

The Implications of Population Decline and Fiscal Austerity on Public Nature: Insights From the Evolution of Urban Park Management System in Japan

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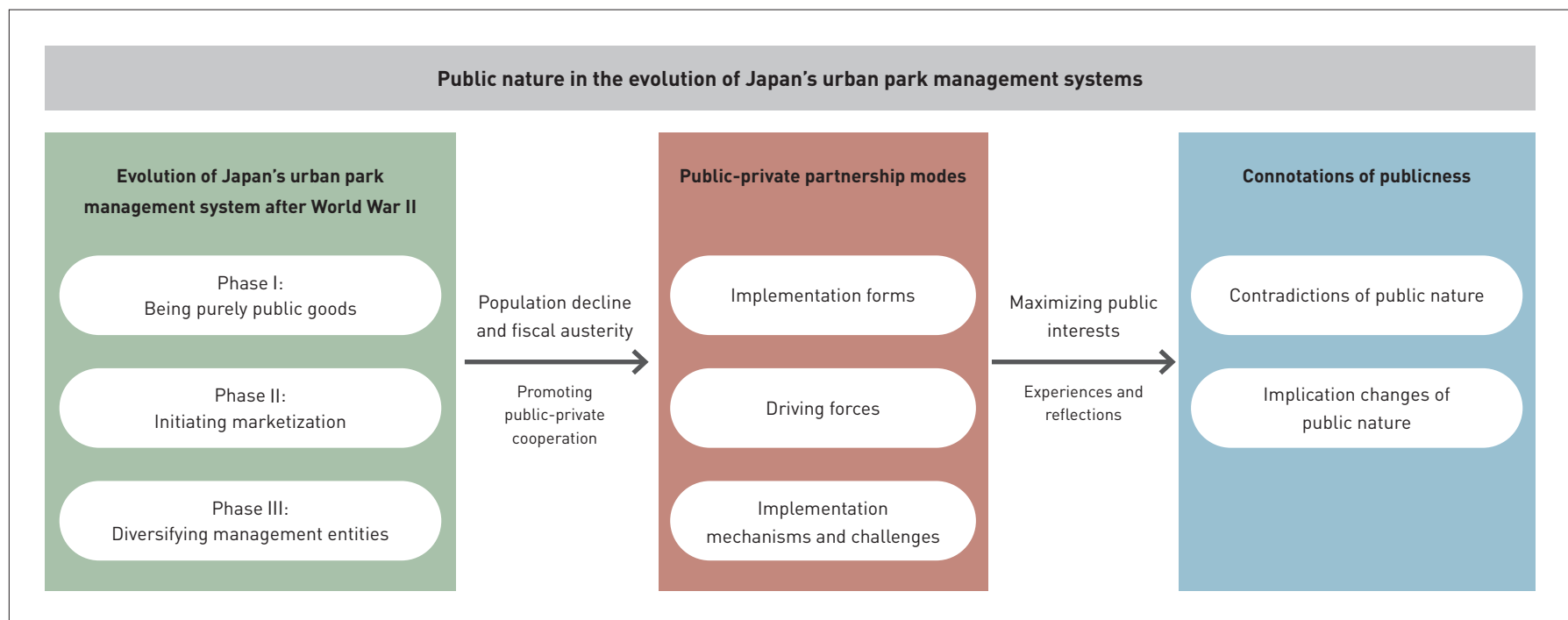
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GRAPHICAL ABSTRACT



ABSTRACT

Facing challenges of population decline and fiscal austerity, Japan has implemented a series of initiatives to promote public-private partnerships (PPP) to ensure the sustainability of urban parks and revitalize urban spaces. These initiatives, while alleviating the government's financial burdens on parks, have also raised concerns about the potential erosion of publicness and public interests resulted from the commercialization of public assets. This paper reviews the evolution of Japan's urban park management system after World War II—including three phases of being purely

public goods, initiating marketization, and diversifying management entities. The functions of parks have continuously enriched, and the construction, management, and operational modes have shifted from government-led towards multi-stakeholder participation, along with expanded funding sources. By examining the PPP types, driving forces, implementation mechanisms and challenges in urban park management, this paper points out that, in different eras and social contexts, the Japanese government has kept adjusting its role to maximize public interests. This has proactively updated the

implications of publicness in infrastructure like urban parks, from a post-war opposite of publicness versus privateness on ownership, to the participation of private capital for a higher efficiency, and finally to a community for a stronger regional competitiveness. The reforms of urban park management system in Japan offer significant lessons and insights for urban infrastructure management in other countries and regions.

KEYWORDS

Publicness; Landscape Justice; Public-Private Partnership; “Private Finance Initiative” System for Parks; Urban Parks; Management System; Urban Infrastructure

HIGHLIGHTS

- Proposes that the evolution of Japan’s urban park management system has undergone three phases: being purely public goods, initiating marketization, and diversifying management entities
- Analyzes the implementation forms and driving forces of public-private partnership modes in Japan’s urban parks
- Discusses how the Japanese government, by continuously adjusting its role over time, maximizes public interests and promotes the contextual transition of the public nature of urban infrastructure

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1 Introduction

In his book *Publicness*, Japanese scholar Junichi Saito elucidated three folds of meanings of the term “publicness.” First, from the perspective of national administration, publicness refers to official functions and scope; second, it denotes common resources and interests of the public; and third, it represents the open public domains and spaces^[1]. For Japan, the process from the state’s

“monopoly” on public nature in the 1960s to the shaping of “civic public nature” in the 1990s, and later to the understanding of the connotation of public nature from the perspective of “community,” reflects the cognitive evolution of public nature from a single state-led approach to pluralization and democratization. Research represented by Dwight Waldo’s *The Administrative State*^[2] and Robert B. Denhardt’s *The New Public Service*^[3] emphasizes the public nature and value orientation of public services while denying the view that considers public services merely as tools for producing services. Since the 1980s, in response to the tendency of excessive managerialism, some scholars have called for the reinforcement of government’s public nature. The “Blacksburg Manifesto” represented by James H. Wamsley, Jeffrey Wolf, and Charles T. Goodsell and the school of “New Public Service” represented by Denhardt emphasize that the connotation of public nature should include not only basic attributes such as fairness, justice, and responsibility, but also public interests and values rather than merely achieving specific management goals^[4].

In the field of public services, the relationship between the government and the market often defines the core for in-depth critical exploration of public nature—it is always unavoidable to answer how it intervenes, participates, and influences the discourse of public nature. Burton A. Weisbrod’s “market failure theory” and “government failure theory” emphasize that non-profitable public services will “fail” due to insufficient supply and the dependence on government intervention; while, as public demand increases, the government may also “fail” due to inefficient responses or corruption issues. This means that public services cannot be provided solely by the government or the market^[5]. Therefore, how the government regulates its relationship with the market and how to better guide the establishment of management system are key to the development of public facilities.

Currently, many developed countries around the world, including Japan, are facing problems such as increased fiscal burden, slackened service provision, and intergenerational interest imbalance, aggravating the dilemma of public nature in public services^{[6][7]}. In East Asia, China is facing similar issues in population structure and fiscal situation. Chinese scholars have extensively discussed issues related to the public nature of urban public services, as well as topics of spatial justice including discourse construction^[8], public values^[9], spatial characteristics^[10], uneven distribution^[11], and evaluation and improvement standards^{[12][13]}. However, in the context of population decline, fiscal austerity, and the pressing need to effectively reduce local debts, the contradiction between the sustainability of public facilities and the loss of public nature—introducing private capital

is vital to the former, but the absence of fairness and supervision in marketization would exacerbate the latter—has also brought new challenges to how we examine public nature.

This paper reviews the history of how the Japanese government improved its urban park management system to adapt to the demands of times. On one hand, it outlines the formation and development of the publicness and privateness in the urban park management system; on the other hand, it sorts out the experience in promoting efficient operation of public facilities and reducing fiscal allotment through the introduction of public-private partnership (PPP) modes, and further analyzes the implementation mechanisms and driving forces, which in turn leads to reflections on the implication changes of the public nature of urban parks that act as carriers of basic societal welfare and public services.

