TOSHIKEIKAKU AND *MACHIZUKURI* IN JAPANESE URBAN PLANNING

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INNER CITY NEIGHBORHOODS IN KŌBE

Carola Hein

Abstract: Japanese cities are characterized by a patchwork quality: modern business and shopping districts lie side by side with traditional neighborhoods. Rather than built urban forms, strong social networks have tended to determine the character of the neighborhoods. The particularities of Japanese cities are reflected in two different planning approaches: *toshikeikaku* [urban planning], administration initiatives that focus on overall physical structure and layout, and *machizukuri* [community-building], which is small-scale urban design that arises out of citizen participation and community organization.

In the first part of this article, I analyze the specific character of Japanese cities and neighborhoods, examining comprehensive urban planning and local initiatives, and social organization and urban streetscapes in urban history. In the second part, I describe planning initiatives and community building activities in the city of Kōbe after the 1995 Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. I focus on three neighborhoods: the area south of Shin-Nagata station for its large-scale urban renewal approach; Takatori-Higashi 1 for its land readjustment; and Noda-Hokubu for its innovative district planning initiatives. I conclude the article with a discussion of what I see as the necessary future integration of urban planning and community-building through further decentralization, the strengthening of community activities, and the increasingly important role of the consultant.

1. INTRODUCTION

Japanese cities are composed of neighborhoods that combine like organic cells to form urban organisms that are quite different from most of their European or American counterparts, which are characterized by comprehensive infrastructural networks and grid designs. This strong emphasis on the neighborhood in Japan has long-standing roots. In order to understand how the Japanese city is centered on the neighborhood, the present article will first examine the concepts of neighborhood and city in the context of Japanese urban history. In contrast to European or American examples that center around urban forms and structures, Japanese neighbor-

221

hoods are determined by social networks, and are therefore given special attention in this paper. The article then discusses the two main levels of urban design in Japan: *machizukuri* [community building], which is small-scale urban initiative arising out of citizen participation and community organization; and *toshikeikaku* [urban planning], a comprehensive, encompassing approach to the overall city, strongly focused on the physical structure and planning strategy.

The traditions, content and aims of *machizukuri* and *toshikeikaku* are particularly evident in the urban planning of Kōbe, a city known for its achievements in both spheres. The second part of this article therefore concentrates on the planning initiatives taken after the 1995 Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. Following the earthquake's large-scale destruction of inner-city neighborhoods, the city government speedily adopted various planning decisions, leaving little leeway for local initiatives. During the ensuing reconstruction, however, there were opportunities to debate and to apply new planning concepts and methods. The interaction between *toshikeikaku* and *machizukuri* yielded particularly effective and interesting expression in Shin-Nagata Ward, which contains examples of large-scale urban transformation and innovative attempts at creating community spaces. The area south of Shin Nagata station, and especially the Kunizuka project, is examined for its large-scale *saikaihatsu* [urban renewal] approach and the attempt at creating community spaces in high-rise public housing. I analyze the area Takatori-Higashi 1 as an example of *kukakuseiri* [land readjustment] carried out in consultation with inhabitants and for an attempt at cooperative housing made at the initiative of the local consultant. I then present another neighborhood, Noda-Hokubu, and discuss its innovative district planning initiatives.

In my conclusion, I consider the issue of to what degree the traditional structures of Japanese cities can inspire future urban design. I look at the possibilities for creative interaction between *machizukuri* and *toshikeikaku*, and for the strengthening of their links. Possible improvements include further decentralization of planning power, more effective use of consultants, and changes in the role of the architect. I believe an analysis of Japanese neighborhoods is important because their particular spatial features and social networks, and the recent attempts at community rebuilding, provide models for future urban design in Japan and other parts of the world.

2. Neighborhoods and the Japanese City

Japanese cities are formed out of a patchwork of modern and traditional areas. Business or shopping districts characterized by wide streets, public spaces, pedestrian walkways, underground life-lines and skyscrapers are surrounded by traditional neighborhoods, which feature a jumble of narrow lanes, tiny gardens, overhead electric wires and rows of small lots with a mixture of apartment and single-family houses. The narrow and irregular paths in these neighborhoods require cars to drive carefully and allow room for neighborly talk and children's play. The idea of the street as the main living-room of the neighborhood is very much alive here.

While most buildings and lots on these streets are so small that they would be considered unfit for construction in Europe or America, they are the logical response to the particularities of the urban environment in Japan. These streetscapes reflect the outcome of extreme population density, high land prices, and the desire for single-family housing. The common desire of Japanese people to remain in areas to which they have strong emotional ties, and a highly selective application of existing land laws geared towards expropriation and land consolidation, further shape Japanese cities.

The traditional areas in Japanese cities have received increased attention over the last decade. Instead of being presented with the focus on potential negative aspects (crampedness, fire hazards, etc.), they have been highlighted for their lifestyle and their social networks. A 1995 film by Kumagai Hiroko titled *Fureau Machi* (The story of two neighborhoods) compares life in Mukōjima, a typical *shitamachi* working-class district in Eastern Tōkyō, one of the few districts that survived both the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake and the air raids of World War II, with life in Hamburg's Ottensen district. In its depiction of Mukōjima, the film describes the social life and the people of the district and clearly illustrates the Japanese idea of the neighborhood as the place of community and interaction, one that offers care, for example, of elderly and disabled people. In contrast, in its depiction of Ottensen, also a working class district with strong social ties, the film emphasizes the preservation of buildings and urban form. The transformation of old factory buildings is shown in detail as a major aim of community activities. The physical form of the neighborhood, which for European or American observers is closely linked to the quality of life, gets more attention in Hamburg than in Tōkyō.

This illustrates just one of the differences between Japanese and European or American urbanism. The difference in attitude becomes even clearer when we look at the words used to assess urban qualities. While European and American planners have directed their efforts toward

"beautification", in Japan aesthetic concerns have never been a major pre-occupation. In fact, the European or American concept of a "beautiful city" is difficult to translate into Japanese. When the word *kirei* is used in the sense of "beautiful" with regard to buildings or the city, it usually carries connotations of "tidy", "neat", "clean", "straight", or "new". Thus the phrase *kirei na machi* would refer to a neighborhood that is not littered with waste or cluttered with bicycles. Because of these differences in connotation, European or American expressions often do not make sense in a Japanese context. The Western concept of an "old and beautiful town" cannot be translated using *kirei*, as the words *furui* [old] and *kirei* are mutually exclusive. If one wants to express something along these lines, it is necessary to say an "old *but* beautiful town." One does not find sentences like *furukute kirei na machi* [a beautiful old neighborhood], or *furukute kirei na ie* [a beautiful old house]. The European or American concept of a beautiful city may be translated more appropriately with the adjective *utsukushii*, "pretty", or "lovely", but this is a word that is used more rarely with cities in Japan.

What favorable concepts describe the Japanese city and guide its planning? *Anzen* [safe], *sumiyasui* [easy to live in], *miryokuteki* [charming], are some of the adjectives used. They describe the qualities of the neighborhood in particular, and indeed they may hold important suggestions for future urban development. *Anzen* refers primarily to measures available for disaster prevention, although it can also imply the safety of a neighborhood in which women can return home alone late at night and children can play freely. *Sumiyasui* denotes a feeling of comfort and easy human relations with neighbors. Finally, *miryokuteki* contains the idea of a special character inherent in a particular area. This attachment to the neighborhood reflects the long-standing division of Japanese cities into various units.

These independent units were in the Edo period under the control of the military class, temples and shrines, or the townsmen. The townsmen, in particular, historically had a certain degree of autonomy in their neighborhoods, which were called *machi*, or *chō*.[1]

Even though the form, size and definition of *machi* have varied over the centuries, they continue to be important administrative and planning units. Their spatial dimensions can be shaped by geographic structures, such as slopes or valleys, that may be reflected in built forms, as Jinnai Hidenobu's analysis of daimyo residences and neighborhoods in Tōkyō shows (1995). Historically, *machi* were centered on the street as they included the buildings on both sides. The street was thus part of the

---

[1] *Chō* is generally used in combination with other kanji.

neighboring blocks, instead of being primarily the spine of the overall urban system, as in the case of post-Renaissance European or American cities. The neighborhood's most important feature even today remains its character as a social space without precise borders. Inhabitants generally refer to the *machi* as a place of a particular lifestyle and a social community.

