THE MODERN PLANNING HISTORY OF EAST ASIA: A BRIEF GUIDE FROM THE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES

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INTRODUCTION

Three years from now in 2019, we will celebrate the 100th year of Japan's City Planning Act ("Old Act," 1919). The Old Act was the Japanese positive response to western modern planning, which was developed in western Europe and north America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and was gradually spreading all over the world.

Japan was the first nation in East Asia which systematically responded to this spreading process (Watanabe 1993) and, after establishing the Old Act system in the Japanese homeland, spread it in turn to the neighboring countries and regions in the process of imperial expansion. This "dual spread" is a very interesting topic particularly to comparative planning researchers.

In this presentation, we plan to draw a rough sketch of the spreading process of western modern planning in East Asia from the viewpoint of Japan, as it was a crucially important spreading channel from the west. There were, however, another such channels to East Asia, especially to China. As planning history studies are now growing in China, we have to keep our eyes open to them if we are going to have a comprehensive planning history of East Asia.

With this limitation in mind, we present some crucial research points and highlights in order to raise interests in East Asian planning history, particularly for external researchers. Therefore, we have tried to develop many stimulating research questions, hoping to see the IPHS become a forum of international exchanges in a really productive manner.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the late 19th century, Japan made its international debut into the world of imperialism as the government of the "Great Japanese Empire." In the early 20th century, the Japanese Empire expanded its colonial outer territory into the countries and regions in East Asia. The expansion lasted until the end of war in 1945.

Thus, it was the Old Act planning system, with some predecessors, of the Japanese homeland that spread into the outer territories. So our questions are: "How was the Old Act planning system different from the western modern planning system?" "Which part of the outer territories did the Old Act system spread to?" "Was the planning system there the same or different from that of Japan, and why?" "What happened there in postwar days?" All these questions lead to a more crucial question: "Can we recognize a kind of 'East Asian model' in terms of planning systems?"

The outer territories were classified as follows (Watanabe 2016):

1 *Owned territory:* Taiwan (1895, from Qing-China), South Sakhalin (1905, from Russia) and Korea (1910, by annexation);
2 *Leased territory:* Liaodong Peninsula, or Kwantung and the South Manchurian Railway land (1910, from Qing);
3 *Mandate:* The former German colonial islands in the Pacific (1919, from League of Nations);
4 *Occupied territory:* French Indochina and many other areas (1941 onwards, by occupation); and
5 *Puppet state:* "Manchuria" (1932, by proclaimed independence).

In around 1942, the outer territories covered such wide areas as: part of the Aleutian Islands to the east; Manchuria, Kwantung Leased Territory, Korea and South Sakhalin to the north; Burma and Thailand to the west; and Taiwan, Dutch East Indies and Mandate islands to the south. In 1945, Japan's defeat in the war resulted in the entire loss of these areas.

In terms of planning history, a planning system for the Japanese colonial administration existed in Taiwan for 50 years, and in Korea for 35 years. As discussed later, such planning systems survived the end of colonialization and became the legal basis of those countries' own postwar planning systems. In this sense, we place a special emphasis upon the planning history of Taiwan and Korea (the postwar South Korea).

Manchuria imported a modified Japanese planning system and built colonial cities during the 12 years of its existence. After the war, however, it was taken over by the Chinese government (Republic of China and later People's Republic of China), and the Japanese colonial planning system was completely abandoned. Because of this discontinuity, we will not deal with Manchuria in this presentation. However, as there are good research works on Manchurian planning history (Koshizawa 1978; 1988) and, as urban space there survived until now as the legacy of colonial planning, we probably need to study Manchurian planning history further with new research interests and theoretical frameworks. This is also true with Kwantung (Goto 2015).

In this context, we have to mention that the historical study of modern Chinese city planning is a very important and interesting research area. In the modernization process, some coastal cities were affected by the western powers and some cities in Northeast (Manchuria area) by Russia. The planning systems of the Republic of China and of the People's Republic of China must have had different impacts from abroad. So our question is: "How did Chinese modern planning develop under, and often against, western modern planning?" All these topics are waiting to be carefully studied, and some works are being published (Fu 2015).

As for other outer territories, the existing research works report that systematic planning administration hardly existed, and that the present planning system is completely disconnected from the colonial one. Therefore, we will not discuss these areas, although there are some interesting research works on South Sakhalin (Itani 2004) and the Mandate Pacific islands (Ono et al. 2002).