2 The Publicness and Privateness in the Evolution of Japan's Urban Park Management System

2.1 The Origin of Privateness of Urban Parks in Japan

During the Edo Era (1603 ~ 1868), the concept of “park,” as a public infrastructure, did not exist in Japan. The earliest batch of parks had resulted from the transformation of private lands into public land in the 1870s—suitable sites for recreational use were converted from private territories belonging to daimyos^①, samurai, temples, and shrines into places directly open to the public. Examples include the Ueno Park from Kaneiji Temple, and the Asakusa Park from Sensoji Temple. The Japanese government formally proposed the concept of “park” in 1873^{[14][15]}. Along with the introduction of Western urban planning concepts, Japan's first urban planning regulation, the Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance, issued in 1888, designated 49 modern parks in a grid pattern. Only two of them were completely newly built parks by government's fiscal allotment, one of which was Hibiya Park, known as “Tokyo's Central Park”^[16]. Most sites of these parks were later incorporated into state-owned land. The government retained some revenue from park operation (e.g., the income of land rent, ryotei^②, sales of dead wood) as the funds for park administrative expenditures including routine management and maintenance, subsequent new park construction, and even employee salaries^[17].

Before World War II, the operation of urban parks in Japan was not funded by the government's fiscal allotment. From the Meiji

Era to the early Showa Era (1868 ~ 1946), parks operated upon independent revenue–expenditure systems, with land rent as the main source of funding. Early in the Taisho Era (1912 ~ 1926), some parks set up profitable facilities such as boating areas, swimming pools, tennis courts, baseball fields, music halls, and restaurants, and the income from these facilities also comprised the parks' revenue. The most famous case is the Matsumoto-ro in Hibiya Park (completed in 1903), a restaurant opened from the second year of the park's completion and has been running till now^{[16][18]}. There are also some ryoteis, teahouses, and inns in the Hamadera Park in Osaka and the Nara Park in Nara that have been running since the Meiji Era.

2.2 Development of the Publicness in the Urban Park Management System in Japan

2.2.1 Phase of Being Purely Public Goods (1956 ~ 1967):

Establishment of the Park Management System

During and for a period after World War II, the lack of clear legal regulations on profitable facilities in urban parks led to the loopholes in management ownerships and the proliferation of profitable facilities. Additionally, various temporary facilities were built in parks during the wartime, seriously eroding the public attributes and functions of parks.

The prevailing view at that time was expressed by scholar Tatsuo Moriwaki in his article *Publicness of Urban Parks* published in 1949 that the establishment of parks was originally for public interests and parks should be part of public utilities that do not prioritize profits; to prevent public facilities from being monopolized by private entities, neither the park itself nor the facilities within should be entrusted to profitable activities by private entities^[19]. To restore park functions and standardize park management, the Japanese government issued the Urban Park Act in 1956, which clearly stipulated that any private rights could not be exercised within park land. Also, the Management Entrustment System proposed in this act had strict limitations that emphasized the government's dominant role in park management and private capital was only allowed when public entities (i.e. the government) were unable to implement.

Until the 1960s, under the national bureaucracy in Japan, the general public held that the publicness of parks could be fully represented by public power, while private economy, representing the privateness, was heavily suppressed in the management and operation of public property. From the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, Japan's economy was witnessed a rapid growth, and high-input, low-return infrastructure was almost maintained by the

① Daimyo: regional lords during the Edo Era.

② Ryotei: high-class traditional Japanese restaurants.

government's tax revenue, where public spatial management accounting for approximately 45% of urban infrastructure expenditure^[20].

2.2.2 Phase of Initiating Marketization (1968 ~ 1999):

Introduction of PPP Modes

During the 1970s and 1980s, facing the impact of the privatization wave in mainstream Western capitalist countries, as well as the pressure of incomplete economic reforms, Japan started its gradual administrative reforms^{[21][22]}. In 1983, the government began implementing state-owned land transfer policies to improve land use efficiency through market mechanisms. In 1986, Japan promulgated the Act on Temporary Measures Concerning the Promotion of the Construction of Specific Facilities Through the Participation of Private Enterprises, facilitating the introduction of private capital into public services and infrastructure construction, in order to enhance the quality and efficiency of public services by market-based means.

Since the bubble economy burst in the early 1990s, the Japanese government has faced enormous fiscal deficit pressure. As a response, the government proposed a series of reform measures to reduce its direct intervention on the economy and to attract more private capital and enterprises through PPP modes, so as to improve the management efficiency in public sectors. At the same time, the promotion of decentralization reform and the introduction of New Public Management^{③[23]} concepts further advanced the privatization of public utilities^{[24][25]}. In 1999, Japan issued the Act on Promotion of Private Finance Initiative to promote the use of private capital, management experience, and technology for the construction, maintenance, and operation of public facilities. This law not only legally guaranteed the access of private capital into public sectors but also laid the foundation for the subsequent diversification of urban park management.

2.2.3 Phase of Diversifying Management Entities (2000 to Present): Park Management System in the Context of Population Decline

In the 21st century, against the backdrop of a continuous population decline and insufficient local funding, public infrastructure, including primary and high schools, public housing, hospitals, government office buildings, sports centers, libraries, museums, and parks, has faced a crisis of sustainability^[7]. Among these, local urban parks, which account for nearly 70% of Japan's urban park area (with a total area of approximately 85,870 hm²), have also reported a shrunken amount of visits^[26]. Furthermore,

population decline has led to a sharp decrease in local tax revenue, resulting in insufficient maintenance and management funds for urban parks and the dilapidation of public facilities.

In 2001, with the introduction of Koizumi Structural Reform, an open, deregulated market was established, and some state-owned enterprises underwent privatization. In 2003, the government abolished the Management Entrustment System^[27] and initiated the Designated Manager System, allowing private enterprises, NPOs, and other organizations to participate in the operation of public facilities through franchising. This marked that the dominant role in the management of public facilities was no longer limited to the government or other public entities^[28].

After 2010, as the promotion of the facility management concept, the establishment and growth of public organizations such as the Japan Facility Management Association (JFMA), Japan Park Facilities Association (JPFA), and Parks & Open Space Association (POSA), further contributed to the development of PPP modes. These organizations have facilitated the engagement of private enterprises in public utilities through close collaborations with public departments, in forms of certification, training, awards, seminars, and exchange meetings.

In 2017, the Japanese government revised the Urban Park Act again and introduced the "Private Finance Initiative" System for parks (Park-PFI System). This system selects private enterprises through open recruitment into the construction, operation, and maintenance of park facilities, aiming to enhance their attractiveness and profitability, thereby alleviating the government's fiscal burden. This initiative has significantly increased the investment of private capital in public utilities including the construction and management of public infrastructure^{[29][30]}.

As time changes, Japan's urban park management system has undergone a transformation from being purely public goods towards encouraging private participation, expanding the scope and depth of PPP. Based on the research by scholars such as Toshiaki Funabiki and Kentaro Iijima^{[27][31]}, this paper summarizes the legislation and institutional reforms that defined the three phases of the evolution of post-war urban park management

③ Influenced by neoliberal economy ideas, the concept of New Public Management originated in the 1980s emphasized the introduction of management methods and market mechanisms from private entities to improve the efficiency and service quality of public utilities, as well as the administration transparency of the government [source: Ref. [23]].

system (Table 1). These legislation and institutional changes in different time periods also reflect the key characteristics of each phase. In the first phase, park functions were singular, and park management and funding were entirely dependent on the government's fiscal allotment. In the second phase, private enterprises started to participate into the management and operation of profitable facilities in parks to help make up the management shortfall. In the third phase, private enterprises expanded their participation into public utilities, and the park management system shifted from the government's direct management towards the participation of diverse entities involving social organizations and communities. This evolution not only

reflects the changes in Japanese society and economy but also demonstrates the advance of park management concepts.