The importance of *machi* in Japanese culture can be seen in the fact that there are several ways to write this word. It can be written with two different Chinese characters for *machi*, which can also be read as *chō or gai* respectively; or with the hiragana *machi.* Though the pronunciation of the word may be the same, the different ways of writing it reveal variations in meaning. *Machi* in the meaning of *chō* refers to an administrative unit with a clear borderline; it indicates a smaller part of the city and is also now used as a unit in the address system. *Machi* in the meaning of *gai* refers to a smaller area, often focussed around a shopping street. *Machi* written in its hiragana form may be used to refer to *chō* or *gai* or to a small everyday community.

There are other words too used to describe sections of a town: *chiku* [district] and *kuiki* [district], for example. The neighborhood may be described as *kinjō* [vicinity], *chōnai* [neighborhood], or with the imported word "community" written in katakana *komyūniti* to denote a social space without exact boundaries. Another word, *kaiwai* [neighborhood, vicinity] describes a small, active area or space distinguished from surrounding areas by its individuality and identity (Ishida 1996a: 214). The multiplicity of words relating to urban units demonstrates the importance of the neighborhood in Japanese urban structure and life. In contrast, the number of terms used for "city" are comparatively few.

The city as unique overall structure has never had the same importance in Japan as in Europe. Consequently, the spatial organization of each is very different. Infrastructural networks organize European cities; major public buildings occupy the skyline; public places and architecture express the main political, economic, social and cultural forces in the city; and beautification is a central aim. Capital cities such as Rome, Paris or Washington serve as the best examples. These cities have been places of power for centuries, and the government has left its imprint on the built environment. In Japan, on the other hand, the word for "city", *toshi*, had to be created after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 when Japan was opened to the West and its ideas. Other words related to modern city planning, its methods and tools have entered Japan only during the last hundred years (Hein and Ishida 1997). The idea of the city as a social structure does not offer identity to the people to nearly the same extent as the idea of the neighborhood (Ishida 1996a).

225

The formation of the word used to translate "city" shows that it is a term formed to describe a new concept that entered the country from outside and is not integral to Japanese cultural identity. *Toshi* was created using the kanji of capital city (*miyako*) and market place (*ichi*) (Mochizuki, Watanabe and Soshiroda 1994).[2] A city was thus described as both a big city and a market place. Though many European cities did indeed develop out of market places, in Japan, this was rare. Most cities came into existence as *jōkamachi*, literally the "*machi* beneath the fortress." In contrast to European cities where the whole urban area was surrounded by fortifications, in Japan only the actual castle was surrounded by walls. Other Japanese cities came into existence as post stations (*shukuba*), places that offered accommodation for travelers along the old highway system, or as temple towns (*teramachi*). Japanese cities thus developed from different types of towns, many of which combined several functions. In each case, the notion of *machi* was present.

Conceptual and functional differences between European and Japanese cities can be seen even more clearly by comparing the ideas behind capital cities. The kanji for *miyako,* used to write *toshi,* the Japanese word for city, can be understood as meaning a capital city, but in Japan it was traditionally used only for Kyōto. *Miyako* did not apply to regional or specialized centers in the same way as the word "capital" did in Europe. A literal translation of the English word "capital" is *shuto* or "head city." While this term has been used repeatedly in recent years in the context of a possible transfer of government institutions to a new capital city site, it is usually not applied to other forms of capital cities. Instead, regional or prefectural capitals are referred to as the "seat of prefectural government" (*kenchō shozaichi*) while regional cities are called *chihō toshi*. These terms do not carry the same symbolic meaning as the notion of a "capital city" in Europe.

Similarly, the pride that people take in being "Tōkyōites" seems to be much less discernible than that taken by people in being, for example, "Parisians".[3] To find places that people use for terms of their identity, we have to look at particular sections of the metropolis, at urban localities such as Shibuya, a place of young fashion, Shinjuku, the business and entertainment district, or Ginza, the elegant shopping district. These places, which

---

[2] The same character is also used for "city" in Chinese. The differences need further investigation.

[3] The term *Edokko* [Edoite], which describes the inhabitants of Edo, Tōkyō's name before the Meiji Restoration, may be comparable with "Parisian". The use of this term over time needs further research, however.

connote only parts of a city, are more common references than is the city of Tōkyō itself.

The Japanese approach towards urban space, a concentration on the parts instead of the overall unit, is similarly reflected in the history of Japanese urban planning. Throughout the Edo period, urban planning was referred to as *machiwari*, which refers to the dividing of land for building neighborhoods. The use of this term shows that planning the city as an entirety was not dominant practice in Japan. Thus, just as the word for "city" had to be invented, a new word had to be found for "urban planning": *toshikeikaku.* This word, which started to be used in the early years of the 20th century, has since become a synonym for large scale urban planning as practiced in the 1960s and 70s, including the planning of new towns on the outskirts of existing cities or highways.

Machizukuri (literally, "making a neighborhood" or "making a community") is, in contradistinction to *toshikeikaku,* a grass-roots movement carried out from the ground up by the inhabitants. Whereas *toshikeikaku* takes a modern interventionist approach, *machizukuri* builds upon traditional urban form. However, while *machizukuri* and *toshikeikaku* seem diametrically opposed to one another, they in fact coexist in the majority of Japanese cities. This coexistence is a major reason for the chaotic appearance of much urban space, criticized by numerous foreign observers. Ashihara Yoshinobu (1989), however, sees this patchwork as obeying a "hidden order". For him, Japanese cities are characterized by their contents and undefined forms, which provide them with infinite evolutionary possibilities and allow for flexibility, variability and liveliness. Tōkyō, Ashihara points out, is capable much more than Paris, for example, of adapting to changing requirements. If adaptability is considered a major essential in contemporary urban planning approaches, then *toshikeikaku* as a type of planning based on large-scale design and hypothetical predictions is clearly limited.

Machizukuri movements have made an appearance all over Japan over the last few decades, and local administrations have started integrating the activities into their proceedings. The *machizukuri* initiatives have extended beyond the frameworks provided by the *chōnaikai*, or neighborhood organizations. These *chōnaikai* have a long tradition, and are today responsible both for organizing neighborhood events such as festivals, as well as activities and duties such as rules for waste disposal; and they have long been the primary partners of local government. The local government may ask a *chōnaikai* for advice before deciding on controversial projects such as the construction of a new street or the implementation of urban renewal projects; it may request the *chōnaikai* to find out about the needs and ideas of the inhabitants so as to be able to organize emergency

services or to preempt opposition movements (Nawata 1994, Nawata 1997).

Machizukuri initiatives, however, have often been proposed and influenced by *machizukuri* activists who are outside the leadership of the *chōnai-kai*. The recent shift towards giving the local *machizukuri* groups more power goes as far as encouraging them to draw up their own master plans under the advice of consultants and thus infringe on a field usually reserved for urban planners in city government (Watanabe 1999).

This dual approach of comprehensive *toshikeikaku* and local *machizukuri* has characterized Japanese planning for many years. Whereas *toshikeikaku* resembles European or American planning practice, *machizukuri* includes numerous innovative aspects and is therefore presented here more fully. The effects of both approaches are particularly visible in the reconstruction of Kōbe after the 1995 earthquake. The following section investigates whether several decades of the co-existence of *toshikeikaku* and *machizukuri* have changed urban approaches.

3. Kōbe: Urban Planning and Community-Building

Throughout the 20th century, planning authorities made numerous attempts to modernize Japanese cities, which often meant adapting them for national, economic, political and global purposes. The history of urban planning in Kōbe before and after the 1995 Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake illustrates the possibilities of *machizukuri* local community design attempts promoted by citizens against the backdrop of *toshikeikaku* urban planning approaches generated by public planners.

The two urban planning techniques used most often in Japan are *kukakuseiri* [land readjustment] and *saikaihatsu* [urban renewal]. *Kukakuseiri* consists of regrouping and redividing the land. This is done to create new public space for streets and green spaces and reserve land for sale to cover some costs of the redevelopment. *Saikaihatsu* in its various forms offers the means for the administration to unify the land. At the core of this procedure is the offering of floor space and land rights, or at least the priority to rent or buy, to the former owner of the land. The financing of the project is created by the sale of reserved floor area, which also adds to the density of the neighborhood. Both strategies, *saikaihatsu* and *kukakuseiri*, are part of large-scale urban planning intervention and allow for only limited citizen participation. Both have been applied in Kōbe and its Shin-Nagata Ward.