In the following discussion, we will focus mainly upon Japan (Watanabe 1993; 2010; Ishida 2004), Taiwan (Watanabe 2006b; Goto 2014a) and Korea (Goto 2014b; Wada 2014).

OLD ACT PLANNING SYSTEM

The first Japanese general law of city planning that was institutionalized after the western modern planning model was the City Planning Act of 1919, often called the Old Act. It inherited many elements of its predecessor of the Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance of 1888. The Urban Improvement program tried to physically remodel the premodern castle town of Edo into the modern imperial capital Tokyo, just like Haussmann's Paris.

The planning style of the Urban Improvement program was a simple one. The land areas for future urban infrastructure such as streets and parks were marked on the official map and, as a result, the government built them one by one, while private building actions on the marked areas were prohibited. Thus, the basic nature of Urban Improvement was a systematic program of "urban engineering works" of individual public facilities rather than "city planning," which tries to plan, build and maintain the urban area as a whole.

The Urban Improvement program, however, left two important elements in the Old Act planning system. The first was the concept that the most important function of city planning is to build urban infrastructure, especially streets, rather than to plan, build and maintain a physical living environment, which we here call "Construction Orientation." The second is that city planning is basically the job of the central government rather than the local government, and that decisive planning powers should be in the hands of administrative bureaucrats rather than the legislature or citizens. This second element can be here called "Centralized Bureaucracy." Thus, Construction Orientation and Centralized Bureaucracy were borne here and grew up into a more sophisticated style in the Old Act system.

The Old Act has provided many of the planning tools of modern planning, though failing in importing the concept of master planning, which was not yet well developed even in the western countries at that time. As for land-use controls, the Old Act institutionalized the Zoning system for the first time in Japan. The implementation of the Old Act revealed, however, that land-use controls were weakened by politically strong landowners, who wanted to use their own land at their own desire, under as little regulation as possible.

As for the construction program, the Old Act system created Land Readjustment programs, mainly for suburban development, and strengthened the infrastructure construction system of the Urban Improvement program. In prewar days, city planning was generally considered as a construction program itself, although central government subsidies for urban facilities were much limited. Thus, city planning had little policy-making nature, and became a matter of construction engineering.

The Old Act planning system was first applied to the six largest cities, including Tokyo and Osaka, and later to smaller cities all over the country. The planning profession, however, did not exist at that time. So all the planning policies and expertise had to be developed and decided by a handful of bureaucrats of the Home Ministry, which was responsible for planning administration. The Ministry dispatched its bureaucrats to local governments where planning works were actually done, and often held seminars where they taught city planning to the local government bureaucrats. This "one-way" stream of planning expertise is typically characterized by the fact that the Home Ministry prescribed the nation-wide and pre-set uniform standards of planning administration, and asked the local government to follow them automatically. In this way, the policy-making nature of city planning was weakened, and it became a matter of administrative procedure.

PREWAR PLANNING SYSTEMS IN TAIWAN

The colonization of Taiwan started in 1895, and the Taiwan Government-General was established in Taipei. Four years later, the Government-General issued the first planning legislation in the form of an Order that was a general rule to regulate the land and buildings in the designated areas for the Urban Improvement project. A total of 51 Urban Improvement plans were created in the whole of Taiwan between 1895 and 1937 (Huang 2000: 154). Thus, the planning function was used as a tool to secure land for future urban infrastructure construction.

In 1932, the Government-General announced an urban Plan, which was to cover more than 9 times of the then urbanized area of Taipei. The planned population in 1955, or 23 years later, was 600,000 against the 260,000 existing population at that time. The street network was planned to cover the entire Taipei basin. Thus, a large-scale street network planning was successfully introduced.

In 1936, the Government-General promulgated the Taiwan City Planning Order, which was roughly a combination of the Old Act, Urban Building Act (1919) and Land Readjustment program. The main purpose of this Order was to assist the colonial government in securing a vast amount of land needed for Taiwan as a logistics base for the Empire's expansion into the Pacific region. Now, the planning system enabled the government to acquire urban land on a large scale. The planning system under this Order was maintained and extended to 72 cities until the end of war in 1945 (Chang 1993: 43). Most of the planned future street lines were legally kept and became the basis of infrastructure provision even after the war.

PREWAR PLANNING SYSTEMS IN KOREA

In 1910, the Japanese Empire made Korea her second colony and the Korea Government-General was established in Seoul. In 1912, the colonial government introduced the Urban Improvement program from the homeland. The first Plan designated the improvement of 31 streets by broadening, straightening and paving the former narrow streets in the midst of the historical Lee dynasty's capital of 500 years. During the following 17 years, the actual construction works were carried out in Seoul, building about 21 kilometers of streets in total (Sohn 2004: 71). Here again started the planning practice and tradition of street construction as the main function of city planning.