The evolution of urban park management system has also brought about significant improvements to urban parks themselves in three aspects. First, parks have gone beyond their initial functions in leisure and disaster prevention for surrounding communities and now become multifunctional urban spaces that provide healthcare, educational, recreational, and cultural opportunities for citizens, playing a more important role in their urban life. Second, the participation of private enterprises and other social entities has not only improved park management efficiency but also strengthened the vitality of the parks. Third, the innovation

Table 1: Development phases of urban park management regime in Japan after World War II

Phase	Period of time	System and regulation	Major changes	Purposes
Being purely public goods	1956 ~ 1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban Park Act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish the law from scratch, requiring that urban parks must comply with the legal provisions in establishment, management, disaster prevention, area occupation, etc. Reorganize or remove all non-communal facilities according to the legal provisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevent excessive construction of facilities in urban parks Transform or demolish illegal facilities
Initiating marketization	1968 ~ 1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City Planning Act Act on Temporary Measures Concerning the Promotion of the Construction of Specific Facilities Through the Participation of Private Enterprises Urban Park Act (Revised) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Permit the introduction of recreational, entertainment, sports, and educational facilities into urban parks Permit to set up shops on the ground and lower floors, or to build urban parks on building roofs Remove restrictions on the construction area of commercial buildings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meet the demands for metropolitan development, as part of the new national overall development plan Loosen the policies on the construction of park facilities by private enterprises, and promote the participation of private enterprises, NPOs, and individuals into the construction, operation, and maintenance of park facilities to meet regional needs Entrust specific park facilities projects to private enterprises as much as possible
Diversifying management entities	1999 to present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Act on Promotion of Private Finance Initiative Designated Manager System Park-PFI System Urban Park Renovation Agreement Urban Park Act (2nd Revised) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loosen the policies on catering, accommodation, etc. facilities Introduce the legal procedure for open recruitment of private enterprises and operation institutions in management, and allow public groups or individuals to bid Use the profits from commercial facilities in the improvement of the paths and squares around the facilities Legalize implementation methods, monitoring, forms of public participation, legal accountability, funding sources, and budget management of park facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entrust the decision right of fund use to private enterprises Maintain or improve service quality and reduce costs through the innovation and efforts of private enterprises

in management system helped attract private capital and enhance operation profits, effectively relieving the government’s financial pressure on public infrastructure and facilitating the sustainable development of urban parks.

3 PPP Modes

3.1 Implementation Forms of PPP Modes

PPP, also known as “public-private relationships,” refers to the cooperation between government departments and private enterprises in public services or infrastructure projects, covering stages of development, construction, management, and operation, in implementation forms of privatization, Private Finance Initiative (PFI), Designated Manager System, selling public assets to private enterprises^[32], etc. (Table 2).

Guided by such policies, the Designated Manager System and PFI have been widely applied in local urban parks^[23]. The former is more suitable for built-up urban parks, such as the South Ikebukuro Park in Tokyo, and the Tennoji Park and Osaka Castle Park in Osaka^[25]; while the latter is more often adopted for newly built or renewal park facility projects. Among various PFI implementation forms (Table 3), the BTO (Build-Transfer-Operate) approach is most broadly used, with examples like the Nagai Uminote Park and Yanagishima Sports Park in Kanagawa, and the Futabashi Park in Yokohama^{[25][33]}.

3.2 Driving Forces of PPP Modes

For the evolution of Japan’s urban park management system, the driving forces were combined products influenced by international situations and domestic economic factors. This paper concludes

Table 2: Implementation forms of PPP modes

Form	Interpretation
Privatization	The restructuring of enterprises operated by the central government or local public entities into regular private companies, or the complete transfer of ownership of public services or facilities to private enterprises, emphasizing a full shift to private ownership without direct management by the government
PFI	Outsourcing the entire process from funding and construction to the management and operation of public services or facilities
Designated Manager System	Outsourcing the management and operation of public services and facilities to private companies, primarily through two models: 1) independent financial management of profitable facilities by private enterprises, and 2) government procurement of services
Selling public assets to private enterprises	The process that the government or public sector sells its enterprises, services (e.g., water supply, electric power) or assets (e.g., roads, airports) to private companies or individuals, typically undertaken to increase efficiency, raise revenue or reduce the government’s burden, in ways of full privatization, partial sales or outsourcing of services

Table 3: Specific approaches of PFI

Approach	Process	Interpretation
BTO	Build-Transfer-Operate	The construction of a project is funded by the government, and then the operation is transferred to private enterprises
BOT	Build-Operate-Transfer	Private enterprises fund the construction of a project and operate it profitably during a franchising period, and then transfer the operation of the project to the government
BOO	Build-Own-Operate	Private enterprises fund the construction and have the ownership and operation rights during a franchising period
RO	Rehabilitate-Operate	The government licenses existing facilities to private enterprises for renovation and operation while retaining the ownership; private enterprises are responsible for the renovation and later operation and management

the main driving forces of the reforms of urban park management system in four aspects: the government's fiscal pressure, neoliberal marketization, decentralization and new public management theories, and changes in public service demands.

1) The government's fiscal pressure was the essential factor to the reform of Japan's urban park management system. Since the 1980s, Japan has faced dual challenges of external economic pressure and domestic fiscal austerity, especially after the bubble economy burst. Against this background, introducing private capital to reduce the government's expenditure on public utilities was imperative, which also forced the government to rethink the way of provisioning public services and to seek more efficient and economical solutions.

2) The rise of neoliberal marketization has had a profound impact on Japan's policy orientation, which emphasized introducing market-based mechanisms into public utilities and services, as important means to improve efficiency and performance^{[21][22]}. Influenced by such ideas, the government began to explore the possibility of introducing market-based mechanisms into the construction, management, and operation of park facilities in hopes of improving service quality and operation efficiency.

3) Decentralization and the rise of new public management theories provided an institutional basis and theoretical support for the reforms of park management system. Local governments have empowered greater autonomy through decentralization to formulate more localized practical park management policies, encouraging the exploration of more diverse implementation forms of PPP modes.

4) Changes in public service demands are also an important factor to the reforms of park management system. Japanese residents' expectations for public services have continuously upgraded over time, placing increasingly diverse needs and higher demands in the quality, richness, and convenience of public facilities, which are difficult to be met under the traditional government-led park management system. Attracting private capital in the construction, management, and operation of park facilities and using market-based initiatives to meet the public's diversified needs have enriched the types of profitable programs and enhanced residents' experience in urban parks.

3.3 PPP Implementation Mechanisms and Challenges

By reviewing the evolution of urban park management system, this paper believes that the Japanese government has consistently strived to meet the needs of the times, in both policy-making and implementation, and local governments also actively respond to

the central government's calls, endeavoring to maximize public interests.

First, the Japanese government adopted phased strategies in different sectors. Starting in the 1980s, the government launched pilot state-owned land transfer and large-scale construction projects. As experience accumulated and performance improved, the PPP modes have gradually employed into broader public utilities, including urban parks. Such a gradual approach not only ensured the stability of policy implementation but also considered the uniqueness in each sector.

Second, the Japanese government has made continuous adjustments and upgrades in urban park management system. From the Management Entrustment System to the Designated Manager System, and then to the Park-PFI System, the government has kept in exploring more flexible and efficient PPP modes. These transitions have made private entities play a greater role in urban park management, effectively motivating the vitality of social resources. At the same time, the government has also attempted to balance and guarantee the interests among all stakeholders via institutional design. By formulating and revising laws and regulations and clearly defining the scope of rights and responsibilities of each party, the government now focuses on balancing public interests and profits while enhancing efficiency, so as to promote the healthy development of PPP modes.

Finally, the Japanese government has always strengthened supervision and guidance on the implementation of PPP modes. On one hand, by establishing mechanisms such as open recruitment and performance assessment, and based on feedback and evaluation systems, the government navigates PPP practices to be beneficial to public interests. On the other hand, the government also emphasizes the diversified development of PPP modes, encouraging communities, NPOs, and other social entities to participate into the construction of public projects, in addition to attracting private capital. In this process, the government acts as a "rule guardian" who formulates fair and inclusive policies to ensure that stakeholders of different backgrounds and types can achieve their goals, thereby maximizing public interests.

Of course, the PPP implementation also faces challenges such as different reality difficulties across regions, and differentiated revenues and service quality. The Japanese government conducted surveys ten years after implementing the Designated Manager System. The survey results showed that about 11% of urban parks had adopted this system; about 50% of local governments had practiced this system in urban parks, with the rate exceeding 70% in cities with populations of over 200,000, but less than 30% in

rural areas; for parks that introduced this system, the length of franchising was mostly 3 to 5 years; 72% of local governments selected private enterprises through complete or almost open recruitments^[34]. However, scholars found that private entities' enthusiasm to participate the Park-PFI System was not as high as expected, because the government often unilaterally reduced their own budget without consideration for the private enterprises^[35]. In a survey on whether to renew contracts with recruited private enterprises, 51% of local governments declined while 34.5% would determine upon the enterprise's previous management performance. Another survey revealed that nearly 60% of local officials considered improving efficiency of facility operation (to reduce fiscal expenditure) the primary task of introducing the system, much higher than the goal of improving service quality in open hours, customer service, etc. (28.3%)^[36].