Kōbe provides a particularly good example of the interaction between large-scale *toshikeikaku* and small-scale *machizukuri* activities. Located on a

228

long, narrow strip of flat land between sea and mountains, the city has tried for decades to rationalize its belt-like structure into a rectangular network. In the 1960s, it created two artificial islands in the sea out of material from two mountains, which were demolished and replaced by new towns. A new infrastructural network was proposed in order to connect the new cities with the islands. The city's aggressive large-scale urban projects caused it to become known as "Kōbe Incorporated." The enlargement of Port Island, with future projects planned for a convention center, several service functions and an airport, exemplifies the future dreams of Kōbe's municipal administration and its investment in large-scale *toshikeikaku* planning.

At the same time, Kōbe is also home to one of the first and probably also the most famous example of grassroots *machizukuri,* in the Mano neighborhood; and the city has invested in community-building activities for decades.

Activities to improve the Mano neighborhood started in Kōbe in the 1960s, as many authors have explained (Hanshin Fukkō Shien NGO 1995, Hirohara 1996, Nawata 1998, Hohn 2000).[4] Mano, a typical inner city-area in Kōbe's Nagata Ward, had problems found in many inner-city areas in Japan: high population density, functional mixture, old structures, an aging population, narrow streets, and a lack of open space. The area had been created by rural land readjustment in the 1910s on a checkerboard layout featuring 2.5-meter-wide streets in the inner areas. The problem of environmental pollution was due particularly to the mixture of factories and housing.

A safe environment for living and raising children was the first demand of the inhabitants when they founded their initiative in the 1960s. Their primarily socially-oriented activities led to the creation of small parks on former industrial areas, a kindergarten, and a home for old people as well as initiatives for planting. In 1978, a *machizukuri* council was created with the aim of preventing a further decrease of population, attracting young families, creating an equilibrated mixture of functions, and constructing attractive housing. This project translated into a neighborhood plan that featured the broadening of two major streets and the creation of 6-meter-wide streets and "green" roads that connected to parks as emergency streets.

In 1981, the city of Kōbe created an Ordinance for *Machizukuri* Activities (*Chikukeikaku Oyobi Machizukuri Kyōtei Ni Kan Suru Jōrei*) and Mano was recognized as the first *machizukuri* council in 1982. With the help of con-

---

[4] Another famous example of *machizukuri* in Kōbe is the Maruyama district. See Kyōdai Nishiyama Kenkyūshitsuron 1970.

sultants paid by the city government, the inhabitants were encouraged to prepare a master plan, though at this point most of the projects did not pass the planning stage because of difficulties in organizing local participation. The large-scale destruction wrought by the 1995 earthquake brought home the need for change. It also showed the importance of personal networks: local *machizukuri* organizations greatly facilitated the organization of disaster responses as well as the reconstruction.

The Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake that struck on January 17, 1995 had devastating effects. Altogether, 320,000 people were evacuated and more than 5000 died. Over 200,000 buildings were completely or in large part destroyed; another 180,000 were slightly damaged (Kōbe-shi/Kōbe City, undated; Hanshin Expressway Public Corporation 1996; Hirohara 1996: 115). Traffic and lifeline infrastructures were destroyed in major portions of the city, which retarded the arrival of help. Although the most striking images in the media were of toppled highways and damaged harbor facilities, numerous deaths were caused by the collapse of old wooden houses with heavy tiled roofs.

The city administration's response to the disaster was rapid: it concentrated first on large-scale *toshikeikaku*. In contrast, in many cases mobilization of local citizens in *machizukuri* initiatives took months, and so some time went by before local people could have an effect on the city government's hardware-focused planning approach. Major decisions had been made within two months concerning large-scale reconstruction. First policy directions were published as early as January 31. Building restrictions were imposed on February 1 for six areas extending over approximately 233 hectares in accordance with Article 84 of the Building Standards Act (*Kenchiku Kijun-hō*). On February 26, the Law for Special Measures for the Reconstruction of Destroyed Areas (*Hisai Shigaichi Fukkō Tokubetsu Sochihō*) came into effect, opening the way for *kukakuseiri* and *saikaihatsu* measures over a two-year period.

Measures for urban plans for the Special Earthquake Reconstruction Promotion Areas (*Shinsai Shigaichi Tokubetsu Fukkō Suishin Chiiki*) were passed on March 17, after a mere two weeks of public deliberation: they provided for 124.6 hectares of land readjustment, 25.9 hectares of urban renewal, and street and park construction. Around these Special Areas, 24 zones (totaling 1,225 hectares) were singled out as Major Reconstruction Areas (*Jūten Fukkō Chiiki*) where specific reconstruction programs and instruments were to apply. Examples are the construction of infrastructure in the Rokkomichi and Shin-Nagata areas; the reinforcement of urban functions in Sannomiya; and the revival of high-density zones such as Mano. These measures concentrated on a very small portion of the 5,887 hectares declared Area for Reconstruction Promotion (*Shinsai Fukkō*

Sokushin Kuiki) on February 16: it corresponded more or less with the main urban area of Kōbe south of the Rokko Mountains. Surprisingly, these areas were chosen without elaboration of an overall concept. Their choice was largely in line with an earlier master plan that demanded decentralization on a regional scale with twelve new nuclei and the creation of two sub-centers in the areas of Rokkomichi Station and Shin-Nagata. These were the very two zones that were chosen for *saikaihatsu* and *kukakuseiri*.

When the first urban plans were passed on March 17, few people voiced any opposition in the city for obvious reasons: they were still reeling in the aftermath of the January 17 earthquake. Many people were living in provisional housing far from their former neighborhoods, and they were neither informed about the projects nor ready to give advice or voice opinions about urban planning problems. However, in accordance with the Japanese Urban Planning Law of 1968, while the plans need to be presented to the public, a public hearing remains optional. This means that major decisions on the reconstruction of several areas were not only undertaken without citizen debate, but at a time when the overall planning had not yet been decided.

While at first only a few planning specialists questioned the speed and form of reconstruction, as the reconstruction program unfolded, independent observers started to criticize the official proceedings and presented counter-proposals. Their interest concentrated on the problems of citizens from the destroyed areas and the revival of their way of life (Hirohara 1996: 116). They also raised questions about whether the large-scale approach of *toshikeikaku* was in fact the only way to rebuild a disaster-proof city. Instead of following the usual pattern for disaster prevention, for example, by widening streets (traditional narrow lanes are considered fire hazards and prevent emergency vehicles from reaching their destination), Ishida Yorifusa suggested a policy of promoting the use of bicycles and constructing houses with a higher resistance to catastrophe as well as other means of fire prevention. He argued that this reduced the number of places that needed to be re-planned (Sakamaki 1995; Ishida 1996b). Ishida's and others' proposals could be realized without causing major changes to the existing urban structure and they would preserve the human network.

The desire of the administration to speed up the transformation of the city by choosing Special Reconstruction Areas can be explained by the post-war experience, when *kukakuseiri* was sometimes deadlocked for decades in equity payment procedures. Arguing that rapid intervention was necessary to obtain national funds, the city maintained the speed of reconstruction planning until June 30, when the Kōbe City Restoration Plan was published (Kōbe-shi 1995b). About 100 people, including specialists, citi-

zen representatives, and members of the administration had collaborated on this plan. Although the establishment of this document could only be considered a first step to rebuilding, the work ended with its publication. Long-term active involvement from a variety of groups would have been necessary in order to guarantee the realization of the plans. It could have promoted the collaboration among citizens, consultants and administrators and involved citizens in master planning.

