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

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## Reurbanization

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

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## From Manufacturing Industry to Information services: Changing Urban Economy

- In the 1960s, the rapid growth of Tokyo was accompanied by increasing industrial jobs.
- After 1965, **manufacturing** workers began to **decrease**.
- Meanwhile, Tokyo attracted the headquarters of nation-wide companies.
- By 1980, 1.6 million workers were employed in the **wholesale and retail** sector, while manufacturing jobs decreased to 1.3 million.
- Since the 1980s, the globalization of economy overshadowed the urban industries of Tokyo.
- The bubble economy was rooted in the land speculation. After the burst, the **finance and insurance** companies in Japan were far from providing "producer services".
- The **international financial markets** did not seem to contribute to the urban economy.



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## The Rise of the Information Service Economy

- Since the late 1990s, various service industries such as the **information, the professional, and miscellaneous business services** are growing up in Tokyo.
- Over two million, or one third of the employees living in Tokyo were working in **service industries**.
- In 2004, nearly 70 percent of the employees in the **Internet service** industry resided in Tokyo.
- About 60 percent of workers in the "**video picture, sound information, character information production and distribution**" industry did in Tokyo.
- Almost half of the workers in **the information industry** also lived in Tokyo (*Establishment and Enterprise Census 2004*).
- Even in the manufacturing industries, **IT-related** ones took large share in value of manufactured goods shipments in Tokyo.
- The **reurbanization** in Tokyo is, thus, supported by **the information service economy**.

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## Is Tokyo a Happy City?

- The second section focuses on **relative positions of Tokyo** in subjective happiness and other quality-of-life measures among ten cities.
- A direct comparison of subjective indices across citizens in different countries is risky, because respondents might have different standards.
- Local contexts should be taken into account in interpreting the data.
- Referring to some objective indices and qualitative observations, I will suggest what some measures mean in the context of Tokyo.

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## Data and Method

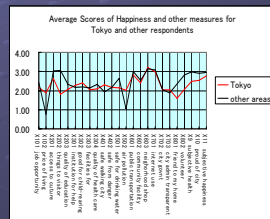
- For simplicity, the values of all subjective variables used in this presentation have transformed so that **the higher the "better."**
- The method in this section is to compare averages of the quality-of-life scores between Tokyo and the other nine cities.

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## Results

(see Figure 6 of the printed paper)

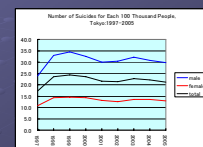
- **Subjective happiness** in Tokyo was significantly **lower** than elsewhere.
- "Pride in the city," subjective health, "friends-to-home," and "things to visitors" were **lower**, too.
- "Price of living" and "air pollution" in Tokyo were **better** than elsewhere on average. (Note1: the scores are: the higher the better. Note2: The values of two variables should be the raw data minus one. Figure 6 must be corrected as this one)



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## Happiness

- Subjective happiness in Tokyo was significantly lower than elsewhere. Why?
- My hypothesis is that the **restructuring of economy** mentioned above turns into **stress** for Tokyo residents.
- The **increasing rate of suicide** suggests the restructuring-stress hypothesis.
- Especially, the suicide rate becomes exceptionally high for **middle aged men** recently.

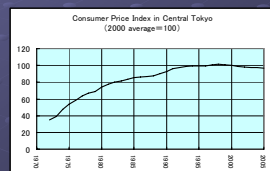


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## Price of Living

Wasn't Tokyo the most expensive city in the world?

- Respondents living in Tokyo were **less** likely to agree that "the price of living in my city is high."
- They never felt that the cost of living in Tokyo is lower than any other countries.
- Instead, they have experienced **declining prices** due to **deflation** for several years.
- This measure did not affect subjective happiness, as will be shown.