These survey results also reveal the challenges faced by urban parks after introducing PPP modes. First, there are obvious regional differences in PPP practice, which has been more widely applied in large cities with concentrated populations. Second, balancing the interests between the government and private enterprises would impact PPP's long-term stability; if the government simply pursues cost reduction, it may also suppress private enterprises' enthusiasm to participate.

4 The Public Nature Under the Evolution of Urban Park Management System in Japan

4.1 Contradictions of Public Nature

By introducing marketization and participation of private entities in public utilities, local governments in Japan have increased the diversity of management and operation approaches while also alleviating their fiscal pressure. However, on the other hand, the introduction of private capital has also caused a loss of public nature in urban parks. Capital-oriented consumerism has penetrated into public spaces, and the boutique trend of park construction to attract high-class consumers has somehow eroded the public nature of public spaces, raising reflections on how to guarantee the public's rights of the availability to public services^{[36][37]}. For example, some scholars have pointed out that commercialized park spaces like Miyashita Park^④ in Tokyo exclude certain societal groups, violating parks' basic attributes of being open and inclusive^{[38][39]}. Participatory design and management in park construction seemingly respect public autonomy, but due to limited participation and issues such as brand outsourcing, they have also led to an imbalance in public rights and interests^{[39][40]}.

Most non-governmental entities have their own profit goals in the commercialization of public services, which might compromise the accessibility of public spaces or public facilities, indirectly excluding certain societal groups from enjoying the services. The increasing presence of profitable facilities encroaches on public resources such as plazas, roads, and green spaces, turning them into closed spaces that are not universally accessible. Considering that excessive commercialization of parks may undermine the interests of the general public and directly damage the publicness of public services^[41], central and local governments have been highly consistent in dealing with the privatization issues of public spaces in urban parks—this is the primary reason for the rapid implementation of policies at the local level. On the other hand, although the Park-PFI System addressed local governments' fiscal shortage and the economic decline due to population decrease, it has been mostly practiced in major cities like Tokyo and Osaka. Examples like Miyashita Park, South Ikebukuro Park, and Osaka Castle Park are often located in central urban areas, where private enterprises' participation is not necessarily urgent. This suggests that although private enterprises' participation in the management and operation of public facilities has contributed greatly to the improvement of public well-being, it is still deeply influenced by market-based considerations.

4.2 Implication Changes of Public Nature

As the Japanese government increasingly introduces private capital into the construction and operation of public facilities, the implications of public nature has also seen changes. The focus has shifted from the post-war mainstream awareness that merely considered the ownership of public goods, to a new emphasis on the common goals among park managers and users as a community, to maximize public interests. Since parks are scarce spatial resources in cities, more explicit public power and more widely shared public values become the driving forces for the implication updates of public nature. Current policy documents more often turn

④ Miyashita Park now is located in the prime location of Shibuya, Tokyo. The park was initially built in 1953, and then transformed into Tokyo's first rooftop park in 1966. In 2017, Mitsui Fudosan obtained the final development right for the park reconstruction project, where PPP modes were adopted. Although the reconstructed park is more tidy and clean, the new development has led to a trend of the park's privatization. For commercial reasons, the park's opening hours are limited and some originally legitimate park usage behaviors are also constrained. The government dealt the issue of the homeless in the park with coercive measures, neglecting some legal rights of the vulnerable groups (source: Ref. [38]).

to elaborate and disseminate the implications of public nature in the following core contexts.

(1) Improving management efficiency and activating local economy

During the staged introduction of PPP System, the Japanese government has continuously strengthened the use of the vitality of private capital, encouraging to improve management efficiency and activate local economy. The increased investment by private enterprises and NPOs in renovation and renewal projects of old public facilities has brought new opportunities to revitalize local economy^{[34][42]}. For example, the Guidelines on PFI Projects Implementation Process defines that urban parks, in addition to their basic functions of disaster prevention, improving living settlements, conserving biodiversity, and inheriting regional cultures, serve for enhancing urban vitality, bolstering economic growth, attracting enterprises, and creating job opportunities. However, unlike other countries such as China and the USA, the distribution of urban parks in Japan is relatively balanced that does not significantly impact the surroundings' real estate prices^{[43][44]}; instead, programming urban and regional public activities in parks is encouraged to attract new enterprises and development projects and to create new job opportunities, thereby boosting regional economy and enhancing regional competitiveness^[45].

(2) Meeting new demands of urban residents

Urban parks have gradually constructed sports venues, restaurants, cafes, barbecue areas, nurseries, etc., to meet park users' changing needs. Local residents have also actively participated in formulating rules and agreements for park usage, as well as the operation and maintenance of green spaces within parks, which not only promotes usage efficiency but also increases residents' sense of belonging. To better meet residents' needs, the Japanese government has rolled out a series of policies—for instance, renting park land at below market prices or extending the franchising length up to 20 years—to encourage private capital to invest in the management and maintenance of park facilities from the beginning stages. These policies have not only successfully heartened private investment but also improved park service quality and residents' satisfaction^{[42][46][47]}.

(3) Improving quality of life

Parks, as isolated sites scattered throughout the city in the past, have developed into an interconnected green space system that is localized to the city settings. In terms of newly built or renewal projects of green spaces, official documents center on initiatives such as upgrading existing facilities, flexible use of urban parks, integrating with urban life, and enhancing regional attractiveness^[18].

It not only provides citizens with more recreational spaces but also improves the accessibility of parks.

Under the guidance of official documents, the Japanese government has broadened the channels of open and autonomous participation for individuals and enterprises, making the management and operation of urban parks more transparent and efficient. On one hand, it continues to strengthen parks' basic functions as urban infrastructure; on the other hand, it pays more attention to parks' important role in improving urban quality of life, enhancing environmental attractiveness and residents' sense of belonging, and ultimately promoting regional sustainable development through residents' autonomic governance^{[46][47]}.

5 Conclusions and Implications

As a harbinger state^{⑤[48]} in Asia that first entered the world trade system, Japan has proposed a series of policy responding to challenges such as aging population and fiscal crisis earlier than other Asian countries. Its institutional effectiveness and problems can provide reference for other countries. The implications of the evolution of urban park management system in Japan can be summarized as follows.

First, this process reflects the continuous efforts made by the Japanese government over times to maximize public interests. Shifting from the post-war opposition of publicness versus privateness to private capital participation for a higher efficiency, and further to the community for a greater regional competitiveness, these transitions witnessed in the urban park management system well embody the adjustment of the government's role and the promotion of public-private cooperation, and the cognitive advance about the publicness and privateness. The changes of the government's role—from representing the public power to representing citizens' collective rights—are the essence of this institutional evolution, and underscore public participation as a key path for right guarantee in urban infrastructure management.

Second, the centralization and decentralization of management power is jointly influenced by the composition of participant groups, the disposition modes of the right of use, and the changes of the society's power consciousness. During the reforms of urban park

⑤ Phillip Y. Lipsky, a renowned political scientist, considers Japan a "harbinger state" that has experienced many challenges in the international system ahead of others. Studying Japan can provide relevant references and theoretical insights to important political issues for scholars and decision-makers in other countries or regions (source: Ref. [48]).

management system, the Japanese government has also actively promoted the updates of the implications of public nature, playing a key role in shaping and guiding the changes of people's awareness about public rights regarding fairness, spatial justice, and landscape justice. Through the unceasing promotion of core concepts such as shared values, broad participation, and balance of power, and the enhancement of sustainable development and regional influence, the connotation and scope of the implications of public nature have been augmented.

Finally, although Japan has made great efforts in addressing issues such as maintaining the operation of public infrastructure under population decline and fiscal austerity, how to effectively balance and guide the value orientation of public spaces remains a challenge. The public nature deterioration of spaces and the imbalance between service attributes and public interests may lead to contradictions including disintegration of public nature, marginalization of vulnerable groups, and exacerbation of regional disparity in public services. This paper believes that in the processes of balancing service attributes with public interests and promoting public-private cooperation, the government should go beyond simply reducing deficits and pursuing profits and focus on long-term goals of public facility services—in other words, to enhance the participation of regional services and promote the sustainable development while strengthening residents' sense of belonging. Besides, it should pay attention to the equilibrium of public services to narrow the regional disparities caused by the excessive dependence on market-based mechanisms. In addition, it should establish new mechanisms for public participation and open supervision to ensure the decision-making rights of general public concerning public interests.