The Kōbe City Restoration Plan combined the urgent needs of reconstruction with long-term planning aims that would have been appropriate for a master plan. However, it did not insist sufficiently on the concrete needs of the citizens affected by the earthquake. In fact, the publication was largely based on the Kōbe master plan (*Dai Yonji Kōbe-shi Kihon Keikaku Zentei Shu* (temporary plan)) that had been completed in January 1995, only days before the earthquake (Kōbe-shi 1995a), and which projected city development until the year 2010. The general direction of the pre-earthquake master plan was largely unchanged in the second plan, and included several so-called "symbolic projects" such as a "China/Asia Exchange Zone", the development of a "Kōbe Business Start-up Zone", and a "Complex of 20th Century Museums", obviously designed to obtain national funding. The Restoration Plan addressed the restoration of people's livelihood, the revitalization of the city and its appeal and the construction of disaster-resistant infrastructure, but these long-term projects were inappropriately mixed with short-term necessities and midterm projects were missing (Kawamura, Hirohara and Yamashita 1996: 48–51).

The city administration's responses to immediate problems included the Kōbe City 3-Year Emergency Plan, which aimed to provide a total of 82,000 homes between fiscal 1995 and 1997. Only some of these housing units were projected for the destroyed area; the others were to be created in outer areas and in new towns where large open spaces existed. This plan made it clear that the city administration was pursuing its goal of decentralization using the master plan's established *toshikeikaku* techniques. The administration thus in fact required citizens to move into the new towns instead of returning to their old neighborhoods, thereby leaving little space for *machizukuri* initiatives.

The *toshikeikaku* approach of the city government is confirmed by a look at recent studies of planning, such as that outlined in the brochure *Kōbe-shi no fukkō saikaihatsu biru* [Urban Renewal Buildings in the Reconstruction of Kōbe City] (Kōbe-shi Toshikeikaku-kyoku, undated). They all suggest that the earthquake is a thing of the past, and that the city is looking towards the future. The new Awajishima bridge, the HAT project or a new Eastern center, and the proposed Kōbe airport illustrate the city's future

and show that a business-as-usual *toshikeikaku* attitude prevails in the reconstruction.

Local initiatives aimed at redefining the streetscape, redesigning half-private spaces, and reviving cooperative housing projects and row houses form important counterparts to the top-down approach of the city government. These initiatives introduce new design and housing types that serve as potential models for new *machizukuri* programs. The spatial proximity of large-scale redevelopment and small-scale initiatives based on individual participation continues to support the traditional patchwork character of Japanese cities. It also shows the importance of local networks and collaboration for new initiatives in community-building and urban design.

In Kōbe's Shin-Nagata Ward, old and new planning techniques and approaches come into play within a limited area.[5] Three areas within the Shin-Nagata Ward are examined here as examples of the interaction of *toshikeikaku* and *machizukuri*; they show the new forms of cooperative buildings and the attempt to integrate architectural creation in urban design. The Shin-Nagata Ward experienced varying degrees of citizen participation in its planning, as well as the activity of a planning consultant. The results can be seen in the area south of Shin-Nagata station with large-scale *saikaihatsu* urban renewal projects; Takatori-Higashi 1 where *kukakuseiri* land readjustment has allowed citizens to remain in the neighborhood; and Noda-Hokubu, which is a model of small-scale *machizukuri* activities. The chief aim in the initiatives in Noda-Hokubu was to improve the quality of life and the appearance of the neighborhood through citizen participation, and the results should be of interest even to other places in Japan. To the foreign observer, the lack of an integrated planning concept and the proximity of different approaches may be surprising, but their overall success may provide a stimulus to learn from the best Japanese methods.

3.1. Saikaihatsu *in Shin-Nagata Eki Minami 1*

In the area south of Shin-Nagata station, Shin-Nagata Eki Minami 1, *saikaihatsu* urban renewal has attempted to recreate architecturally the spirit of the earlier *shitamachi* area and to build community space that allows for social ties. Although neighborhood groups did form, the huge scale of the intervention limited the level of citizen participation. While attempts were

---

[5] This section of the present article is based on research prepared with a grant from the Humboldt Foundation. See also Hein, Carola: "*Machizukuri* versus *Toshikeikaku* – The rebuilding of Kōbe," unpublished paper/report 1999.

made to maintain inhabitants in the neighborhood, at least half of the new inhabitants of the urban renewal project have come from elsewhere and do not have a long-standing relationship with the area. This composition of the inhabitants has effectively created a new social community.

Urban renewal had been planned from before the earthquake for the southern part of Shin-Nagata, a traditional inner-city area with the same sort of problems discussed as in the case of Mano. This was an area targeted for redevelopment into one of the two urban sub-centers designated in Kōbe's Basic Plan for Comprehensive Improvement of Inner-city Areas (*Kōbe-shi Innāshiti Sōgō Seibi Kihonkeikaku*). An initial step toward urban renewal had already been taken using the first *saikaihatsu* method (*Dai Isshu Shigaichi Saikai Hatsujigyō*) for the Shin-Nagata station building (*Pifure Shin-Nagata*) in connection with the construction of a new North-South railway line (*Shinnagata Minamigawa Sen*) following a plan approved in 1993 (Kōbe-shi Toshikeikaku-kyoku 1998).

The earthquake created the opportunity for the implementation of the sub-center project. On March 17, 1995, in the area already marked out for large-scale transformation, an area of 20.1 hectares south of the Shin-Nagata station was designated for urban renewal of the second type (*Shinsai Fukkō Dai Ni Shu Saikaihatsu Jigyō*) as one of the six major reconstruction zones. The procedure to be applied was characterized by overall purchase, unification of the land, and a collective rebuilding following safety and rationality criteria. Few people in this area had the finances to build on their own, so that for them urban renewal was the only choice. Even after the establishment of a first urban plan, three revisions were made at the request of local *machizukuri* movements (Kōbe City 1997: 1–2).[6]

In spite of its urban planning approach, the Shin-Nagata project is interesting for the innovative concepts found in the Kunizuka area located in the south. Here, several blocks extending over an area of 7.5 hectares are designed as a unit. The local architect Morisaki Teruyuki tried after consultation with the local inhabitants to capture the former *shitamachi* feeling in the architectural design, creating a structure that integrates housing and bazaar-like shopping facilities. Designated not only as a local facility but also as a major shopping center in the new Kōbe sub-center, the Kunizuka area includes extensive parking space intended to increase the appeal of the project. Particular attention is also given to pedestrian space. The most innovative feature is a system of connected pedestrian decks on the first-floor level. Thanks to these walkways, which are free of street-crossings, a large park in the southern corner of the project is made accessible.

---

[6] Revisions: Nov. 5, 1996; Feb. 28, 1997; Sept. 2, 1997.

The *shitamachi* atmosphere that this project evokes was particularly important to the elderly. For them, the lack of space for gatherings and interaction in ordinary public housing, in which apartments were distributed according to size of family, would have been particularly difficult. A new housing environment had to be found that revived a *shitamachi* atmosphere and could combine privacy with community support while avoiding the extremes of collective life, shared kitchens, bathrooms and livingrooms. Collective housing had rarely been tested in Japan; it appeared, however, a possible solution. Morisaki designed the deck-space of the Kunizuka West Community Housing (*Kunizuka Nishi Fureai Jūtaku*) to serve as a common area and neighborhood plaza. It can be seen as a re-interpretation of the traditional *shitamachi* street, even though it is framed by two parallel blocks of five stories on the street side and seven stories on the inner side.

Figure 1: **Kunizuka West Community Housing in Shin-Nagata Eki Minami 1 Area (Architect: Morisaki Teruyuki)**

Note: The high-rise block is situated alongside a major street (*Kokudō 2 Gōsen*) insulating the five- and seven-story buildings from traffic noise.

Source: Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku Jūkan-kyō Seibi-ka (1998)

Free from car traffic, this common space offers wooden decking, benches, and plants, all of which provide a comfortable *shitamachi* atmosphere. Furthermore, in the first building of the Kunizuka development, the decision

was made to include a collective space that features a kitchen as well as Western and Japanese rooms, the maintenance of which is common responsibility. The first apartments in Kunizuka opened in 1998.

In the case of *saikaihatsu*, the built environment is completely transformed and the social network disrupted if not destroyed; design attempts at recreating a *shitamachi*-type environment can only be partially successful. Citizen participation is difficult as many people come from other areas. The inhabitants who have to live in homes built under *saikaihatsu* have to bear the sadness of having lost many of their former friends and neighbors and also all the easy opportunities for social ties offered by the *shitamachi*-type neighborhood.