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## "Goodness for Child-rearing" and "Things to Visitors"

- Tokyo residents were more likely to agree that "my city is a good place to rear and care for children."
- Objectively, there is **no evidence to support it**.
- Nearly 9,000 children are named on the waiting list for nursery schools, TMG reports.
- Tokyo respondents might have take the question as asking about **educational environment**.
- There are many good private school in Tokyo.
- For further arguments, see my paper.
- Respondent living in Tokyo were less likely to assert that there are many things in the city that they can proudly introduce to visitors.
- Tokyo is a great business center but there are **few must-see landmarks** like Statue of Liberty in New York.
- However, there are a **variety of spots of special interests**.
- The question seems to measure how respondents know much about cultural diversity of the metropolis.
- This item was positively correlated with "pride in the city."

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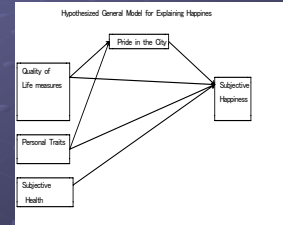
## “Friends to Home” and Some Other Items

- Tokyo residents were less likely to “try to have their friends or neighbors come over to their homes as frequently as possible.”
- Actually, **sociability at one’s home has declined in Tokyo.**
- Long working hours and privatization of families prevent to socialize his or her friends and neighbors at home.
- There are a **variety of bars, restaurants and coffee shops** that serve for social gatherings.
- I assume the question gauges **high level of sociability** in the cultural context of Tokyo.
- “Access to culture” and “facilities for the disadvantaged” getting lower score reflected the truths.
- “Safe walking city” and “air pollution” getting higher score did the realities.
- Higher scores of “institutions for help” and “city administration transparency” are ambiguous.
- Unemployment rate** in Tokyo was about **four percent**, while the average score of “job opportunities” was the lowest among the ten cities. **Restructuring experience** may overshadow it again.

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## Who Felt Unhappy Among Tokyo Residents and Why? : A Causal Model

- I will propose a causal model that explains the variation of happiness among Tokyo residents.
- A general model is as follows.
- Respondents’ social statuses might have effects on their happiness.
- Subjective health might do.
- “Pride in the city” might be a predictor as well.
- “Pride in the city” itself might be affected by urban qualities.
- Some of 21 quality of life measures might have direct effects on subjective happiness.



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## Methods and Procedure

- The methods used are **multiple regression analysis** if independent variables are numerical, and **multiple classification analysis** if categorical variables are included as predictors.
- One difficulty is that there are too many quality-of-life measures. Based on zero-order correlations, I selected only those that had significant effects on the dependent variables.
- Further details about the procedure are written in the paper.

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## Social Status and Happiness

- Table 1 shows the scores of happiness estimated by MCA for Tokyo residents.
- Men are less likely to be happy than women.**
- Middle aged men are less likely to be happy than the others.**
- The blue collar males are less likely to be happy than the white collar.**
- The higher one’s **perceived household income**, the happier.
- The **married men are more likely to be happy than the unmarried or the divorced** (why the widowed shows high score is unclear).
- The effects of age, occupation, and marital status were significant only for the males.**