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人口减少与财政紧缩背景下的公共性 ——日本城市公园管理制度演变的启示

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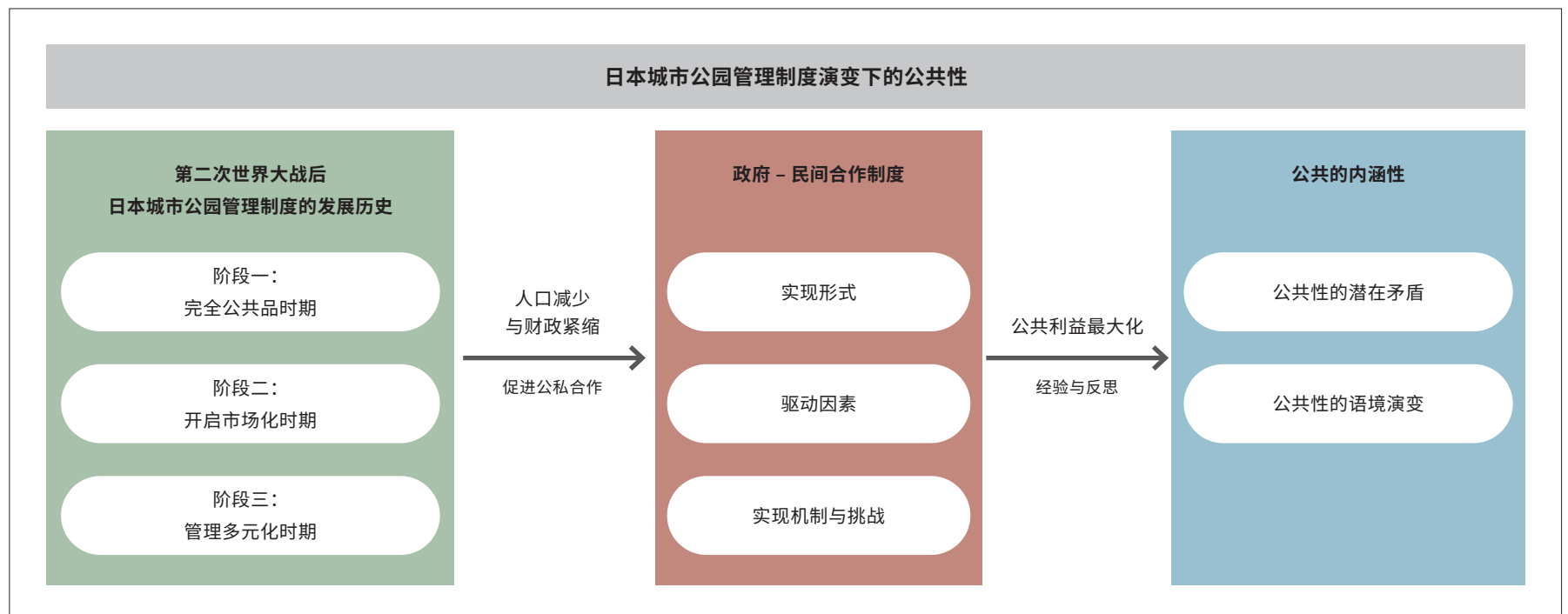
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图文摘要



摘要

在人口减少和财政紧缩的背景下, 日本为实现城市公园的可持续性以及活化地方城市空间, 采取了许多促进政府-民间合作的举措。这些举措在缓解公园财政困境的同时, 也引发了关于公共资产商业化可能侵蚀公共性和公共利益的担忧。本文回溯了第二次世界大战后日本城市公园管理制度的历史变迁——包括完全公共品、开启市场化、管理多元化三个时期。在此过程中, 公园的功能不断拓展, 建设、管理和运营模式由政府主导向社会多方参与转变, 资金来源也日益多样化。本文剖析了

日本城市公园引入政府-民间合作的类型、驱动因素, 以及实现机制与挑战, 认为在不同时代和社会背景下, 日本政府通过不断调整自身角色来引导公共利益最大化, 积极推动了以城市公园为代表的基础设施“公共性”语境的转变: 从二战后权属关系“公”与“私”的对立视角, 转向引入民间资本参与的效率视角, 再到提升地区竞争力的共同体视角。日本城市公园管理制度的改革实践对世界其他国家及地区的城市基础设施管理具有重要借鉴与启示意义。

关键词

公共性；景观正义；政府 - 民间合作；公开招募设置管理制度；城市公园；管理制度；城市基础设施

文章亮点

- 指出日本城市公园管理制度经历了完全公共品、开启市场化和管
理多元化三个历史时期
- 剖析了日本城市公园政府 - 民间合作模式的实现形式和驱动因素
- 指出不同时代和社会背景下，日本政府通过不断调整自身角色，追
求公共利益最大化，推动了城市基础设施公共性的语境转变

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1 引言

日本学者齐藤纯一在著作《公共性》中阐释了“公共性”（publicness）一词的三层含义：一是从国家管理的角度讲，指“公事的”职能和范畴；二是公众“共同的”资源和利益；三是向公众“开放的”公共领域和空间^[1]。对于日本而言，从20世纪60年代国家对公共性的“独占”，到90年代“市民公共性”的塑造，以及后来以“共同体”的视角来理解公共性的内涵，这反映了公共性概念从单一的国家主导转向多元化、民主化的过程。以德怀特·沃尔多的《行政国家》^[2]和罗伯特·B. 登哈特的《新公共服务》^[3]为代表的研究，强调了公共服务的公共性和价值取向，反对将公共服务仅仅视为生产服务的工具。自20世纪80年代以来，针对过度的“管理主义”倾向，一部分学者呼吁复兴政府的公共性，其中以詹姆斯·H·威斯利、杰弗里·沃尔夫和查尔斯·T. 古德塞尔为代表的“黑堡学派”，以及以登哈特为代表的“新公

共服务学派”强调，公共性内涵不应止于公平、正义、责任等基本原则或仅仅实现特定的管理目标，更应关注公共利益和价值^[4]。

在公共服务领域，政府与市场之间的关系往往构成了深入探讨公共性的批判核心——二者如何介入并形成对公共性话语权的影响，这也成为每个时代无法回避的命题。伯顿·A. 韦斯布罗德提出的“市场失灵论”和“政府失灵论”指出，无法盈利的公共服务将因供给不足而“失灵”，需要政府干预；而随着公共需求增加，政府也可能因应对低效、贪腐问题而“失灵”，因此无法仅凭政府或市场单方面提供公共服务^[5]。那么，政府如何调节自身与市场的关系，以及如何更好地引导管理制度建设，是保障公共设施良性发展的关键。

当前，包括日本在内的全球许多发达国家面临财政负担增加、服务供给减缓和代际利益失衡等问题，公共服务的公共性困境愈加凸显^{[6][7]}。在东亚地区，中国在人口结构和财政环境变化方面也出现了与日本类似的趋势。中国学者对城市公共服务的公共性，以及空间正义相关的话语建构^[8]、公共价值^[9]、空间特征^[10]、不公平分配^[11]、评估与改进标准^{[12][13]}等议题进行了广泛探讨。然而，在人口减少、财政紧缩和亟需有效降低地方债务的背景下，公共设施的“存续”和公共性的“流失”之间的矛盾变得更加突出。引入民间资本对于公共设施的存续具有重要意义，但如果市场化过程缺乏公平原则和有效监管，则可能导致公共服务公共性的丧失，也为审视公共性带来了新的挑战。

本研究通过对日本城市公园管理制度历史背景进行回溯，分析了日本政府如何顺应时代需求，改善公园管理制度的变迁过程。一方面，本文梳理了日本城市公园管理制度中“公”与“私”的形成与发展的脉络；另一方面，分析了引入政府 - 民间合作制度在促进公共设施高效运营、降低财政支出中所取得的经验，并剖析其实现机制与驱动因素，进一步引发对城市公园作为基本社会福利和公共服务载体的公共性语境变迁的思考。

2 日本城市公园管理制度演变中的“公”与“私”