3.2. Kukakuseiri in Takatori-Higashi 1

Slightly less disruptive measures were implemented in the nearby area of Takatori Higashi 1, where *kukakuseiri*, land readjustment was chosen for the redevelopment. This meant that the former inhabitants could stay in their neighborhood and thus to some extent preserve their social community. This social network facilitated the rapid organization of a reconstruction center and local deliberation of *kukakuseiri* land readjustment proposals. Nevertheless, the reduction of the individual plot sizes affected the inhabitants. Some plots ended up as too small for rebuilding, and many owners of other plots could only rebuild on a much reduced surface.[7] New types of cooperative housing were necessary, although they are only partially accepted by the citizens. Nonetheless, compared to *saikaihatsu*, this method is less disruptive, as it leaves the community generally intact.

Before the earthquake, Takatori-Higashi 1 was a typical *shitamachi* zone built on a 100-meter grid with major streets 8 meters in width and inner streets less than 3 meters in width. Characterized by a mixture of housing, shops and factories, and a strong neighborhood feeling, the area nevertheless suffered typical Japanese inner-city problems. The dangers in the event of an earthquake had been perceived for years; and from 1993 on plans had been made for a major park and the enlargement of two street axes to create emergency evacuation areas. The *machizukuri* council of

---

[7] In the case of Takatori-Higashi 1, the average land reduction is 9%. It varies, however, with the overall size of the plot. A site bordering a private street may thus lose 15%, which corresponds roughly, however, to the pre-existing road space. This is transferred to the city, while the overall buildable size of the plot remains largely unchanged.

236

Noda-Hokubu[8] had collaborated in the drawing up of policies in regard to empty houses, unlawful stationing of vehicles and disaster preparation. The first outcome of this renewal was the construction of the 0.16 hectares park Daikoku Kōen and the community streets that lead to it, which were finished on December 18, 1994, just a few weeks before the earthquake.

These streets were given a wave-like form reminiscent of the crooked, winding traditional neighborhood streets, which at the same time provided the necessary widened street space. Although the wave-like design may strike some as overdone, the effectiveness of the park and the streets was proven in the fires in the wake of the earthquake: while 97% of the area east of the park suffered heavy damage from fire, close to half the buildings on the western side remained intact. Even the choice of the trees was a major factor in fire prevention and reconstruction. The kusanoki trees in the park survived the fire, putting out new green shoots rapidly thereafter.

Independently of administrative boundaries and the existence of a *machizukuri* council in Noda-Hokubu, the badly burnt area of Takatori-Higashi 1 and two blocks of Noda-Hokubu were chosen for a *kukakuseiri* land readjustment project, with the aim of creating a new road network and parks. In response to these measures, local citizens set up a *machizukuri* council for Takatori-Higashi 1 on July 2, and a plan for reorganization (*jigyō keikaku*) was decided on November 30, 1995. A project for land exchange was established on August 28, 1996; and on November 5, 1996 the district plan for Takatori-Higashi 1 was approved. Its aim was the creation of a safe environment with a *shitamachi* feeling that would harmoniously integrate various functions and provide a living space for the elderly, the disabled, young people, and children. The astonishingly rapid realization of the project was largely due to the good relations among the three parties involved, citizens, consultant and administration; and it illustrates the importance of social networks as a background for urban reconstruction. A forum for discussion was established and everyone concerned was informed of the program, from the layout of parks and streets to the sites and design of houses. The inhabitants were eager for the success of this project as the basis for reconstruction and the revival of industry.

Kukakuseiri, as used in Takatori-Higashi 1, is the method of choice in Japan to widen streets and to create passageways that allow for rapid access in the case of disasters. The Basic Building Law stipulates that new houses can only be erected if they border a street of 4 meters width or more. Street enlargement is thus a condition for reconstruction. The land reduction that accompanies it means a reduction of existing plots, which

---

[8] Created on January 18, 1993.

means problems for reconstruction and yet more hardship for people struck by the earthquake. While the land readjustment procedure is better adapted for the Japanese cities with their small-scale land ownership structure than the complicated and expensive *saikaihatsu* development, it is still a costly measure that puts a heavy burden on the neighborhood. In contrast to *saikaihatsu*, which allows for financial returns through the sale of surplus floor space, the financial burden for the *kukakuseiri* intervention has to be taken care of by the public institutions without financial return. In the case of urban renewal, the initial investment is much higher, but parts of the project can be sold afterwards. The overall cost of the project thus depends on the economic situation and the possibility of selling the surplus space.

In many *kukakuseiri* projects, landowners either cannot or will not rebuild on their lots. The reasons vary: changes in the lot size may make the lot too small for reconstruction; there may be financial or legal problems; or the occupants may simply be very old. These problems necessitate different kinds of reconstruction. Although the Kunizuka project put collective housing in high-rise buildings, in traditional low-rise neighborhoods, for example in Takatori-Higashi 1 and neighboring Noda-Hokubu, two varieties of collective reconstruction were used: cooperative housing (*kyōdō tatekae*) and cooperative rebuilding (*kyōchō tatekae*). Where the lots are very small or the owners lack money for reconstruction, cooperative housing may be the appropriate solution. In this case, the participants give up their former lots in exchange for floor area and property rights to the land beneath the new building. Supplementary space was created and sold for the financing of the construction when the economic situation permitted.

Even more promising for the improvement of the cityscape and the connection of the building and the street is cooperative rebuilding on the former plots. The obligatory distance of 50 centimeters between the middle of the wall and the borderline with the neighbor is abolished and the lot can thus be used more efficiently. Several examples of this were realized in Noda-Hokubu and Takatori-Higashi, providing models for urban renovation and the design of neighborhood streetscapes.

Kukakuseiri and cooperative housing in Takatori-Higashi 1 were accomplished rapidly thanks to citizen cooperation. Citizens accepted these measures primarily because of reconstruction needs. *Kukakuseiri* has a long-standing tradition in Japan, established through the rebuilding that followed the 1923 Kantō earthquake and the reconstruction after World War II. However, *kukakuseiri* is not effective in retaining the social ties that define Japanese neighborhoods and it allows for little if any citizen participation.
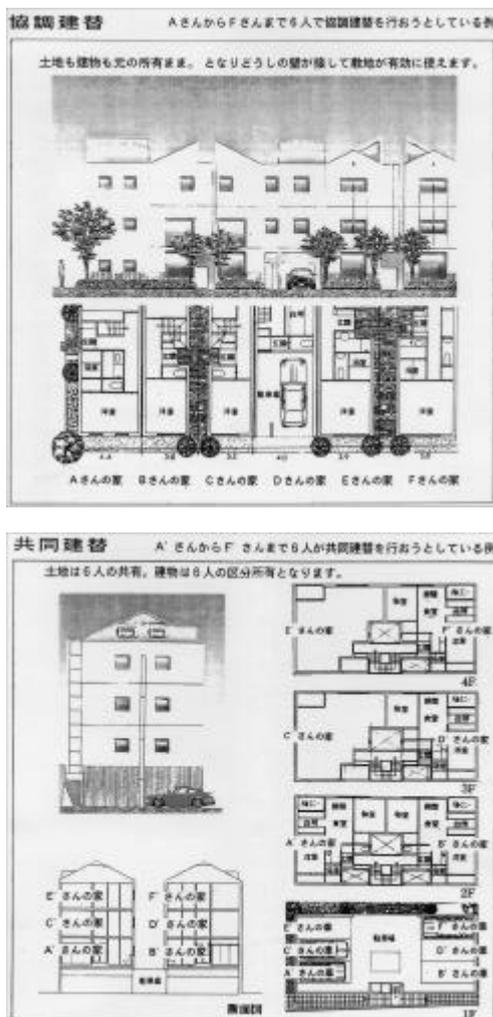
238

Figure 2a and 2b: **Explanation of Cooperative Rebuilding (*kyōchō tatekae*) and Cooperative Housing (*kyōdō tatekae*)**

Notes: The upper image shows cooperative rebuilding. In this example, six neighbors have rebuilt their properties together in a construction that resembles the traditional row-house (*nagaya*), while retaining ownership of their land and house.

The lower image illustrates cooperative housing (*kyōdō tatekae*). In this example, the land becomes jointly owned by people, each of whom obtains one apartment in the building.