| Category                        | non-industrial |        | industrial |        | Sig.      |
|---------------------------------|----------------|--------|------------|--------|-----------|
|                                 | Male           | Female | Male       | Female |           |
| Gender                          | 281            | 288    | 268        | 474    | 0.108 **  |
| Age                             |                |        |            |        |           |
| -50                             | 288            | 280    | 285        | 184    | 0.128 **  |
| 30-50                           | 288            | 281    | 281        | 215    |           |
| 40-60                           | 273            | 283    | 283        | 181    |           |
| 50-59                           | 271            | 288    | 271        | 171    |           |
| 60-69                           | 280            | 272    | 272        | 155    |           |
| 70                              |                |        |            |        |           |
| Perceived income                |                |        | 0.031      | 0.21   | 0.108 **  |
| Very low income                 | 176            | 210    | 210        | 30     |           |
| Low income                      | 249            | 244    | 244        | 171    |           |
| Middle income                   | 252            | 270    | 246        | 246    |           |
| High income                     | 308            | 286    | 286        | 159    |           |
| Very high income                | 381            | 309    |            |        |           |
| Occupation                      |                |        | 0.224      | 0.14   | 0.14 **   |
| Self-employed                   | 288            | 270    | 270        | 93     |           |
| Office workers                  | 277            | 283    | 283        | 130    |           |
| Manual workers                  | 186            | 211    | 211        | 22     |           |
| Skilled workers                 | 253            | 244    | 244        | 91     |           |
| Professional                    | 284            | 284    | 284        | 91     |           |
| Student                         | 274            | 271    | 271        | 81     |           |
| Unemployed                      | 249            | 271    | 271        | 49     |           |
| Retiree                         | 288            | 271    | 271        | 104    |           |
| Unmarried                       | 287            | 270    | 270        | 104    |           |
| Marital status                  |                |        | 0.031      | 0.201  | 0.201 **  |
| Single, never married           | 237            | 243    | 243        | 246    |           |
| Married                         | 282            | 289    | 289        | 246    |           |
| Divorced                        | 237            | 252    | 252        | 71     |           |
| Widowed                         | 208            | 208    | 208        | 24     |           |
| T10 Pride in the city           |                |        |            |        | ***       |
| T9 Subjective health            |                |        |            |        | ***       |
| X01 Friends to home             |                |        |            |        | **        |
| X011 Job opportunity            |                |        |            |        | n.s.      |
| X012 Goodness for child-rearing |                |        |            |        | n.s.      |
| R                               |                |        |            |        | 0.811 *** |
| R2                              |                |        |            |        | 0.317     |

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## Effects of “urban pride,” subjective health, and selected quality of life measures

- The effects of subjective items on happiness are as follow (see also the results of regression analyses used dummy variables in the Appendix.)
- The more individuals are proud of their city, the happier.
- The healthier, the happier.
- The more frequently respondents report to try to have their friends or neighbors to their homes, the happier.

| Variable                         | model1 |       | model2 |       |
|----------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
|                                  | B      | SE    | B      | SE    |
| Gender                           | 0.128  | 0.127 | 0.128  | 0.128 |
| Male                             | -0.201 | 0.073 | -0.130 | **    |
| High school                      |        |       | -0.186 | 0.086 |
| 30-39                            | -0.146 | 0.090 | -0.094 | #     |
| 40-49                            | -0.232 | 0.098 | -0.170 | ***   |
| 50-59                            | -0.350 | 0.098 | -0.181 | ***   |
| 60-69                            | -0.312 | 0.113 | -0.128 | **    |
| 70                               | -0.281 | 0.161 | -0.072 | n.s.  |
| Self-employed                    | -0.228 | 0.116 | -0.088 | *     |
| Office worker                    | -0.128 | 0.107 | -0.080 | n.s.  |
| Manual worker                    | -0.216 | 0.182 | -0.188 | **    |
| Skilled worker                   | -0.311 | 0.118 | -0.131 | **    |
| Student                          | -0.192 | 0.131 | -0.031 | n.s.  |
| Unemployed                       | -0.207 | 0.148 | -0.057 | n.s.  |
| Retiree                          | -0.244 | 0.110 | -0.118 | *     |
| Unmarried                        | -0.243 | 0.125 | -0.092 | *     |
| Never married                    | -0.115 | 0.079 | -0.070 | ***   |
| Married                          | -0.210 | 0.160 | -0.088 | **    |
| Divorced                         | -0.210 | 0.160 | -0.088 | **    |
| Widowed                          | 0.200  | 0.104 | 0.073  | n.s.  |
| Pride in the city                |        |       | 0.201  | 0.020 |
| Subjective health                |        |       | 0.200  | 0.021 |
| Friends to home                  |        |       | 0.098  | 0.021 |
| Goodness for child-rearing       |        |       | 0.041  | 0.020 |
| Access to culture                |        |       | 0.008  | 0.024 |
| City administration transparency |        |       | 0.021  | 0.027 |
| Public transportation            |        |       | 0.033  | 0.022 |
| Job opportunities                |        |       | 0.003  | 0.026 |
| R                                |        |       | 0.586  | ***   |
| R2                               |        |       | 0.346  |       |