2.1 日本城市公园“私”的由来

在日本江户时代（1603~1868），“公园”作为公共基础设施的概念并不存在。最初的公园是由“私地”转变为“公地”的结果。19世纪70年代，日本最早的公园是将原属于大名^①、士族、寺院、神社的私人领地中适宜游览的场所直接向公众开放而实现的——如将宽永寺用地改为上野公园、浅草寺用地改为浅草公园等。直至1873年，日本政府才正式提出了“公园”概念^{[14][15]}。伴随着西方城市规划理念的引入，1888年出

① 大名指江户时代地区领主。

台的日本首个城市规划法规《东京市区改正条例》首次按网格状规划了49个现代意义上的公园，其中只有两个是完全依赖政府财政拨款，在空地上新建的公园，其一是素有“东京中央公园”之称的日比谷公园^[16]。这些最初的公园土地后来大部分被划归为国有用地。政府保留了公园内原有一些收益项目（如地租、料亭^②和园内枯木销售收入）作为公园行政经费来源，用于公园日常管理维护、后续新园建设，甚至支付雇员工资^[17]。

直至第二次世界大战前，日本城市公园的运营一直未使用政府财政拨款。从明治时期至昭和初期（1868~1946年），公园采用独立收支制度，以土地租赁费作为主要经费来源。早在大正初期（1912~1926年），一些公园设立了游船、游泳场、网球场、棒球场、音乐堂、餐厅等收费设施，其收益也成为了公园的收入来源之一。其中，最著名的案例是位于日比谷公园（于1903年落成）内、自建园第二年起就开设的松本楼，其餐饮服务一直营业至今^{[16][18]}。大阪的滨寺公园、奈良的奈良公园里也保存着一些从明治时期就开始运营的料亭、茶屋和旅馆。

2.2 日本城市公园管理制度中“公”的确立与演变

2.2.1 完全公共品时期（1956~1967年）：公园管理制度的确立

二战时及战后一段时期，由于日本城市公园内的营利性设施缺乏明确的法规约束，管理权属出现漏洞，导致公园内的营利设施逐渐泛滥；加之战时社会动荡，公园内搭建了各种临时设施，公园的公共属性和功能受到严重侵蚀。

当时的普遍观念正如学者森胁龙雄在1949年发表的《公园的公共性》一文中所指出：“公园的设立原本是为了公共利益，应作为不以盈亏相抵为目标的公共事业。要防止公共设施被私人垄断谋取私利，公园本身及内部设施都不应委托予私人进行营利活动。”^[19]为恢复公园功能和规范管理，日本政府于1956年颁布了《都市公园法》，明确规定公园用地内不能行使私权，其中所涵盖的“管理委托制度”限制十分严格，强调了政府的管理主体地位，且只有在政府等公共团体无法实施管理的情况下才允许引入民间资本。

直至20世纪60年代，国家官僚主义体制下的社会普遍观念认为，在以地方政府、公共团体为中心的管理模式下，“公权力”全面代表着公园“公”的属性，而民间经济作为“私”的代表，受到了较强的遏制，极大地限制了民间经济加入公共财产管理与经营的可能性。20世纪50年代中期至70年代初，日本经济经历了快速增长，高投入低回报的基础设施几乎完全依靠政府税收维持运营，公共空间管理约占城市基础建设支出的45%^[20]。

2.2.2 开启市场化时期（1968~1999年）：引入政府-民间合作制度

进入20世纪七八十年代，面对主流西方资本主义国家私有化浪潮的

国际环境转变，以及经济改革不完整的压力，日本逐渐开始推进行政改革^{[21][22]}。1983年，日本政府开始推行国有土地转让政策，试图通过市场机制提高土地利用效率。1986年，日本颁布了《民活法》，明确引入民间资本参与公共服务和基础设施建设，以通过竞争提升公共服务质量和效率。

20世纪90年代初，随着泡沫经济的崩溃，日本政府面临着巨大的财政赤字压力。为了应对这一挑战，政府通过一系列改革措施减少政府对经济的直接干预，以政府-民间合作的方式，引入更多民间资本和企业参与管理，推动提升公共部门的管理效率与削减财政开支。与此同时，地方分权改革的推进和“新公共管理”^{③[23]}理念的引入也进一步推动了公共事业的民营化趋势^{[24][25]}。1999年，日本制定了《促进私人融资倡议法》（又称《PFI法》），以促进利用民间资本、管理和技术来建设、维护和运营公共设施。这一法律的实施不仅为民间资本进入公共领域提供了法律保障，也为后续城市公园的多元化管理奠定了基础。

2.2.3 管理多元化时期（2000年至今）：人口减少背景下的公园管理制度

进入21世纪，在日本人口持续减少、地方财政不足的背景下，包括中小学、公营住宅、医院、政府办公楼、体育中心、图书馆、博物馆、公园在内的公共基础设施都陷入了“存续危机”^[7]。其中，占日本城市公园面积近七成的地方城市公园（总面积约为85 870hm²）也出现了使用者减少的局面^[26]；此外，人口减少也导致地方税收锐减，城市公园的维护管理费出现不足，公共设施老化问题也日益凸显。

2001年，以“从官转民”为口号的“小泉结构改革”的提出进一步确定了放宽管制和开放市场的改革方向，陆续完成了部分国有企业的民营化改组。2003年，日本政府废除了管理委托制度，转而推出“指定管理人制度”^[27]，允许民营企业、非营利组织（NPO）等机构通过特许经营方式参与公共设施运营，这标志着公共设施管理的主体不再限于政府和公共团体^[28]。

2010年后，随着“设施管理”观念的深入，日本设施管理协会（JFMA）、公园设施协会（JPFA）、公园绿地协会（POSA）等公益组织的成立与不断完善，也推动了日本政府-民间合作制度的进一步成熟，它们搭建了民营企业深入公共事业领域的桥梁。许多大型企业专门开展和承接与相关公益组织紧密合作的业务，包括资质认证、培训、奖励、研究会和交流会等。

② 料亭指传统的高级日式餐厅。

③ 新公共管理理念起源于20世纪80年代，受到新自由主义经济思想的影响，强调引入私营机构的管理方法和市场机制，以提高公共事业的效率和服务质量，以及政府行政工作的透明度（来源：参考文献[23]）。

2017年，日本政府再次修订《都市公园法》，引入“公开招募设置管理制度”（Park-PFI制度），通过公开招募的方式选拔民营企业参与公园设施的建设、运营和维护，以提高公园的吸引力和盈利能力，从而减轻政府的财政负担。这一举措大大提升了民间资本在公共基础设施建设、管理等公共事业中的参与程度^{[29][30]}。

随着时代的发展，日本城市公园管理制度经历了从纯粹的公共品向引入民间参与的“公—私”的转变，逐步扩大了政府—民间合作的范围和深度。本文结合舟引敏明、饭岛健太郎^{[27][31]}等学者的研究，认为战后日本城市公园管理制度不同阶段的发展主要是通过立法和持续的制度改革来实现的（表1），相应的法规和制度变化脉络也体现了每个阶段的关键特征：1）第一阶段公园功能单一，管理和资金完全依赖政府；2）第二阶段民营企业开始参与公园营利设施的管理和运营，以弥补政府和管理上的不足；3）第三阶段民营企业的参与范围进一步拓展至公共事业，公园管理制度也由政府直接管理转向引入社会组织和社会参与的多元方式。这一演变不仅反映了日本社会经济的变迁，也展示了公园管理理念的革新。

这一系列管理制度的演进也为日本城市公园带来了三个方面的显著提升。首先，公园由最初仅为周边社区提供休闲和防灾等基础服务，逐步发展成为涵盖健康、教育、休闲、文化等多重功能的城市空间，使公园在城市生活中扮演更加重要的角色。其次，民营企业等多方社会力量的参与与提高管理效率的同时，也为公园注入了新的活力。第三，通过管理制度的创新，吸引了民间资本、提升了商业运营收益，有效分担了政府在公共基础设施上的财政压力，在一定程度上为公园的可持续发展提供了保障。

3 政府—民间合作制度

3.1 政府—民间合作制度的实现形式

政府—民间合作（又称“公私伙伴关系”）指政府部门与民营企业之间在公共服务或基础设施项目领域展开的合作，涵盖开发、建设、管理、运营等阶段，包括民营化、PFI、指定管理人制度、出售公有资产给民营企业等多种实现形式^[32]（表2）。