*S*ource: Morisaki Teruyuki

Figure 3: **Cooperative Housing: The Casabella Takatori Minami Building**
Source: Morisaki Teruyuki

3.3. Machizukuri in Noda-Hokubu

Recently, methods less disruptive than those of *kukakuseiri* have been used to improve the safety of traditional neighborhoods and to widen streets. These approaches challenge architects, citizens and local government to rethink their roles and to redefine *machizukuri* aims in terms of urban and architectural design as well as social community (Morisaki 1998).

Street widening under mutual consent through district planning can be realized in collaboration with the inhabitants at lower cost, as the example of Noda-Hokubu shows.[9] Similar in its urban layout to Takatori-Higashi 1, this area was densely built with row-houses before World War II (*Noda-Hokubu Chiku No Hizaisen Jōkyō*, undated). Undamaged during the war, it remained free of replotting, and overall rebuilding was slow. In the post-war period many row-houses had been sold individually and the land divided into small lots with an average size of 47m². 17.6% of the lots were under 43m² (Morisaki 1998: 43). In 1994, the area had a density of 203 persons per hectare with 19.2% of the population over 65 years old (14.5% in Japan as an average). The area was in decline, and losing its inhabitants.

After the earthquake, city authorities included Noda-Hokubu among the 24 Major Reconstruction Areas (*Jūten Fukkō Chiku*). Apart from the two blocks that were part of the land readjustment project, street widening thus had to be realized through other measures. Numerous financial and logistic systems provided the background for reconstruction and improvement of the townscape.[10] The most important innovation was a new type of district plan: the District Plan for the Guidance of the Appearance of the Townscape (*Machinami-yūdogata Chiku Keikaku*), created in 1995. It was announced for Noda-Hokubu on November 5, 1996 as a first in Japan. This plan combines the widening of the streets with reconstruction and the creation of a convenient and comfortable neighborhood (Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku 1998; Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku Jūkankyō Seibi-ka, undated). It aims to correct features of current urban and building laws such as regulations regarding the relationship between the width of the street and the area ratio of the building, as well as the slant plane limitations (*shasen seigen*). In order to unify the townscape, to maintain the low rise nature of the neighborhood and to allow more efficient use of the land, the Machinami-yūdogata District Plan eases the above-mentioned regulations. The slant plane system is abolished so that buildings' upper floors can be used fully;

[9] This technique, which may be compared to the German Bebauungsplan, aims at developing the particular character of a local neighborhood through detailed planning.
[10] For details of the systems, see Zōkei 1998: 86.

and the floor area ratio can be used to a maximum of 200%, allowing three-story buildings on a 4-meter wide street, as long as the construction corresponds to the fire resistance criteria. Further, as a result of the approval of a new District Plan, the system for the rebuilding of row houses in densely built areas of the inner city of Kōbe (*Kōbe-shi Innā Nagaya Kaizen Seido*) can be applied. This means a relief of 10% in regard to the 60% maximum plot ratio fixed in the building law, bringing the maximum usage to 70%. In exchange, the new District Plan requires the respect of a maximum height calculated in regard to the width of the street.[11] For the building wall and surrounding gates and fences, a setback of 50 centimeters is required. The result is a widening of the street to 5 meters, which even under the Basic Building Law allows for a 200% usage. The setback, however, remains in private hands and the building can be extended over it at a height of 2.5 meters or more. These design features enlarge the space for pedestrians, while providing extension space to the house. The new system does not give further relief than that provided under the common rules, but it nonetheless introduces new urban concepts.[12]

One of the main aims of the district plan is to enlarge the roadside space physically and visually. While property owners are not allowed to erect fences, gates or walls on the setback area, they may use this zone for planting trees and bushes to be seen from the street. The new system thus aims at creating an intermediate "semi-private" zone, one that traditionally existed in neighborhoods in Japan. In the Osaka area it was once an unwritten custom to respect a setback for row-houses, and Tōkyō's Ginza had been characterized by sun-blends, which could cover the public space for up to 90 centimeters if the house were set back for the same depth, thus creating a public-private intermediate space and a protected walkway.

Fifty centimeters of setback is a very small space. Nevertheless, private owners take better care of these spaces than do the users of public parks. These spaces become zones where neighbors sit and chat in the manner of

[11] Calculated through the formula H=(W+1)∗2 in residential areas, which means a height of 10 meters for a 4-meter street and H=(W+1)∗2.4 in the case of mixed residential and commercial areas.

[12] The advantages of the *machinami yūdogata* system can be illustrated as follows: For a 60 m² plot on a 4 meter wide street in an area where the slant plane limit and the calculation of the plot ratio (*kenpeiritsu*) in regard to the street width apply, the plot could be build on 36 m². The limit for floor area ratio (*yōsekiritsu*) being 160%, the maximum floor space is 96m². The same situation in a *machinamiyūdogata* district: where the 50 cm setback is respected, a plot ratio of 70% would apply, thus using 42% of the plot. A maximum floor area ratio of 200% is permitted, making the overall floor space 120m². See Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku (1998) and Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku (1997).

the traditional *nagaya* lifestyle.[13] The creation of an intermediate zone thus contributes to and reflects the neighborhood spirit. These spaces, however, belong primarily to the citizens living in the vicinity. While greenery creates a more neighborly environment, these spaces are still privately owned. They function as meeting spaces that hark back to the places around the well where neighborhood women chatted while washing or cleaning.[14]

These intermediate spaces contribute strongly to the creation of social ties. The main innovation of the Noda-Hokubu approach was the reconstruction of these spaces, which serve to soften the difference between public and private. Previously construction of such spaces was limited to special projects. In contrast to *kukakuseiri* projects, which are imposed on inhabitants, this approach of creating intermediary spaces through citizen collaboration leaves more freedom for local initiative. While the widening of the street is obligatory, the landowner decides the position of the wall and fences. Only citizens who want to profit from the relief system have to comply. One result of this voluntary system may be a rather chaotic, and scarcely streamlined appearance of the city in the future. Nevertheless, this approach does make it possible for the inhabitants to rebuild on their land using the same floor area that they had before, and it provides an important incentive to stay in the neighborhood.

Citizens have played a part in creating such intermediate spaces even before the *Machinami-yūdogata* district plan. Asayama Saburo, president of the *machizukuri* council of Noda-Hokubu rebuilt his own house with a 50 centimeters setback without profiting from the relief system, just to encourage neighbors to do the same. Street widening without imposition from public institutions is possible if a community spirit exists.

The widening of private streets is another innovation in Noda-Hokubu aimed at creating community space. All landowners have to agree on a middle line for the new passageway so that a 50 centimeters setback can be established. On April 9, 1998 the first two streets were completed; others are being planned.

Thus, street widening can be achieved maintaining a low-rise neighborhood at the same time as improving the appearance of the neighborhood. The inhabitants stay on their land, making this method less traumatizing than land readjustment. The design of the streets is part of a larger program that aims at the creation of a visually pleasing and safe townscape

---

[13] This way of life is reflected in the phrase *endai shōgi*, which refers to the game of *shōgi* played on a bench in an alley or lane in front of a house on a summer evening.

[14] Reflected in the phrase *idobata kaigi*, or "conference around the well".

Figure 4: **Community Street in Noda-Hokubu**

Note: The design of the public space is left to each neighbor.

Source: Carola Hein

Figure 5: **Community Street in Noda-Hokubu With a Middle Line and Unified Design Created Through Collaboration of Neighbors**

Note: The public space has been unified in its design and the materials used. The middle of the new road is clearly recognizable.

Source: Carola Hein

and the preservation of traditional features whenever they exist (Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku 1998). These aims and the insistence on good materials and design are established as part of the Procedure for the Improvement of the Neighborhood Environment (*Machinami Kankyō Seibi Jigyō*), approved on June 20, 1996. These projects distinguish Noda-Hokubu from other areas and mark it as a model. The approach differs nevertheless from European urban design practice. It is individualized and concentrates primarily on the interaction of public and private space, and less on the appearance of buildings. The various incentives given in Noda-Hokubu combined with the district plan system will probably inspire a different neighborhood development from that of Takatori-Higashi 1, where the *kukakuseiri* land readjustment system figured most prominently.