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## Effects of quality-of-life measures on “urban pride”

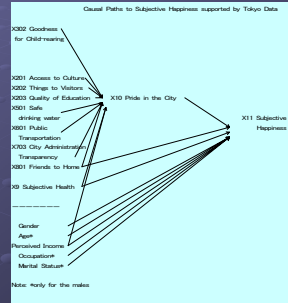
- It is hypothesized that **the more respondents appreciate their own city, the more they are likely to be proud of it.**
- Indeed, a lot of the quality-of-life measures correlate with the pride.
- Among them, **“things to visitors”** and **“goodness for child-rearing”** were powerful predictors.
- “Quality of education,” “City administration transparency,” and “friends-to-home” had modest effects.
- Subjective health had a strong positive effects on urban pride (although the causality can be reverse).
- The **cultural and educational**, rather than economic, aspects of the qualities of life turn out to be **critical factors** in predicting urban pride.

| Variable                          | B      | SE    | Significance |
|-----------------------------------|--------|-------|--------------|
| X101 job opportunity              | -0.012 | 0.031 | -0.013 n.s.  |
| X201 access to culture            | 0.060  | 0.029 | 0.078 *      |
| X202 things to visitors           | 0.181  | 0.027 | 0.209 ***    |
| X203 quality of education         | 0.055  | 0.032 | 0.093 **     |
| X301 institutions for help        | -0.031 | 0.037 | -0.029 n.s.  |
| X302 goodness for child-rearing   | 0.124  | 0.024 | 0.130 ***    |
| X303 facilities for disadvantaged | 0.004  | 0.032 | 0.004 n.s.   |
| X304 quality of health care       | -0.003 | 0.033 | -0.003 n.s.  |
| X401 safe walking city            | 0.008  | 0.024 | 0.010 n.s.   |
| X501 safe for drinking water      | 0.060  | 0.024 | 0.080 *      |
| X601 public transportation        | 0.065  | 0.027 | 0.089 *      |
| X602 community facilities         | -0.003 | 0.026 | -0.004 n.s.  |
| X603 neighborhood shops           | 0.032  | 0.020 | 0.038 n.s.   |
| X701 internet use                 | 0.011  | 0.020 | 0.015 n.s.   |
| X102 city govt performance        | 0.007  | 0.041 | 0.008 n.s.   |
| X103 city admin transparency      | 0.102  | 0.037 | 0.102 ***    |
| X801 friends to home              | 0.095  | 0.025 | 0.084 **     |
| X802 volunteer                    | 0.056  | 0.033 | 0.056 #      |
| D2 household income               | 0.092  | 0.037 | 0.078 *      |
| X9 subjective health              | 0.117  | 0.021 | 0.117 ***    |
| R                                 | 0.625  |       | 0.811 ***    |
| R2                                |        |       | 0.291        |

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## Discussion and Concluding Remarks

- Tokyo has experienced socio-economic restructuring since the burst of the bubble economy.
- The GMFS survey data indicates that subjective happiness in Tokyo were significantly lower than elsewhere.
- After examining what the quality-of-life measures mean in the local context, I proposed a causal model that explains the variation of subjective happiness among Tokyo residents.
- The results are summarized in Figure 11.



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## Keys are Socio-economic Restructuring and Cultural Perception of the City

- The effects of gender, age, and income on happiness indicate that a middle aged male who perceives his income is low tends to feel stressed.
- I suppose that the socio-economic restructuring makes the males living in Tokyo unhappy.
- Subjective health, "urban pride," and "friends-to-home" also have effects on happiness.
- Urban pride itself are affected by respondents' assessments on the qualities of life. Among them, the evaluations of cultural and educational issues have significant effects on urban pride.
- Based on the observations mentioned so far, one can conclude that subjective happiness in Tokyo is overshadowed by the socio-economic restructuring on the one hand, and affected by people's perceptions of cultural aspect of the city on the other.
- Improvements in both socio-economic and perceived cultural conditions will raise happiness in Tokyo.

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