表1：二战后日本城市公园管理制度的发展历程

阶段	时间	相关制度、法规	主要变化内容	目的
第一阶段： 完全公共品时期	1956~1967年	· 《都市公园法》	· 实现法律的从无到有，要求城市公园的建立、管理、防灾机能、面积占用等必须遵守该法律的相关规定 · 在法律规定范围内整顿或清除所有非公有性质的设施	· 防止城市公园内设施泛滥 · 将非法部分改建或拆除
第二阶段： 引入市场化时期	1968~1998年	· 《城市规划法》 · 《民法法》 · 《都市公园法》（修订）	· 许可引入休养、游乐、运动、教养等设施 · 许可在地下、低层设置店铺，或在建筑屋顶建设城市公园 · 取消商用建筑用地面积限制	· 作为新全国综合开发计划的一环，满足大都市圈等区域的发展需要 · 放宽对民营企业建设公园设施的限制，促进民营企业、NPO和居民参与公园设施建设、运营和维护，以满足地区需求
第三阶段： 管理多元化时期	1999年至今	· 《PFI法》 · 指定管理人制度 · Park-PFI制度 · 《都市公园改造协定》 · 《都市公园法》（再修订）	· 餐饮、住宿设施等类型放宽 · 将公开招募民间管理公司与经营机构导入法制化程序，允许公共团体或私人竞标 · 将营利设施的收益用于完善设施周边的园路、广场等 · 将公园设施的实施方式、监督、公众参与形式、法律问责、资金来源、预算管理列入法规之内	· 尽可能把具体的公园设施项目委托给民营企业 · 将经费使用决定权等委托给民营企业管理 · 通过民营企业的创新和努力，维持和提高服务质量并降低成本

表 2：政府 – 民间合作的实现形式

形式	说明
民营化	将中央政府或地方公共团体经营的企业直接改组为一般民营企业，或将公共服务和公共设施所有权项目完全移交给民营企业；强调完全转变为民营，不再由国家直接管理
PFI	从公共服务和公共设施项目的资金筹措到建设、管理、运营全流程的外包
指定管理人制度	仅将公共服务和公共设施项目的管理、运营部分外包给民营企业，主要包括民营企业对营利设施独立收支管理，以及政府采购服务两种模式
出售公有资产给民间企业	指政府或公共部门将其所有的企业、服务（如供水、电力等）或资产（如公路、机场）出售给民营企业或个人；这一过程通常是为了提高效率、增加财政收入或减少政府负担，包括全面出售、部分出售和外包服务

表 3：PFI 具体模式

模式	流程	说明
BTO	建设 – 移交 – 运营	政府出资建设后移交民营企业运营
BOT	建设 – 运营 – 移交	民营企业出资建设并在特许期内运营获利，后移交政府运营
BOO	建设 – 所有 – 运营	民营企业出资建设并在特许期内拥有所有权和运营权
RO	改造 – 运营	政府将现有设施特许交由民营企业改造运营；政府保留所有权，民营企业负责更新改造和后期运营管理

各地方政府也都对此类政策进行积极回应，日本城市公园中应用较为广泛的是指定管理人制度和PFI^[23]。指定管理人制度多适用于已建成的城市公园，如东京南池袋公园、大阪天王寺公园和大阪城公园等^[25]；而需要新建或更新的公园设施项目则更多采用PFI（表3），其中应用最为广泛的是BTO（建设 – 移交 – 运营）模式，相关案例包括神奈川长井海手公园和柳岛运动公园、横滨市二桥公园等^{[25][33]}。

3.2 政府 – 民间合作制度的驱动因素

纵观日本城市公园管理制度的变迁过程，其驱动因素是国际环境影响与日本自身经济状况的叠加。本文从政府财政压力、新自由主义市场竞争理念、地方分权和新公共管理理念，以及公众服务需求的变迁四个方面对日本城市公园管理制度变革的主要驱动因素进行剖析。

1) 政府财政压力是推动公园管理制度改革的因素之一。自20世纪80年代以来，日本面临着外部经济环境压力和国内财政紧缩的双重挑战。特别是在泡沫经济崩溃后，日本政府面临着庞大的财政赤字压力。在这种背景下，引入民间资本、减轻政府在公共事业上的支出成为一种现实需求。这种财政压力促使政府不得不重新思考公共服务的提供方式，寻求更加高效和经济的解决方案。

2) 新自由主义市场竞争理念的兴起对日本的政策导向产生了深远影响。这种思潮强调开放公共事业和服务、引入市场化竞争机制，将其视为提高效率和注重绩效的重要手段^{[21][22]}。在这种理念的指导下，日本政府开始探索将市场机制引入公园设施建设、管理和运营的可能性，以期通过竞争提高服务质量和运营效率。

3) 地方分权和新公共管理理念的兴起为公园管理制度改革提供了制度基础和理论支撑。地方分权改革赋予了地方政府更大的自主权，使他们能够根据本地实际情况制定更加灵活的公园管理政策。在这种背景下，地方政府积极探索了更多元化的政府 – 民间合作实现形式。

4) 公众服务需求的变迁也是推动公园管理制度改革的重要因素。随着时代的变迁，日本市民对公共服务的期望不断升级，对公共设施的质量、丰富性和便利性提出了更高要求。传统的政府主导型公园管理模式已难以满足居民日益多样化、个性化的需求。吸引民间资本参与公园设施的建设、管理和运营，能够通过市场敏锐的主动性去捕捉和满足公众的多样化需求，丰富经营项目类型，以提升城市公园体验。

3.3 政府 – 民间合作的实施机制与挑战

从日本城市公园管理制度的演变过程来看，日本政府在政策与具体实施上始终致力于顺应时代需求，地方政府也积极响应中央政府的相关政策，努力实现公共利益的最大化。

首先，日本政府采取了分阶段、分领域推进的策略。从20世纪80年代开始，政府首先在国有土地转让、大型建设项目等领域开展试点。随着经验的积累和成效的显现，政府 – 民间合作的范围逐步扩大，逐渐覆盖城市公园等更广泛的公共事业领域。这种渐进式实施方式不仅确保了政策实施的稳定性，也为各个领域的独特性提供了充分的考虑空间。

其次，日本政府对城市公园管理模式进行了持续调整和创新。从最初的管理委托制度到后来的指定管理人制度，再到Park-PFI模式，政府不断探索更加灵活、高效的政府 – 民间合作模式。这些变革赋予了民间资本更多的参与空间和话语权，有效激发了社会资源的活力。与此同

时，政府也通过制度设计努力权衡、保障各方利益。通过制定和完善相关法律法规，明确界定各方权责范围，在追求效率的同时也注重平衡公共利益与营利诉求，促进政府-民间合作的良性发展。

最后，在推进政府-民间合作的过程中，日本政府始终注重加强监管和引导。一方面，通过建立公开招募、业绩考核等机制，政府利用反馈与评价体系引导其朝着有利于公共利益的方向发展。另一方面，政府也注重政府-民间合作的多元化发展，除了吸引民间资本外，还鼓励社区、NPO等多元主体参与公共项目建设。在这个过程中，政府扮演着“规则守护者”的关键角色，通过制定公平、包容的政策，确保不同背景、类型的参与者都能在政府-民间合作中实现其价值，从而实现公共利益的最大化。

当然，这一实现过程也面临着地区实现程度各异、财政效益不均衡、服务质量良莠不齐等方面的挑战。在实施指定管理人制度十年后，日本政府对该制度在城市公园的引入情况进行了调查。调查结果显示，约11%的城市公园引入了该制度；约50%的地方政府在城市公园推行了该制度，人口20万以上的地方政府公园引入率超过70%，但在乡村地区引入率不足30%；引入该制度的公园，民营化运营年限多为3~5年；采用“全部公开招募”或“大多公开招募”方式选定民营企业的地方政府占72%^[34]。不过，有学者在调研中发现，在实施Park-PFI制度之后，民间资本参与的积极性并不如预期，原因在于政府仅单方面削减了预算，并没有为企业留有利润空间^[35]。对于后续是否会与所招募的民营企业续约，51%的地方政府表示“不考虑”，34.5%的地方政府表示需考虑企业既往的管理业绩。另外一项针对地方政府工作人员的调查显示，近60%的政府工作人员将“设施运营效率化（减少财政支出）”作为引入制度的第一要务，是“提高设施服务质量（营业时间、客服等）”占比（28.3%）的两倍多^[36]。