4. Conclusion: The Need For Further Integration of Urban Planning and Community Building

As I have shown in my examples, the requirement for a safe, convenient and comfortable neighborhood can be met in different ways. Considerations of the needs of the city as a whole, and whether the project is primarily concerned with local needs, have an important impact on the methods chosen. Each of the methods described shows that urban transformation can be realized in cooperation with inhabitants and through the creation of community networks.

The area between the Shin-Nagata and Takatori stations, which includes the Shin-Nagata Eki Minami 1, Takatori-Higashi 1 and Noda-Hokubu neighborhoods, traditionally had common urban features and similar problems. Today it provides models of various approaches to housing and a large array of planning concepts. No overall plan exists that binds these three neighborhoods together or organizes them in regard to an overall urban concept, such as the master plan, the sub-center concept or any new infrastructure, for example, an underground line. Despite the possibility for comprehensive planning that the earthquake's destruction brought in its wake, the patchwork character of the Japanese city has been sustained. Different approaches, all of which provide interesting solutions, are juxtaposed, just as if they were part of an exhibition of buildings or urban concepts. This variety of different approaches applied in a small area is the result of an urban planning procedure that decides on areas of major intervention before establishing an overall plan and at the same time allows for community planning responses.

The development of these neighborhoods, particularly Noda-Hokubu, also shows the changing requirements that have occurred for the role of the

246

architect. Architects working in these neighborhoods have to be able to tackle various issues, which include difficult economic conditions, a lack of material and technicians, the need for rapid reconstruction als well as earthquake- and fireproof structures, the constraints of construction on very small plots, and the requirements of collective housing or multi-functional buildings. Architects must pay particular attention to making their structures reflect the concept of the neighborhood. They have to know about various financial and support systems available both under the framework of *machizukuri* and major urban planning strategies such as *kukakuseiri* or *saikaihatsu,* and also about recent concerns such as sustainability.

The tasks are even more demanding for the consultant, who forms the link between the inhabitants and the administration, as we see in the many projects realized by Morisaki, the consultant to Noda-Hokubu, Takatori-Higashi and Kunizuka (Morisaki 1998). In reconstruction areas, the consultant's tasks include organizing of the demolition of destroyed buildings, supervising the repair of partly damaged buildings, constructing provisional shops, organizing study meetings, offering help to collective buildings and collective rebuilding, as well as outlining *machizukuri* rules, and consulting with people building private houses. The consultant is involved in the procedure of rebuilding (including land readjustment), district planning, and the reconstruction of private houses. He supervises the realization of projects and advises private builders on legal and financial problems (Morisaki 1998). His role is to provide information, education, and liaison: often he creates networks between different *machizukuri* committees. Together with the *machizukuri* councils, the consultant plays a major role in the integration of large-scale and small-scale urban planning measures, as well as making sure that spatial design reflects the needs of the community.

My analysis of the variety of planning concepts and creations that exist in Kōbe's Shin-Nagata ward shows that the traditional organization of Japanese cities based on small neighborhoods continues to thrive. While large-scale urban planning is used for infrastructure projects and comprehensive interventions, local projects allow for flexibility and rapidity, as well as responsiveness in areas overlooked by more comprehensive plans. The result avoids the ghetto-like seclusion of housing projects found in many American cities and results in variegation. The strong social networks that have traditionally characterized Japanese neighborhoods continue to affect urban form today. These networks form an important counterpoint to urban transformation that might otherwise be directed primarily by private investment.

While *machizukuri* activities have proven to be of primary importance in the creation of livable local neighborhoods, it is clear nevertheless that co-

ordination with comprehensive urban planning, *toshikeikaku,* is also necessary. One way to integrate the different planning levels is to strengthen the tie between community-building activities and the work of the consultant. The role of the consultant needs to be defined with more official recognition as that of a middleman responsible for architectural and urban planning tasks, who will work on a long-term basis to create trusting relationships between the consultant and local citizens. The Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake has made the social role of architects particularly evident and highlighted the need for architecture conceived as part of the streetscape and as a connection between private, public and semi-public space.

To improve urban planning in Japan, it will be necessary not only to decentralize planning responsibilities further, and to strengthen work at the communal level, but also to integrate the planning of a city's physical form and development with neighborhood planning that involves the inhabitants. Nishiyama Uzō, a major Japanese planner and theoretician of 20th-century planning, pointed out this necessity in the 1970s. He interpreted *machizukuri* as a form of urban design exercised by the inhabitants that concerns the continuous creation of a neighborhood in a social as well as physical sense, and one that fills out the framework given by government urban planning (Nishiyama 1971: 11).

In the future, citizens, architects and planners must continue to find ways to work together. Forming connections between individual and group, house and neighborhood, community street and overall infrastructure, locality and region will make the city an even more vibrant, responsive, comfortable, interesting place to live. New concepts may become necessary and new words have to be coined. Following the example of Nishiyama, we may want to invent a new concept of *toshizukuri,* or "city-building" (as in "community-building"), which would be characterized by long-term continuous planning with citizen participation; and *machi keikaku*, a combination of neighborhood and planning that would involve large-scale frameworks for neighborhood design. New frameworks must be found to accommodate different levels of participation of citizens. This also means that the aims, tasks and means of organizations like the *machizukuri* groups have to be defined more clearly. For Japanese as well as for foreign researchers, Japanese neighborhoods remain exciting places to observe.

REFERENCES

Ashihara, Yoshinobu (1989): *The Hidden Order.* Tōkyō, New York, London: Kodansha International.

Berque, Augustin (ed.) (1987): *La Qualité de la Ville.* Tōkyō: Publications de la Maison Franco-Japonaise.

Hanshin Expressway Public Corporation (1996): *Restoration of the Hanshin Expressway Network from Damage Caused by the Great Hanshin Expressway.* Kōbe: Hanshin Expressway Public Corporation, January.

Hanshin Fukkō Shien NGO (ed.) (1995): *Mano machizukuri to shinsai kara no fukkō* [Community-building in Mano and the Reconstruction after the Earthquake]. Tōkyō: Jijitai Kenkyūsha.

Hein, Carola (2001 projected): Visionary Plans and Planners. In: Fiévé, Nicolas and Paul Waley (eds.): *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyotō, Edo and Tōkyō.* Richmond, Surrey: Curzon. (First version presented as: Hein, Carola (1997): *Planning Visions After World War II, Japanese Traditions and Western Influences,* presentation at the conference of the European Association of Japanese Studies (EAJS) in Budapest).

Hein, Carola and Ishida Yorifusa (1997): *Machi and toshi – cities' divisions in Japan.* Unpublished paper given at the City Words conference in Paris December 1997.

Hirohara, Moriaki (1996): *Shinsai – Kōbe toshikeikaku no kenshō* [Examination of Urban Planning in Kōbe in the Light of the Earthquake Disaster]. Tōkyō: Jijitai Kenkyūsha.

Hohn, Uta (2000): *Stadtplanung in Japan.* Dortmund: Dortmunder Vertrieb für Bau- und Planungsliteratur.

Ishida, Yorifusa (1996a): Japanese Equivalents for French "Quartier" in Professional and Popular Languages. In: *Kogakuin Daigaku Kenkyūjōhō* 81, October.

Ishida, Yorifusa (1996b): Shinsai fukkō to toshikeikaku, toshiseikatsu no fukkyū, toshi no fukkō keikaku oyobi toshi kaihatsu [Earthquake Reconstruction and Urban Planning, the Restoration of Urban Life, Planning for Urban Reconstruction and Urban Renewal]. In: Jijitai Kenkyūsha (Ed.): *Daishinsai to chihō jijitai-fukkō e no teigen* [The Great Earthquake and Local Self-government]. Tōkyō: Jijitai Kenkyūsha, pp. 39–51.

Ishida, Yorifusa (1997): Seikatsu no fukkō ni mukete – Hanshin Awaji Daishinsaigo no jūtaku no 12-rei [Towards the Restoration of Life – 12 Examples of Housing Built After the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake]. In: *Jūtaku Kenchiku* 2, pp. 28–87.

Ishida, Yorifusa (1998): Konnan ni uchikatte tatsu – Kōbe no fukkō jūtaku [Building to Overcome Difficulties – Reconstruction Housing in Kōbe]. In: *Jūtaku Kenchiku* 3, pp. 80–103.