In 1934, the Government-General promulgated the Korea Urban Area Planning Order by combining the homeland's Old Act, Urban Building Act and Land Readjustment program. The Order gave great powers to the Government-General for the compulsory purchase of land for large-scale Land Readjustment projects. In fact, the Order was hurriedly made in order to secure the land for building the new harbor city of Najin on the Sea of Japan, which was to provide direct transport connection between Manchuria, created two years before, and the homeland Japan. Eventually, this Order was applied to a total of 43 Urban Areas before the end of war in 1945.

In Taiwan and Korea, actual planning practice was centered on such government construction works as street building and Land Readjustment. Land-use controls were often carried out only in areas resided in predominantly by Japanese immigrants. In short, colonial planning was heavily oriented toward government construction works. Thus, the planning style of the combination of Construction Orientation and Centralized Bureaucracy worked quite well in the colonial situation, or we may say it worked far better than in the homeland.

POSTWAR PLANNING SYSTEMS OF TAIWAN AND KOREA

In 1945, the war ended and subsequently the Government-General was replaced by each national government. Japanese planning bureaucrats returned home. The colonial planning system, however, was not abolished by the new governments. In Taiwan, the government of the Republic of China came from the continent and brought its own City Planning Act that had been promulgated in 1939. This planning system, however, was found hardly workable because the prescriptions were too simple to operate and too different from the current situation in Taiwan (Chang 1993: 43). In South Korea, where the former colony was divided into two nations that were now involved in a war, there was no time to create a planning system anew. So the colonial system remained valid, and 24 additional cities were designated for city planning under the old system (Sohn 2004: 335).

In both countries, the new government utilized the power mechanism of the colonial planning Order by literally translating "Governor-General" to "President." During the 1970s and 1980s under strong development dictatorships, such a planning system with Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation functioned well as an efficient tool for rapid economic development. The result is what we can see today in Seoul, Taipei and many other cities.

The typical case is Seoul's Gangnam area, where eight-lane straight streets are built at 800 meter intervals, surrounded by 20 to 30 floors of apartment buildings with abundant living space and modern facilities. This is a planned Radiant City which Le Corbusier would have viewed with great joy. It is also a product far beyond what the colonial government imagined, and the postwar government should be proud of it. But this Korean miracle story has not been well reported back to the international planning history community, with some exception (Gelezeau 2003).

If we understand the above point as the continuity from the colonial planning system, it would be also necessary to point out its discontinuity. After the Japanese planners returned home, there was a huge lack in planning expertise in Taiwan and Korea. This technical vacuum was eventually filled by nationals who came back home after studying in the United States and other western countries. As this is a very important starting point of the postwar planning system, we have to ask: "How and by whom was this vacuum filled?" "How can we locate that story within the framework of the spreading process of international planning history?" There are still few research works in this area (Jung 2014).

During the 1960s, when the social, political and military disruptions of postwar days were over, Korea and Taiwan started to amend the old planning system they inherited from the colonial government, in order to have their own systems. The first City Planning Acts were enacted in Korea in 1962 and in Taiwan in 1964. They had their second revisions in 1971 and in 1973, respectively, and many more revisions until the present. In this process, both planning systems became almost completely different from the original Japanese system. This can be seen as the "complete independence" from the colonial planning system, which is an interesting research topic in terms of comparative study.

POSTWAR JAPANESE PLANNING SYSTEM

From 1945, the Japanese economy went through tough times for about 15 years, and then entered the high-growth period in the 1960s. Ministry of Construction in charge of planning administration, took over the Old Act planning system from before the war. Economic growth made the government financially rich and, as a result, various generous subsidy programs were developed for urban infrastructure. Thus, Construction Orientation, that was not so strong due to the lack of public funds in prewar days, was finally strengthened. At the same time, Centralized Bureaucracy was also strengthened with the power of subsidy.

The rapid economic growth produced a serious urban sprawl problem in the metropolitan peripheries. For the main purpose of controlling this problem, the half-century aged Old Act was drastically amended to become the City Planning Act of 1968, which we call the "New Act." As a land-use control tool, the New Act introduced the Area system, which went beyond the existing Zoning system, and controlled the development of land differently according to the Areas. Although the New Act drastically improved various elements of the planning system, including land-use controls, participation etc., Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation, characteristics of the Old Act system, survived and were even strengthened.