以上调查结果也揭示了日本城市公园引入政府-民间合作制度后的所面临的挑战。一是呈现出了明显的地区差异，政府-民间合作制度在人口集中的大城市应用更为广泛。二是政府与民营企业之间的利益平衡问题将可能影响长期合作的稳定性，如果政府过于注重降低成本，也可能抑制民营企业参与的积极性。

4 日本城市公园管理制度演变下的公共性

4.1 公共性的矛盾

日本地方政府通过引入市场化机制和民间力量参与公共事业，增加了管理和运营方式的多样性，同时也缓解了地方的财政压力。然而，另一方面，民间资本的介入也引发了城市公园公共性的流失。以资本服务价值为核心的消费主义渗透到公共空间，公园的“精品化”和迎合高消费群体的趋势在一定程度上侵蚀了公共空间的公共性，大众应有的享有

公共服务的权利能否得到保障受到了质疑^{[36][37]}。例如，有学者指出，类似东京涉谷的宫下公园^④的商业化公园空间排除了部分社会群体，违背了公园的开放包容原则^{[38][39]}。公园建设中的参与式设计和自主管理看似充分尊重公共性，但由于参与有限和品牌外包等问题，也导致了公共权益的不均衡^{[39][40]}。

绝大部分非政府主体都设有盈利目标，在公共服务商业化运作时，可能会降低公共空间或公共设施的可达性，间接使部分社会群体无法获得服务。不断增加的营利设施也在逐步侵占广场、道路、绿地等公共资源，成为无法人人共享的封闭空间。鉴于过多的经营场所会使公园原本的公共利益受到忽视、直接影响公共服务的公共性^[41]，在城市公园公共空间私有化的问题上，地方政府和中央政府的利益表现出的高度一致性，也是中央政策能迅速向地方传导和落实的主要原因。另一方面，尽管Park-PFI制度在很大程度上旨在解决地方政府财政困难及因人口减少导致的地方经济衰退问题，但从比例上而言，此类项目更集中在东京、大阪等资源丰富的主要城市的中心区域（如宫下公园、南池袋公园、大阪城公园等），它们实际上并不需要通过这些政策工具来吸引民营企业参与。这也反映出民营企业参与公共设施管理运营时，虽然重视公益性，但仍然受市场的影响较深。

4.2 公共性的语境演变

随着日本政府越来越多地引入民间资本参与公共设施建设和运营，公共性的语境也随之发生转变——逐渐脱离了二战后社会对公共性评价的主流视野（即不再以公共产品权属关系作为判断标准），转而更加注重融合管理者与使用者的共同目标，强调以共同体的视角，实现公共利益最大化。公园作为城市中有限的空间资源，更明确的集体公共权力、更广泛共享的公共价值成为了推动公共性语境发展的内生动力。当下官方政策文件更多地转向围绕以下核心语境展开公共性的阐述与传播。

（1）提升管理效率和激活地方经济

在逐步引入政府-民间合作制度的过程中，日本政府不断强化利用民间资本的活力，将“提升管理效率和激活地方经济”作为新的语境；通过引入民营企业和NPO参与，承担老旧公共设施改造和更新费用，被视为激活地方经济的新商机^{[34][42]}。例如，《Park-PFI制度应用指南》中指出，城市公园除了防灾、改善居住环境、保护生物多样性、传承地域

④ 宫下公园现位于东京涩谷黄金地段。公园始建于1953年，后于1966年被改造成东京第一个屋顶公园；2017年，三井不动产获得公园重建计划的最终开发权。宫下公园的重建采用了公私合作模式，重建后的公园虽然更加整洁有序，但私人开发也导致了公园的私有化趋势，在商业化的公共空间中，公园开放时间受到限制，原本合法的部分公园利用行为亦受到约束。在处理公园内流浪者问题时，政府采取了强制手段，忽视了弱势群体部分合法权利（来源：参考文献[38]）。

文化的基本功能之外，还可振兴城市活力、加强经济活性、促进企业落户、创造就业机会。不过，与中国、美国等国家不同的是，日本城市公园分布较为均衡，对周边不动产价格并没有显著影响^{[43][44]}，更多的是通过在城市公园里举办城市和区域性公共活动，吸引新的企业和开发项目入驻，创造新的就业机会，从而活跃地区经济、增强地区竞争力^[45]。

（2）满足城市居民新需求

城市公园内逐步允许设置运动场地、餐饮店、咖啡馆、烧烤区、托儿所等，以满足当下公园使用的新需求。社区居民也积极参与制定公园使用的规则协议，以及公园绿地的运营和维护，这不仅提升了公园的使用效率，也促进了居民的社区归属感。为了进一步适应居民的新需求，日本政府还实施了一系列政策，如低于市场价格出租公园用地，提供最长20年的使用许可期限，从建设初期就鼓励民间资本参与公园设施的管理和维护工作等。这些配套政策不仅成功吸引了更多民间资本的投入，还提升了公园的服务质量和居民满意度^{[42][46][47]}。

（3）提高生活品质

公园从过去作为城市中分散分布的“孤立”空间，转变为体系化的、相互联系的整体，构成与城市基底相呼应的完整绿地系统。在新建与整合存量绿地的过程中，政府官方文件主要围绕“提升存量设施”“更灵活利用城市公园”“无缝连接都市生活”“提高区域吸引力”等倡议来展开^[18]，不仅为市民提供了更多的休闲和娱乐空间，也提升了公园的可及性。

通过官方文件对公园新语境的引导，政府拓宽了公开、自治的市民参与和企业参与渠道，也让城市公园的管理和运营变得更加透明、高效。一方面仍然强化公园作为城市基础设施的基本功能，另一方面更注重其带来的增强城市生活品质、提高环境吸引力和居民归属感，最终促进居民自治下的区域可持续发展的重要作用^{[46][47]}。

5 结论与启示

日本作为亚洲率先进入世界贸易系统中的先兆性国家^{⑤[48]}，在人口老龄化和财政危机等挑战上，早于其他亚洲国家提出了系列政策响应，其制度成效与问题可供其他国家参考。日本城市公园管理制度的演变历程带来的深刻启示可总结为以下几点：

首先，这一过程反映了日本政府在不同历史时期和社会条件下，为追求公共利益最大化所作出的持续努力。随着将二战后普遍的“公”与

“私”的对立视角转向引入民间资本参与的效率视角，再转向提升地区竞争力的共同体视角，日本城市公园管理制度的转变深刻体现了政府角色的调整和公私合作理念的深化，也是对“公”与“私”的认知跨越。日本政府角色的转变是制度演变的核心，从代表“公权力”的主导地位逐步转向以“市民公共权利”为中心的新定位。这一转变明确了公民参与是现代城市基础设施管理中权利保障的重要路径。

其次，管理权力的缩放受参与者群体的构成、使用权支配方式，以及社会全体权力意识变迁的共同影响。在日本城市公园管理制度不断改革的过程中，政府积极推动了公共性语境的转变，在塑造与引导社会对公平、空间正义和景观正义等公共权利意识的改变中发挥了关键作用——在不断推广共享价值、广泛参与、权利平衡等核心理念，重视可持续发展和地区影响力提升的过程中，扩大了公共性语境的内涵与范围。

最后，虽然日本在应对人口减少和财政压力方面做了大量工作来维持公共基础设施的正常运营，但如何有效平衡和引导公共空间的价值仍是一项艰巨的挑战。空间公共性减损、服务属性与公共利益不平衡等问题可能导致社会公共性解体、弱势群体边缘化、公共服务地域差异加剧等。本文认为，为平衡服务属性与公共利益，在推进公私合作的过程中，政府应超越单纯地减少赤字、盈利增长等目标，注重公共设施服务的长远目标，即提升地区服务的参与性，促进以归属感为基础的可持续发展；应关注公共服务的均衡性，避免因过度依赖市场机制而导致的区域间差距扩大；同时，应建立新的公众参与机制和公开监管机制，确保广泛的公众参与公共利益的决策权利。

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⑤ 著名政治学领域学者菲利普·Y·利普西认为，日本是一个“先兆性国家”，它在国际体系中率先经历了许多挑战，研究日本可以为其他国家或地区的学者和决策者提供重要政治问题的相关参考，产生理论洞见（来源：参考文献[48]）。