Jinnai, Hidenobu (1995): *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Kawamura, Sōjirō, Hirohara Moriaki, and Yamashita Akihiro (1996): Shinsai fukkō no kōzu [The Composition of the Disaster Reconstruction]. In: *Zōkei* 1, pp. 48–51.

Kōbe City (1997): *Restorative Post-Earthquake Urban Redevelopment Projects.* Kōbe Redevelopment Division, Redevelopment Department, Urban Planning Bureau, City of Kōbe, Vol. 2, September.

Kōbe City Government (1995): *Kōbe City Restoration Plan* (abridged version). Kōbe: Secretariat of the Earthquake Restoration Headquarters, No. 85, June. (Japanese version: Kōbe-shi (1995a)).

Kōbe-shi (1995a): *Sekai to fureau shimin sōzō toshi, Kōbe 2000* [Kōbe 2000 – a Lively City Made by Citizens in Contact With the World]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kikaku Chōsei-kyoku, January.

Kōbe-shi (1995b): *Kōbe-shi fukkō keikaku* (gaiyōban). Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu, No. 85, June. (English version: Kōbe City Government (1995)).

Kōbe-shi (1997a): *Shin Nagata minami dai ichi chiku shinsai fukkō dai nishu shigaichi saikaihatsu jigyō,* [Restorative Post-Earthquake Urban Redevelopment Projects]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu.

Kōbe-shi (1997b): *Anzen de kaiteki na machizukuri o mezashite* [Aiming at "Building up a Safe and Comfortable Town"]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu, No. 208.

Kōbe-shi / Kōbe City (undated): *Hanshin Awaji daishinsai. Hisai jōkyō oyobi fukkō jōkyō / The Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, Statistics and Restoration Progress.* Kōbe: General Planning and Research Division, Restoration Promotion Department, Earthquake Restoration and Coordination Bureau.

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku (1997): *Minna de tsukuru watashitachi no machi* [The Town We All Build Together]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu. September.

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku (1998): *Noda-Hokubu chiku machizukuri, machinami kankyō seibi jigyō* [Community-Building in the Noda-Hokubu District, Means for the Improvement of the Urban Landscape]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku.

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku / Hyōgoken Toshi Jūtakubu (1997): *Kōbe, tōbu shintoshin shūhen* [The Surroundings of the Eastern New Center in Kōbe]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu, No. 195.

250

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku Jūkan-kyō Seibi-ka (1998): *Kunizuka Nishi Fureai Jūtaku* [Kunizuka West Community Housing].

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku Jūkan-kyō Seibi-ka Nishibu Seibi Tantō (1998): *Noda-Hokubu ni okeru machizukuri* [Community-Building in Noda-Hokubu]*:* Kōbe: (05/11/98) (photocopied document received from Morisaki Teruyuki).

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku Jūkan-kyō Seibi-ka (undated): *Machinami yūdogata chikukeikaku seido nado* [The District Plan System for the Improvement of the Urban Landscape, and others].

Kōbe-shi Jūtaku-kyoku Toshikeikaku-kyoku (1995): *Shinsai fukkō machizukuri nyūsu* [The Town News on the Earthquake Reconstruction], No. 1 (05.02.1995), No. 2 (19.02.1995), No. 3 (23.02.1995), No. 4 (26.02.1995).

Kōbe-shi Toshikeikaku-kyoku (1998): *Hito ni yasashii anshin no machizukuri* [Community-Building that is Safe and Liveable for People]*.* Vol. 3, No. 363. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu, March.

Kōbe-shi Toshikeikaku-kyoku (undated): *Kōbe shi no fukkō saikaihatsu biru* [The Urban Renewal Building in the Reconstruction of Kōbe City]. Vol. 2, Kōbe.

Kōbe-shi Toshikeikaku-kyoku Keikakubu Shintoshin Seibi-shitsu (1996): *Kōbe Tōbu shin-toshin* [Kōbe. The Eastern New Center]. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu, No. 227.

Kōbe-shi Toshikeikaku-kyoku Keikakubu Shintoshin Seibi-shitsu (1998): *HAT Kōbe*. Vol 3. Kōbe: Kōbe-shi Kōhō Insatsubutsu, August.

Kodama, Yoshiro (1996): Fukkō toshikeikaku no wakugumi, Kōbe fukkō [An Outline of Urban Planning for Reconstruction]. In: *Zōkei* 1, pp. 53–55.

Kyōdai Nishiyama Kenkyūshitsuron (1970): *Maruyama repōto – Kōbe Maruyama chiku ni okeru machizukuri undo no chōsa kenkyū* [The Maruyama Report – An Investigative Study on the Community-Building Movement in Kōbe's Maruyama District]. Kyōto: Kyōdai Nishiyama Kenkyūshitsu.

Maki, Fumihiko (1987): La Construction des Lieux. In: Berque, Augustin (ed.) (1987): *La Qualité de la Ville, Urbanité française, urbanité nippone.* Tōkyō: Publications de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, pp. 112–113.

Mochizuki, Tokurō, Watanabe Takasuke and Soshiroda Akira (1994): Waga-kuni ni okeru yōgo "toshi" no tōjō to teichaku-katei ni kansuru kenkyū [A Study on the Derivation and Use of the Word Toshi (City)]. In: *Nihon Toshikeikaku Gakkai Nihon Toshikeikaku Gakkai Gakujutsu Kenkyū Ronbun-shū* 29. Tōkyō: Nihon Toshikeikaku Gakkai, p. 217–222.

Morisaki, Teruyuki (1998): Machizukuri ni okeru fukkō keikaku to sono jissen [Community-Building In Reconstruction Planning and Practice]*.* In: *Zōkei* 15, pp. 38–70.

Nawata, Yoshihiko (1994): Stadtteilvertretungen und Dezentralisierung der Verwaltungsfunktion in Japan. In: Glotz-Richter, Michael, Thomas Krämer-Badoni and Werner Petrowsky (eds.): *Lokale Demokratie auf dem Prüfstand*. Bremen: Edition Temmen, pp. 112–125.

Nawata, Yoshihiko (1997): *"Chōnaikai" in the citizen-participation in Japan* EAJS-conference in Budapest, Section: Urban and Environmental Studies (Presentation manuscript).

Nawata, Yoshihiko (1998): *Komyūniti no hōriron* [Community in Legal Theory]. Tōkyō: Sōbunsha.

Nishiyama, Uzō (ed.) (1971): *Toshikeikaku to machizukuri* [Urban Planning and Community Design], Vol. 2, *Kōza Gendai Nihon no Toshimondai* [Series on the Urban Problems in Contemporary Japan]. Tōkyō and Kyōto: Chōbunsha.

Noda-Hokubu Chiku No Hisaizen Jōkyō [The Conditions of the Noda-Hokubu District Before the Destruction]; (undated) established by the consultant Morisaki Teruyuki.

Noda-Hokubu Chiku No Ugoki [Developments in the Noda-Hokubu District] (undated): List of major events in the planning of Noda-Hokubu established by the consultant Morisaki Teruyuki.

Sakamaki, Sachiko (1995): Planners Under Fire. In: *Far Eastern Economic Review* 15.06.1995, pp. 57–58.

Shelton, Barrie (1999): *Learning from the Japanese City.* London and New York: E+FN. Spon.

The City Planning Institute of Japan/Nihon Toshikeikaku Gakkai (1996): The Memorial Issue of the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake / Hanshin Awaji Daishinsai Isshunen. In: *Special Issue City Planning Review / Toshikeikaku Tokushū* n 200/201, Tōkyō: The City Planning Institute of Japan/Nihon Toshikeikaku Gakkai.

Watanabe, Shun'ichi (ed.) (1999): *Shimin sanka no machizukuri* [Community-Building with Citizen Participation]. Kyōto: Gakukeishuppansha.

Zōkei (1996): *Kōbe fukkō* [The reconstruction of Kōbe]. Tokushū, No. 1; pp. 47–126.

Zōkei (1998): *Kōbe fukkō-machizukuri* [Community-Building in the reconstruction of Kōbe]. Tokushū, No. 15, pp. 31–118.