In the early 1980s, the Nakasone administration started the general policy of vitalizing the market economy by privatization and deregulation, which were also extended to urban policy. The land-use controls in urban areas were weakened by deregulation. The highlight of this line was the Urban Regeneration program (2002-) of the Koizumi administration. Here, the central government directly intervened in the planning process of local governments in order to facilitate urban redevelopment by private developers. This is again an extreme example of Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation like the Urban Improvement program, where streets were the target of construction, whereas, this time, high-rise offices and apartment buildings were.

CHALLENGE FROM MACHIZUKURI

So far, we have sketched a picture of the historical development of the Old Act system with Centralized Bureaucracy and Construction Orientation. We have observed how it was maintained in Japan and how it functioned well in Taiwan and South Korea, especially in their postwar economic development. In a word, the picture was a kind of "success story."

However, in the 1960s in Japan and in the late 1980s in Taiwan and South Korea, a new movement which was to potentially challenge the Old Act system, was started by urban residents and citizens. It is called Machizukuri, or community building (Watanabe 2006a; 2007), which corresponds to the Chinese "Shequ-Yingzao" and the Korean "Maeul-Mandeulgi" (Watanabe 2008).

The first case in Japan was that, in 1952, a group of citizens in the Tokyo suburb of Kunitachi started a campaign to petition for the designation of an Education District, in order to maintain their good living environment (Watanabe 2012). In 1960s, people all over the country started various kinds of movements. They include urban redevelopment proposals (Nagoya's Sakae-Higashi, Tokyo's Kita-Shinagawa), oppositions against industrial and residential developments (Mishima and Tsujido), and neighborhood resident movements (Kobe's Maruyama and Mano districts). People engaged in these movements called their activities "Machizukuri."

In Taiwan and South Korea, the year 1987 was a crucial time, when long standing and oppressive regimes ended and, suddenly, society as a whole became democratized. In Korea, President-Elect Roh Tae-woo announced the "6.29 Democratization Declaration." The same year, martial law, which had been in place for 38 years, was ended in Taiwan. Now, citizen movements of various kinds, including community building activities, started in full scale. In this context, some planning academics from both countries studied the philosophy and technique of Japanese Machizukuri and introduced them to their own countries. This is another interesting case of the international spread of planning expertise, which invites our research interests.

In Taiwan, various citizen groups started working in opposition to environment pollution (Lukan), studying local culture and history (Taipei), and making proposals for urban reform (UORs in Taipei). In South Korea, the movement included opposition to urban redevelopment(Haengdang-dong), the conservation of traditional urban spaces (Seoul's Insa-dong and Gahoe-dong), and the decoration of house walls (Gwangju's Buk-gu). A book recently published by Japanese planning scholars illustrates a whole spectrum of people's activities in Taiwan and South Korea (Aiba ed. 2016).

Generally speaking, there are three social sectors or mechanisms that produce, distribute and provide goods and services at the social scale. They are: (1) the government sector, (2) the market sector and (3) the civil society sector. Each of them behaves respectively according to distinctly different principles. Urban facilities and services can be provided: (1) by governments, whose activities include statutory city planning, (2) by enterprises, whose activities include urban development business and (3) by citizens and/or residents, whose activities may be considered as Machizukuri. Thus, Machizukuri is distinctly different from statutory city planning in terms of the actors, activities and behavioral principles.

Machizukuri has given birth to a new generation of people who love, think about and act for, their own local community. In fact, they are willing and able to produce some of the public goods and services for their community which city planning has often provided. They also want to participate in the decision-making process of city planning, but the existing planning system often works unfavorably to them. In this sense, Machizukuri can be understood as a challenge to traditional statutory planning, which did, and still often does, monopolize decisions and actions regarding urban space and the lives of people. What is now questioned is the nature of "public" in city planning, which is changing dramatically in recent years.

Since the early 21st century, there have been significant numbers of criticisms of and reform proposals for the current Japanese planning system. As a result, over 20 concrete proposals have been presented by various organizations and individuals (Watanabe and Arita 2010). The heated and interesting discussion that followed was suddenly interrupted by the huge earthquake that devastated the Tohoku region in March 2011. Many planning scholars rushed to the damaged areas to help making reconstruction plans, often in the Machizukuri style. By now, they have experienced the gap between their work and the existing system, and have accumulated many ideas for improvement.

And today, we are standing only 3 years away from the 100th year of the Old Act. It is time for us to think and improve our planning system with perspectives for another hundred years.

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